

LETTERS AND PAPERS,
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

OF THE REIGN OF

HENRY VIII.

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OF THE REIGN OF

HENRY VIII.

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BY

J. S. BREWER, M.A.,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, AND WITH THE SANCTION OF
HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARIES OF STATE.

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CONTENTS.

ERRATUM.

Preface, p. ccccxl. *For* "Edmund De la Pole" *read*
"Richard De la Pole."

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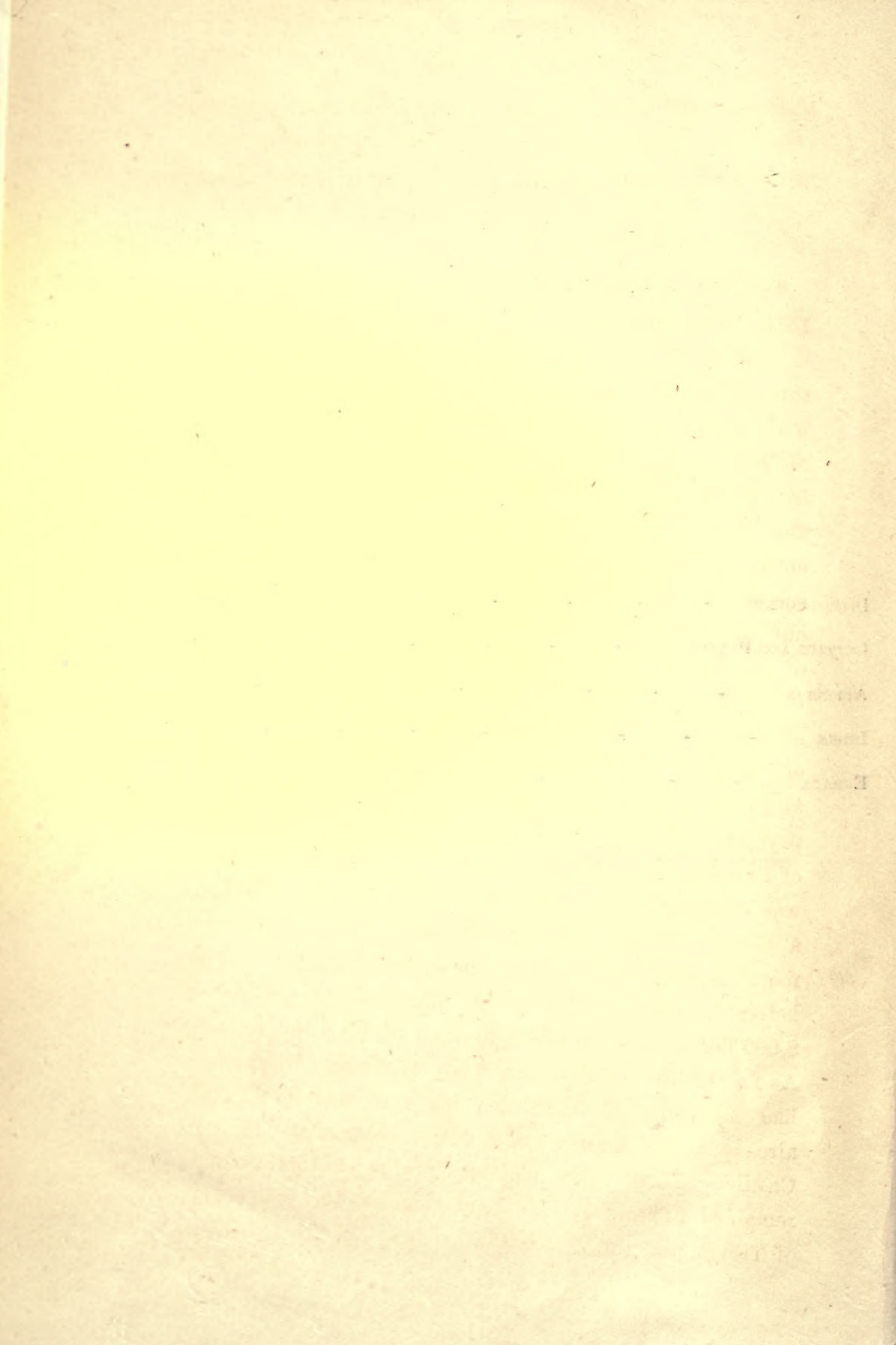
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187

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	i
LETTERS AND PAPERS - - - - -	1
APPENDIX - - - - -	1561
INDEX - - - - -	1589
ERRATA - - - - -	1775



INTRODUCTION.

THE Emperor Maximilian died on the 12th of January 1519. The latter days of his life had been employed in endeavoring to secure for his grandson the reversion of the imperial crown. He prosecuted this object with greater consistency and firmness than he did most of his schemes, forged by a brain unusually fertile in expedients, and as rapidly abandoned by his easy and fickle temperament. Through dint of bribery, entreaty, perseverance, and boundless promises, he had succeeded in obtaining assurances of support from four out of the seven electors. The patriotism or avarice of the elector of Cologne was propitiated by the promise of 20,000 florins in ready money, and a pension of 6,000 florins. Thirty thousand florins and the hand of the infanta Katharine, a lady whose "great beauty and virtue" were enhanced by a dowry of 70,000 florins, payable on the day of the election, secured the marquis of Brandenburg. His brother the archbishop of Mayence was contented with 52,000 florins, a handsome credence, a service of silver, to be selected by himself, and the most exquisite tapestry from the looms of Flanders. The better to confirm him in his allegiance, a pension of 8,000 florins was promised to each of his two brothers. As for the king of Bohemia, a boy of fifteen, Maximilian had no cause of solicitude; his vote was determined already by his marriage with Mary, sister of the king of Castile. Three other members of the electoral College remained undecided; the count Palatine, the archbishop of Treves, and the elector of Saxony. The last two were

inflexible. The enemies of the House of Hapsburg had chosen to congratulate themselves that the last sparks of virtue and patriotism were not extinguished in the breasts of the noblest,—in the chiefs of their people. Some few were yet to be found in the hierarchy of German feudality, to whom national independence and the sancity of an oath, were something more than empty names. “I swear on these gospels here open before me”—such was the oath repeated after the archbishop of Mayence by every one of the electors—that “my voice, vote, and my suffrage shall be given unbiassed by any pact, price, pledge or engagement under any pretence whatsoever. So help me God, and all His holy saints and angels!”

Yet the archbishop of Treves could not behold with complacency the dangerous neighborhood and restless aggrandizement of the House of Hapsburg. The elector of Saxony had reasons of his own for disliking Maximilian. The prince Palatine kept aloof, but from different motives. He was brother to that count Frederick mentioned in the last volume, who had formed a secret attachment to Elianor, sister of Charles, afterwards queen of Portugal. For this unwarrantable presumption the Count had been coldly and haughtily dismissed—to employ his influence, as might naturally have been expected, with his brother the Elector, in advancing the pretensions of Francis I. But affection for the sister outweighed the insult received from the brother. The Count readily complied with the summons of Maximilian. He even undertook, for a pension of 20,000 florins, to bring over his brother to the Emperor's views. The negociation was costly; the Palatine demanded no less than 100,000 florins as the price of his vote, and certain other concessions, not needful here to be insisted on. At the cost of half

a million of gold florins, in the shape of presents, and 70,000 or something more, by way of annuities, Maximilian had contrived to secure or corrupt the highest nobility in Germany. He had fixed, as he thought, the imperial crown in the House of Hapsburg for ever. The price of the Holy Roman Empire, everything considered, was not so exorbitant after all.

Such of my readers as have pursued with me, through the last volume, the fortunes of "the penniless Emperor," will naturally inquire how Maximilian could obtain the funds required for so costly a purchase. Of his own, he had nothing to bestow; he could only pledge his grandson's credit; and German electors were too well acquainted with the value of royal and imperial engagements to barter their votes for empty promises. More than once the imperial broker had to urge upon his grandson his need of remittances;—more than once was the empire in danger of falling into the hands of Francis I., who, more wealthy and less scrupulous than his rival, squandered his treasures without present or after thought of the consequences. Cautious and penurious, even where great advantages were to be gained, Charles doled out his gold in proportions more suited to a village than an empire. Already at the age of nineteen, unlike his contemporaries, he possessed the virtue of prudence in perfection. He insisted that his agents should incur no expenses in the election, unless they were certain of success; that no elector should receive for his vote more than 4,000 florins. With bitter pangs and ill-concealed reluctance he placed to the credit of Maximilian first 100,000 and then 200,000 ducats,* obtained from the

* See no. 27. Spinnely is more precise: "Armestorff is gone to the Emperor with bills of exchange to the value of 250,000 ducats, payable 1st April next. The merchants have promised that the Fuggers, the Hochstetters, or Welzers, shall answer the same in February next, that

bankers of Genoa and Augsburg. From personal experience, better versed in the ways of the world, more alive than most of his contemporaries to the influence of bribery, Maximilian remonstrated. "If," said he, "you wish to gain mankind, you must play at a high stake. Either then follow my counsel and adopt my suggestions, or abandon the chance of bringing this affair to a termination satisfactory to our wishes, and creditable to our fame. It would be lamentable if, after so much pain and labor to aggrandize and exalt our house and our posterity, we should now lose all through some pitiful omission or penurious neglect."

In the midst of all this happiness and bustle, scheming, intriguing and corrupting, Maximilian died suddenly at Welz in Upper Austria, "vanquished with sickness, which was first a catarrh, and sithence a flux and a fever continual."*

The new world, under younger masters, with new notions and untrained energies, was now rapidly drifting away from the old. The grasp of the old, destined to fade away, became every day feebler. Time, the greatest of innovators, had altered the relative positions of the three rulers of Christendom. At the death of Maximilian, Henry VIII. was in his 30th year, Francis I. in his 26th, Charles in his 19th. All were equally ambitious, all nearly equally powerful, and all equally, though in different ways, greedy of personal distinction. Yet to command the applause of the age it was still indispensable that they should be, or seem to be, the champions of the Church. Francis I. was its dearest and its

the electors may be sure of their money, and make no difficulty of coming to Frankfurt. The King is also bound to make good to the electors a pension of 70,000 florins of gold during their lives. The town of Antwerp is to answer for the same," &c. 20 Jan. 1519 (no. 36).

* Knight, 11 Jan. 1519; no. 25.

eldest son. Who more ready than he to draw the sword in its defence? Was it to pursue the heretic and the infidel to the furthest verge of Ind,—was it to sluice out his blood and treasure at the bidding of his Holiness,—none more prompt than he, even when he was invading the patrimony of the Church, or turning a wistful eye to an alliance with the Turk. As for Charles, it had always been the special glory of the kings of Castile to maintain the honor and orthodoxy of the Church, with a devotion that knew no doubts, and a zeal which overlooked all difficulties. The maintenance of the Faith was as essentially associated in the minds of all men with the imperial dignity, as the iron crown of the Lombards or the coronation robe of Charlemagne. Yet, when his interests required it, the Catholic King was unable to distinguish heretics from Catholics, though they sprang up like tares among the wheat, in every corner of his Flemish dominions. More zealous and devout than either, with something of English earnestness and sincerity, and something perhaps of the narrow and impetuous energy of English prejudice, Henry signalized his attachment to the Faith by drawing his pen in its defence. If his arguments were mean, his Latin was kinglike. It was so far above the level of royal Latinity, that people gave out—(I shall have to consider with what degree of justice)—that whilst the King furnished the arguments, Fisher and Pace supplied or furbished up the Latin. Whatever honors, as conquerors or crusaders, the kings of England might have achieved, they had never attained the proud eminence of being styled “Most Christian” or “Most Catholic.” They had never yet attained the standard of zeal and ability in defence of the Faith, when Popes and Cardinals could acknowledge their services, and reward them with corresponding distinc-

tion and gratitude. That achievement was reserved for Henry VIII. Of his own spontaneous and mere motion, unsolicited by popes or nuncios, he overwhelmed the new Titan of heresy; buried him under a mountain of royal theology and invective, never to rise again;—so at least popes and bishops assured him, and he was willing to believe. The joy of Leo was unbounded; for he was at that time in hope (vain hope!) of recruiting an exhausted exchequer by a new loan from England. Latin dictionaries, Ciceronian vocabularies, styles and titles, were diligently examined; various epithets proposed and rejected. After months spent in deliberation, Henry, the new candidate for spiritual honors, was admitted into the narrow and exclusive orbit of the Church's patrons. "Defender of the Faith" was nearly as superlative, if not quite, as "Catholic" and "Most Christian," and was regarded with jealousy by the monopolists and admirers of the earlier distinctions.

To an inexperienced eye, judging by the extent of his dominions, Charles would have appeared the most powerful and the most considerable monarch in Christendom. At the death of Maximilian he held the Low Countries, Burgundy, Naples, Sardinia, and the archduchy of Austria. By the discoveries of Columbus and of others, the New World was now pouring into his lap, as king of Spain, its unsunned and exhaustless treasures. One sister was married to the king of Hungary, another to the king of Portugal, and a third to the king of Denmark. To his enormous possessions he was soon to annex the Crown of the Empire. But overgrown empires, like overgrown men, more for show than for use, are not easily moved; and by a kindly law of nature the mischief they are most capable of doing is counteracted by their habitual inertness, not to say insensibility. The cataracts and earthquakes of the world are not half so

dangerous as the dripping water, the narrow crevice, or the sightless Lilliputian of the coral reef. So, with all his diffident, sinewless, and ill-jointed dominions, Charles was more formidable in appearance than reality. National jealousies prevented unity of action. Favors shown to Flanders were resented by Spain; residence in one part of his dominions was a signal for mutiny and discontent in another. Had he attempted in his youth to have made all the clocks of the 16th century strike in unison he would not have found it a more difficult task than to insure harmonious co-operation between Spaniard, German, Fleming, and Italian. So the restless activity of Francis I., backed by his compact dominions, was always a match for Charles;—would have been more than a match, had Francis not despised his sallow, gouty and phlegmatic rival,—slow as fate, but like fate pertinacious. With territory less extensive, the king of England possessed more available treasures than either of his rivals. For years the precious metals had flowed into our shores in a steady current, which had never ebbed. As no plate or coin was permitted to pass the English ports,—as the industry and frugality of the people had always been unintermittent,—as they had for centuries escaped the storm of foreign invasion,—money and money's worth were abundant. Then, as now, foreigners regarded with envy and amazement the well stored goldsmiths' and jewellers' shops in the city of London; then, as now, if foreign states wanted a loan, their eyes were turned towards England. Lanceknights, men at arms, Swiss volunteers, Flemish and German artillerymen, the most experienced freebooters and captain adventurers, rose to the sight of English gold. “Only *promise* to pay,” said the Italian or Almain banker to the English agent; and his promise was better than the bond of an Emperor.

When Maximilian died, and open competition for the

imperial crown was no longer restrained by affectation of reserve, "the attention of all Europe," in the words of a modern historian, was fixed upon the contest. In the grand indefiniteness of the phrase we are apt to lose sight of the special significance of the fact. All Europe proceeded not merely to fix its attention, but if possible to fill its pockets and reap its advantage from the coming struggle. Happily, by the late alliance between France and England, no war was then on foot to gratify the cupidity of those roving adventurers, who, in their thirst for plunder, sold their blood for drachmas, and hacked out a precarious subsistence by the sword. Swiss and lanceknight, hunger-starved for some new scene of action, turned their eyes and their footsteps to Germany. For these soldiers of fortune the imperial election was a Camacho's wedding, where money and provisions abounded, and claims for service were not too narrowly scrutinised. Thither flocked the maimed, the halt, and the blind,—in character, conduct, and principles. Itinerant chieftains like Sickingen, commanding a handful of resolute and not over-scrupulous followers,—undaunted negociators not too delicate or too squeamish,—thriftless patriots eager for the freedom and independence of election,—there found what they never would have found in purer and more peaceable times,—corruption and employment. Impartial in their favors, the electors took bribes from both candidates, made the same promises to both, and broke them to both with magnanimous indifference. To secure them the unbiassed exercise of their important functions, Charles had raised a considerable body of Swabians. He had contrived to detach Sickingen from the service of his rival by a pension of 3,000 florins. With six hundred cavaliers in the pay of the King Catholic, this daring adventurer advanced towards Wurtemberg, and, uniting his forces with the League, was

ready at any moment, if need were, to secure the impartiality of the distressed electors by falling sword in hand on the partizans of the French monarch. The approaches leading to Frankfort were crowded with expectant couriers, anxious canvassers, disinterested soldiers. Troops of rival negociators, followed by brilliant escorts, hurried to and fro; trains of sumpter mules, laden with coin stuffed in their pack-saddles, plunged and struggled along the dusty roads. Supple agents, with obsequious looks, haunted the chambers, mounted the barges, and watched the countenances of the electors. Retailers of small gossip found a ready welcome, and reaped a rich harvest from the idle credulity of their listeners. Charles and Francis were alike determined to obtain possession of the imperial crown; both had resolved to spare no cost in securing their object. Never had there been so much animation in Germany.

As a consequence of this obstinate competition, the cost of the imperial crown rose in the market. The archbishop of Mayence, formerly content with 52,000 florins and a few trifles in addition, now demanded 120,000. The elector of Brandenburg, "the father of all "greediness," as the Austrians called him, would accept nothing less than 100,000 gold crowns, with the hand of the infanta Katharine, 30,000 crowns for his vote, "and "a good round sum besides."* The archbishop of Cologne and the count Palatine followed in the steps of the archbishop of Mayence. The projects of Maximilian were scattered to the winds. The stipulations he had exacted were disregarded. The Electors pretended that they were absolved from their promises by the death of the Emperor. It was requisite to commence *de novo*.

* De Berghes to Margaret, 16 Feb., in Le Glay.

Francis I., as I have said, determined to spare no efforts to win over the electors. He told Sir Thomas Boleyn, the English ambassador, that his realm was worth six millions yearly, "and he would spend three millions of gold but he would be Emperor."* More prudent and old-fashioned than his master, the president Guillart appealed to that chivalrous sense of magnanimity which, notwithstanding his numerous failings, still lurked in the breast of the French monarch. It would be his glory and honor, he told the King, to abstain from force or bribery in gaining the empire: it was more noble to rely on the brilliant attractions of his power and the merits of his person. "If," replied Francis, "I had to deal only with the virtuous, or with those who even pretended to a shadow of virtue, your advice would be expedient and honest; but in times like the present, whatever a man sets his heart upon, be it the papacy, be it the empire, or anything else, he has no means of obtaining his object, except by force or corruption. The men with whom I have to deal don't mince mouths in this matter. Long since, had Maximilian been alive, the money demanded for the bargain would have been ready for delivery at all the banks of Germany."†

Fully alive to the sentiments of their master, and armed with plenary authority, the agents of Francis spared no expense, no promises, no labor, in accomplishing his wishes. The electors were to be gained at any cost. Four of the number listened readily to his flattering proposals, offering to abandon their previous engagements, and pledge their votes and interest to France.

* 28 Feb.; no. 100.

† Quoted by Mignet from the original despatch, 7 Feb., *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1854, p. 234.

The hand of the princess *Rénée*, a dowry of 200,000 crowns and an annuity of 12,000 florins, secured the elector of Brandenburg. More moderate than his brother, the archbishop of Mayence was content with 120,000 florins, payable in two moieties the same year, the erection of a church at Halle, a perpetual legateship, and the effectual support of the future Emperor in all his claims and privileges. Soft and irresolute, the elector of Cologne was open to terms, but would make no promises. The count Palatine avowedly reserved himself for the highest bidder. Francis was not so far from the attainment of his hopes as his opponents wished to have it believed.

The agents of Charles began to despair. The Spaniards were as slow as the French were energetic. Would it not be better, they said, for the King Catholic to end the dispute by waiving his claim in favor of his brother Ferdinand? Charles never hesitated for a moment: his pride was touched by this allusion to his brother; no stronger incentive, perhaps, could have been suggested for rousing him to unusual energy. He replied with dignity, and with some animation, that such a course would be ruinous to his brother's interests and his own. It would, he said, dismember the countries and seignories of Austria, sow disunion between them, sever into its component elements the mighty trunk of that power which both of them had derived from their ancestors. Their union, like arrows in the quiver, was their strength; disunited, the shafts would be broken, and their combined authority destroyed.

Fortunately for Charles, he possessed two active and subtle negociators, whom no difficulties could daunt, no repulses dismay,—De Berghes and Armestorff. "If," said the former to lady Margaret, "I and Renner had served God as we have served the King, we might

“ have hoped for a good place in Paradise.” De Berghes was indefatigable;—nothing escaped him, no disappointments soured him. He saw it was not the time to be scrupulous, letting I dare not wait upon I would. “ If something be not done, and done speedily,” he writes on one occasion to lady Margaret, “ this Bastard of Savoy —(an agent for Francis)—will come down upon us “ with a full purse and a pompous train, and, preaching “ up the faith of Antichrist, will turn away many from “ the orthodox to the French creed. The plague of “ avarice is as dominant here as elsewhere.” A week after he hints to her that if a thousand horse were sent to the League, it would prove a great security to the electors on the Rhine, who were desirous of knowing what aid they should have if they were attacked by Francis. The danger was little else than imaginary; not so the effect of such a demonstration on the minds of the electors. “ If,” he adds, “ the king of France should resort to “ violence, Charles could make use of the League to “ further his election, *bon gré, mal gré*, as has been done “ on other occasions.” With a keen perception of the decorous conventionalities to be observed in these delicate negotiations, and as bold a determination to violate them if necessary, De Berghes informed her: “ Those “ who are sent to the electors, especially to the church- “ men, must on no account insist on the bonds and pro- “ mises given by them to the late Emperor. These birds “ are not to be caught in that fashion; for the election “ is free. On the contrary, they must say that they “ trust that messieurs the electors will bear in mind “ the arrangements made at the last diet by the Em- “ peror, and continue their good wishes to the King “ Catholic, who will in no wise fail to keep his word.”— “ But on no account must any attempt be made to “ obtain written pledges from the electors; for they wish

“ to have it publicly believed that they are wholly unfettered in their choice.” It may be doubted whether four centuries of hard practice in electioneering have much improved on the principles or procedure of De Berghes in this respect. “ Money (he says) must be had from the Welzers (the Rothschilds of the Middle Ages); hard cash in gold at the diet.” “ In this affair of the empire we must not haggle at any fixed sums. Fresh disbursements of money will constantly be required, as these devils of Frenchmen scatter gold in all directions.”*

On the other side Armestorff was not less dexterous and assiduous than De Berghes. The hinge of the negotiation evidently turned on the archbishop of Mayence;—if he could be secured, the elector of Cologne would offer no obstacle. “ If we can get these three,” wrote Armestorff to Charles, “ (Mayence, Cologne and Palatine,) in good trim, the fourth (the marquis of Brandenburg) will not abandon them, for fear of forfeiting his share of the spoils.” So night and day he set all his faculties to work to gain the archbishop of Mayence; as if, to use his own expression, “ the salvation of his soul depended upon it.” On the 27th of February he arrived at Mayence.

But the Archbishop—Luther’s primate, it will be remembered—was not easily gained. He knew his own value; he knew also that he could dictate his own terms to France, however exorbitant. It was in vain that Armestorff besought him to renew his ancient engage-

* We learn from the same agent that the duke of Saxony was resolved to oppose Francis to the utmost, because he had promised in case of success to make the marquis of Brandenburg his lieutenant, and the two electors were opposed to each other. “ No one,” says De Berghes, “ will have Joachim king of the Romans; for he is an intemperate man, with whom no one likes to have any dealings.”

ments made with Maximilian; the Elector replied that, as the requisite stipulations had not been observed by Maximilian, these obligations had ceased to be binding. To every offer from Armestorff he turned a deaf ear; he undervalued the power and popularity of Charles. His efforts to obtain the imperial crown, he asserted, would be fruitless.

Undaunted by this frigid reception, and the ill success of his mission, Armestorff begged permission to speak unreservedly.* "I see," he said to the Archbishop, "that our opponents have made you more advantageous offers than we have done, and for that reason you wish to break your engagements. Such a course will entail infamy on you and your brother, and inflict irreparable injury on the empire and the whole Germanic nation." The Archbishop coldly admitted that he had received much more tempting offers from the other side, and made no scruple of avowing his intention to be sure of his bargain before he gave his vote. The choice of the Emperor rested, he said, exclusively with himself; for his colleagues would adopt his counsels, and follow his example. If Charles wished to succeed, he must add 100,000 florins to those already promised,† or take the consequences if he refused.

Armestorff started with astonishment at the enormity of this new demand. In a fit of resentment, real or affected, he flung himself out of the chamber. The Elector and his brother, he exclaimed, were binding a rod for their own backs, and the vengeance of Heaven would overtake them. His remonstrance was not without effect. Though fond of money, like most of his German contemporaries, and unwilling to let so excellent an opportunity escape him, the Archbishop considered

* Mignet, *at supra*, p. 241.

† That is, 152,000 florins of gold in all.

that a smaller sum, with Charles for his sovereign, was a safer and more eligible investment than a larger sum from Francis, coupled with the indignation of his countrymen. Next morning, sending his valet de chambre to Armestorff, he offered to abate his demand, first to 80,000, and, when that was refused, to 60,000, and finally to 50,000 florins. Armestorff replied, he had no power to accept the offer, but he would write to his master for further instructions. The Archbishop, however, declined to wait; the rest of the electors, he said, as well as himself, were determined to come at once to a final decision, and he did not intend to fall between two stools. Driven to bay, Armestorff ventured to exceed his authority; he promised the Archbishop an augmentation of the original bargain, provided that he would keep the negotiation secret, and induce the other electors to adhere to their original arrangements. After an obstinate debate of three days this additional *douceur* was settled at 20,000 florins.

The Archbishop had, probably from the first, contemplated a great reduction in his original demand. For whatever might have been his personal wishes, or however for the sake of his own interests he might intrigue with France, he must have been convinced that the people of Germany would never consent to accept Francis for their Emperor. "It was declared here" (that is, by the Spaniards at Cologne), says Pace,* "that as far as the sun doth exceed all other stars in glory, so far their king (Charles) doth excel all other princes; and for that cause he was meet to be Emperor." To which, "answer was made here, that the sun was not always above the earth, but below it." "The electors," he adds, "are in great perplexity; for this nation will

* No. 274.

“ have no French Emperor.” In fact, had the election been declared in favour of the French monarch, it is probable that the Swiss, the Swabian League, and a large portion of the population would have been prepared to decide the question by arms, in a manner more agreeable to their own views and wishes.*

When the Archbishop had thus eased his breast, he was not merely as good as his word; he was far better. He unlocked his cabinet; he showed Armestorff all the letters he had received from the opposite party, and the advantageous offers contained in them. In the excess of his candor, he discovered to the imperial agent the practices of Francis with the other electors, of which he was the prime confidant and depository. As if this exhibition of good will had not been sufficient, with the zeal and ardor of a new convert he employed his most urgent endeavors to bring over the elector of Brandenburg to his own views. He besought him to consider the danger and disgrace they should both incur if they suffered the imperial crown to fall into the hands of an alien. He pretended the most disinterested motives for his late conversion, resolved that no other elector should reap the same benefit as himself of a private arrangement. But, in his efforts to convert the

* See 213, 258. Fleuranges, who had been sent by Francis to manage the election, attributes his ill success to the failure of Francis I. in securing the Swabian League. He states that the band, consisting of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse, was posted only three or four leagues distant from Frankfort at the time of the election; and its proximity had such an effect on the Count Palatine that, contrary to his promise and intention, he gave his vote to Charles (Ch. 66). All who know anything of the resolute daring and recklessness of Francis of Sickingen, who commanded the band, will not think this statement likely to be overcharged.

On the 27th March, Julius card. de Medici writes to card. Bibiena, that Francesco Secchino (Sickingen) had made an offer to the Emperor “to do whatever his Majesty should command him in Germany.”—*Lett. di Principi*, i. 66.

marquis of Brandenburg, he was in danger of being reconverted himself to the cause he had so recently abandoned. The Marquis refused to entertain the Archbishop's notions of devotion to German interests; he had pledged himself, he said, to Francis, and could not in honor recede. When Armestorff returned to Mayence at the end of March, for a final ratification of their arrangement, he found the fickle Archbishop half-inclined to abandon it.* Once again he had the same difficulties to surmount, the same demands to combat. In the end the Archbishop was a considerable gainer. "I have no faith in that archbishop of Mayence," said Louise of Savoy to Boleyn, the English ambassador; and most men will agree in her estimate of his consistency.

In the midst of these intrigues a new competitor appeared upon the stage in the person of Henry VIII: But for the evidence furnished by the letters and instructions of Pace, who was employed on this occasion, it would have seemed incredible that Henry VIII. could have ever seriously entertained a design so chimerical and so impolitic; still less that all his actions in relation to it should have been characterized with unusual feebleness, delay and vacillation. The news of Maximilian's death was known in England a month after. As early as the 9th of February,† Boleyn, then in France, wrote to the King of the intention of Francis to become a competitor for the imperial crown. "He bade me," says Boleyn, "lean out at the window with him, and he would tell me what he had done in it, and his whole mind." Francis then proceeded to inform the ambassador that he had received invitations from several electors; had been promised the votes of four of them, and was overjoyed at the aid offered him by England,

* See Le Glay, ii. 376.

† No. 70.

especially as his brother, the king of England, was not inclined to enter the lists. Again, in that month, and in the next, Charles had earnestly requested the King's interposition with the Pope, who was supposed to encourage the interests of the French king. Yet it was not until the second week in May, when the election was already virtually decided, that Pace was dispatched into Germany to advance the pretensions of his royal master. Was it from hesitation, divided counsels, or ill advice that Henry adopted a line of conduct so foreign to his character, so unlike the resolution of his great minister?

It will be remembered that, on various occasions mentioned in the last volume, Maximilian had offered to secure the imperial crown for the king of England. Keen observers like Tunstal, regarding his offer at its true worth, denounced it as chimerical; even supposing that Maximilian had influence sufficient to fulfil his promise, they insisted on its impolicy and imprudence. In this, as in most other political questions, Tunstal echoed the sentiments of Wolsey. But to the King the project did not appear so wild or so undesirable as their cooler heads would have wished or imagined. Nor is it surprising that Henry, in the vigor of his youth and the pride of his power, should have been fired with the ambition of attaining "the monarchy of Christendom." The Papacy excepted, the empire was the highest honor to which any potentate could aspire. Though little better than an empty title,—though scarcely more than the shadow of a great name, destined speedily to become more visionary than ever,—its ancient traditions made a deep impression on the romantic heart of the Middle Ages.* Its half sacred, half secular dignity, shrouded by a mysterious and unsubstantial grandeur;

* See Macchiavelli's keen remarks. *De Repub.* ii. 19.

its position as the military headship and supremacy of Christendom ; its imperial bishops and regal princes ; its sacred knights and Teutonic brotherhoods ; its haunted forests and weird mountains ; had all combined to captivate the imaginations of men.* Hoary with the frost of ages, it towered in gigantic proportions above all the monarchies of the world, and its head was lost among the clouds of Heaven. Nor can it be doubted that Pace himself, who had frequently visited Italy and Germany, and knew both countries well, had fostered these feelings in the mind of the King, with whom he had now grown a favorite. Wolsey, suffering from dysentery, was often absent. Pace, the King's secretary, always at court, a pleasant and versatile companion, —a wit, a scholar, a traveller of no small observation and experience,—was acquainted with all the distinguished men and potentates of the time, and had visited every scene of the drama on which the attention of the world was just then fixed. By the brilliancy and charms of his conversation—qualities reflected in his correspondence—he had made his society agreeable to More and Erasmus. He was, besides, a man “of the new learning;” not so strict or so rigid as the grey-headed ecclesiastics whose rank or office held them about the court. Was it surprising that he should have risen rapidly into favor, that he should have been suspected, though unjustly, of treading too closely on the heels of the great minister?

If it were so, it was not the only time in which Pace appears to have countenanced the King's wishes, in oppo-

* Thus even Chaucer makes his knight ride for his lord's wars into Lithuania and Prussia:—

“ Full ofte tyme he had the board begun
Aboven alle nations in Pruce.
In Lettowe had he reyce and in Ruce,
No Christen man so oft of his degree.”—*Prol. to Cant. Tales.*

sition to the judgment of Wolsey. But, whatever that judgment might be, the King's wishes must be obeyed. At that time Campeggio the Legate, supposed to be intimately acquainted with the Pope's sentiments, was residing in England. To discover the Pope's sentiments, to secure if possible his co-operation, was indispensable to success. He was supposed to be unfavorable to the pretensions of Charles, had even instructed his nuncio in Germany to oppose his election as illegal and uncanonical.* He might be secretly inclined to Francis, but he had been heard to declare that it was not desirable for the good of Christendom that either of these princes should succeed. †

A letter addressed by Wolsey to the bishop of Worcester, the King's ambassador in Rome, preserved in the Vatican, and published by Martene, ‡ throws some light on this obscure transaction. It appears that already some secret communication of the King's wishes in regard to the imperial election had been made to the Pope by cardinal Campeggio. What was the exact nature of that communication, or how it came to the ears of Worcester, we are left to guess. As it did not suit Wolsey's purpose to assume that his correspondent was wholly unacquainted with what had passed, or reveal too much, his expressions are studiously ambiguous. He tells Worcester that, in consequence of the new alliance between France and England, neither he nor the King thought it safe to communicate their wishes to his Holiness until they had first clearly ascertained his inclinations. It had been given out that Leo favored the French; and the rumor had been amply confirmed by the conduct of the

* See 187, 192, 195, 255. When he found opposition useless, Leo altered his sentiments.

† Charles to Henry, 20 April 1519.

‡ No. 137, compare 149.

papal nuncio in Germany. "Until we had discovered," continues Wolsey, "to which of the two candidates his Holiness inclined, we could trust no letter and no messenger; for if it so happened that the Pope favored the king of the French, our designs would have been betrayed, and occasion might have arisen for impairing the present peace between the two kingdoms, to the grievous injury of Christendom." Now, he adds, as the Pope and the King are of one mind touching this election, they can open their minds more freely, and the negociation will be carried on in the usual channel.*

He then proceeds to point out to Worcester the dangers that would arise if Francis should succeed in his pretensions. Not content with his own dominions, he would, argues Wolsey, aspire to the monarchy of the world, and trample the Papacy under foot. The danger would scarcely be less if Charles became Emperor, for his vast powers and overgrown possessions would occasion many troubles in Christendom. Therefore he advises the Pope to keep an even hand between the two competitors; and if, as probably would be the case, either demanded of him letters in their favor, which could not be refused, he should have recourse to dissimulation, and let it be known among all people that his recommendations were merely formal, Charles being out of the way. If the king of France could be persuaded to desist from his pretensions, England and the Pope might then combine and fix upon some third person equally agreeable to all parties. In making these suggestions Worcester was instructed to watch narrowly the Pope's countenance, to

* The language of Wolsey is noticeable. Of the imperial dignity he says: "*Imperii dignitas, cujus comparatione aliæ omnes sunt prope modum nullæ.*" But he was speaking apparently the King's sentiments throughout the letter.

weigh his answers, and discover, if possible, his real inclinations.

Up to this point, Wolsey had breathed no hint of this third unexceptionable candidate. It was dangerous ground, and demanded careful and cautious handling. Then, as if the suggestion had proceeded from another, and not from himself, he continues: "My most reverend
" lord Campeggio has submitted to me, that possibly
" our most serene lord the King might not be disin-
" clined to see some regard had to his own elevation
" (*honoris*). He thinks some means might be devised,
" by which both the king of the French and his Catholic
" Majesty might be prevented from obtaining the elec-
" tion. I can draw only one meaning from these words
" of his. I suppose the Legate thinks that the elec-
" tion might possibly be secured in favor of our King.
" If then, you wish to do a service agreeable to his
" most serene Majesty and to me, you will take occa-
" sion to broach this matter to his Holiness, but in
" such a way as if you were entirely ignorant of our
" wishes. When you have more clearly discovered the
" intentions of his Holiness, if you find any firm foun-
" dation to go upon, it will not be inappropriate in you
" to remark, that you think it would be highly condu-
" cive to the interests of Christendom and of the Holy
" See, if his Majesty could be prevailed upon to under-
" take so responsible a dignity, for all the King's
" endeavors would be concentrated on universal tran-
" quillity and the good of mankind. But you must
" say, it is much to be feared that his foresaid Ma-
" jesty will in no wise be prevailed upon to meddle in
" this affair, seeing that he absolutely refused the im-
" perial crown when it was formerly offered him by
" Maximilian. You may then suggest, that possibly, if

“ his Holiness would write to me (Wolsey) very earnestly about the matter, I might, without any great labor, exhort and encourage the King to consent to his election, purely out of his desire to promote the welfare of others. In handling this matter, marvellous dexterity and skill will be required. Therefore, I beg your reverend Lordship will give your best attention to what I have said, and send me an explicit answer to every point.”

The letter is dated 25th March. Before any answer could arrive, a communication had been received from Worcester, dated some days after, stating that Francis was straining every nerve to secure the election; that the Pope found it difficult to decide between both candidates, but was strongly urged to support the French king. He adds in a postscript, that letters had just come from Campeggio, long after date, signifying the King's wish that Francis should not be elected, but the Pope thought it too perilous to interfere openly.*

March ended, April passed away, and no answer from the Papal Court. At last about the middle of May a communication was received from Worcester. If he ever followed Wolsey's instructions, the Pope held out no expectations that he would, openly or otherwise, further the project so cautiously suggested by the Cardinal. He affected not to see it, but made a merit of supporting

* No. 149. So much, however, is certain that Leo would have preferred any other candidate than Francis or Charles. What he might openly profess to the ambassadors of either party or their adherents, like the Venetians, must not be taken for his real sentiments. It was for his interest to aggrandize neither Francis nor Charles. If a third power wore the imperial crown it would tend to neutralize their influence, and preserve an equilibrium between the great states of Europe; and by this policy alone could the Papal court hope to preserve its independence.

† No. 277.

the interest of Charles, as if in so doing he had sacrificed his own inclinations out of deference to the King and Wolsey.

Meanwhile, the King and Wolsey had determined to send Pace into Germany, furnished with letters and instructions suitable to the occasion. He was ordered, in the first instance, to discover the temper of the electors, and their various inclinations. Whenever "he speaketh" "with the favorers of the French King," so run his instructions,* "he may use words to show the King's inclination to that party; . . . and in semblable manner he is to use himself to such of the electors as incline to the king of Castile's party; so that the King's highness be not noted to favor or advance the one party more than the other." But on these and all other occasions he is to insinuate objections to the prejudice of both, and find means "by provident and circumspect drifts" to drive the electors to choose Henry, "which is of the Germany tongue," or, failing that, one of themselves, "and not to translate the empire, which has been in Germany seven hundred years, to a strange nation; for if it were eftsoons so translated, it should never return to them again." That the English envoy should be instructed to enlarge on the manifold gifts "of grace, fortune and nature which be in the King," and his fitness for so great a dignity, is no more than we should be prepared to expect; but the other articles of his commission betray either a penuriousness in money matters little to be expected, or a most extraordinary ignorance of the true state of the imperial negotiations. Though his instructions are unfortunately mutilated, enough remains to make it clear

* No. 241.

that he was forbidden to pledge the King's credit without adequate security. Provided the electors would do the King's grace so much pleasure as to prefer him above all other competitors, they should be "rewarded and recompensed for their gratitude," so it exceed not the sum of . . . "But it is the King's pleasure that no communication, writing or instrument whatever shall pass his said ambassador but only conditionally; that is to say, should the King's highness be elected to that dignity, and really attain thereto, then to pay such a sum as shall be agreed betwixt them."*

Had Pace started on his mission three months earlier, had persuasion "sweeter than honey" sate upon his lips, what hopes could he have entertained of gaining over the electors on such conditions? What arguments could counterbalance the solid coin of France or Spain, the plate and tapestry, the golden ducats and substantial advantages with which the two continental monarchs had for many weeks dazed the eyes and enslaved the wills of these guardians of the imperial crown? "The English angels," says Fleuranges, in mockery of Pace's embassy, "could not work greater miracles than the crowns of the sun." But the golden angels to which he refers never impeded their wings, or displayed a feather of their lustrous plumage.

So Pace's mission fared exactly as might have been expected. He was courteously but coldly received. The electors were evidently indifferent to the cause of his master, especially as that cause came recommended with empty hands. Pace flattered the King with hopes of success. He relied on the contradictory rumors sedulously disseminated by interested parties. "No manner

“ of certainty can be gathered out of them after my judgment,” he remarks to Wolsey;* “but he that shall come last, after the great practices passed, shall be in as good and peradventure better case than they that came long afore.” He built his strongest hope on the great delay which some Fleming had assured him must take place before the election was concluded, and was disappointed in both his expectations.

On the 1st of June he obtained an audience with the archbishop of Cologne,† just before the Elector was starting for Frankfort. Between the 1st and 9th he had an interview, at Mayence, with the Cardinal and his brother the marquis of Brandenburg, “ready to go in the morning to Frankfort;” on the 9th, with the archbishop of Treves, who told him that Henry was not excluded from the election, and that the late Emperor had gone about to promote him. This remark gave Pace an opportunity of enlarging upon the King’s qualities, as expressed in his instructions. Though he is reputed “all French,” says Pace,‡ he behaved himself “like a wise and noble man.” The interview finished, in conformity with the ancient rule, Pace, with all other strangers, was ordered to withdraw from Frankfort. Five of the electors had arrived already. The duke of Saxony was expected hourly. He had declined the empire, which he might have had if he would, says Pace; so great was the reputation of “his virtuous and godly living, as of his singular wisdom.” Next day, Pace

* No. 255.

† It is amusing to find that when Pace presented the King’s letter to the Archbishop and elector of Cologne, the Archbishop handed it over to his brother to read, plainly confessing “that he had not greatly exercised the Latin tongue.” No. 283.

‡ No. 297.

wrote again, insisting on the great dissension among the electors: the indignation of the commonalty against the French was incredible; they would spend life and goods, he said, against that King if he were elected. They would have preferred Don Ferdinand to his brother, had their wishes been consulted, because they felt assured of his residing among them. But, less careful of men's opinions, if not more scrupulous, than his rival, Charles had provided against contingencies. An army of 40,000 foot and 6,000 horse by his own and the late Emperor's adherents, in the Rhine Provinces, was ready to march and coerce the refractory electors.* Pace confirms this statement on the 14th, adding that Charles's deputies openly gave out that if they could not gain the election by fair means, they would have it by the sword. The electors protested against this apparent coercion of their freedom, and the army was moved into the duchy of Wurtemberg.† The election approached its termination; the utmost excitement prevailed; the wildest rumors were afloat. Francis promised double as much as any other Christian prince would give for the empire. The agents of Charles, not to be outdone, increased their biddings; hundreds, thousands, of florins yearly to each of the electors, in addition to the pensions already granted, on security of the Spanish ecclesiastics and nobility. "Here is," says Pace, "the most dearest merchandise that ever was sold; and after mine opinion, it shall be the worst that ever was bought, to him that shall obtain it."‡

Yet, in spite of the opinion thus sensibly recorded, even Pace could not resist the general infection. If he

* Pace, 12 June.

† Pace, 22 June.

‡ Besides his other engagements, Charles, according to Pace, spent 1,500,000 fl. on the election. No. 351.

had but come some fifteen days sooner ! If, like the king of Castile, he had brought 420,000 gold florins to Frankfurt, or sufficient security, Wolsey by this time, he says, “ might have sung a *Te Deum laudamus* for the election “ of King Henry VIII. in *imperatorem omnium Christianorum !*” * The King, he goes on to say, will certainly be proposed at the election ; † and the question had been asked him, whether he had authority to accept the empire *eo nomine*. He must have betrayed his excitement, and left himself open to this caustic joke. It is needless to say, that no such intention was ever once entertained by any one of the electors.

The atmosphere was impregnated with trickery, deceit and corruption ; and the most veteran craftsmen in these arts were incessantly employed in pursuing their ignoble vocation. Application had been made by Henry to the Pope to interpose and delay the election. It appears from one of Pace’s letters, written in June, but of which the precise date is uncertain, that his Holiness had consented to the King’s request, ‡ and commanded his nuncio, Carracciolo, to act accordingly. But the nuncio, better informed of the Pope’s wishes, turned a deaf ear to Pace’s entreaties ; §—worse than all, the Pope a few days after, commanded his agent to desist from all further opposition, set on foot a secret negotiation for a good understanding with the Catholic King, || and, instead of interposing delay, as he had promised, hurried on the election. ¶ The electors entered the consistory on the 18th of June. It soon became manifest that the choice would fall on the king of Castile. Sickingen, the most powerful and unscrupu-

* Pace, 20 June.

† Pace, 14 June.

‡ Nos. 308, 353.

§ Pace, 20 June.

|| No. 308.

¶ See Pace, 10th June and 24th June ; and the Pope’s excuses for his conduct, no. 393.

lous of his partizans, established himself with his army at Höchst, a few miles distant from Frankfort, ready to commence operations at the earliest notice. "There," writes Pace on the 24th, "they cry open war against the French king, and say they will have no emperor but king Charles of Spain." The count of Nassau, one of their number, armed with the King's great seal, distributed places and offices broadcast to all whose influence could in any way, direct or indirect, conduce to success. These measures were seconded by threats of personal violence. Bonnivet, the most skilful and active of the French king's agents, was warned to desist from canvassing any longer for his master, on pain of his life.* "The nation is up in arms," says Pace, "and furious to fight for the King Catholic." The day before the count of Nassau had told him he had so much money, and so many men, that no Frenchman should enter the country "but upon spearis and swerdis poyntes."

As the electors had long since made up their minds, delay was useless. The impatience of Charles's partizans, the dread of the plague,† now beginning to make its appearance at Frankfort, personal considerations of various kinds, induced the electors gladly to lay hold of the pretext furnished them by the Pope, and resolve on an immediate decision. To preserve the forms, though the essentials had disappeared, the two sovereigns were solemnly put in nomination. Their respective claims were urged with all the eloquence of their respective representatives; those of Charles by the archbishop of Mayence, those of Francis by the archbishop of Treves. To create a diversion in the ranks of the

* See Mignet, *ut supra*, p. 260.

† No. 351.

imperialists, Frederick the elector of Saxony was put forward. He may have declined the honor from patriotic feelings, but any man of ordinary sense and virtue would have hesitated to accept a position he could not hope to maintain without drawing down upon himself the hostility of the three greatest powers of Christendom. The Duke rose to decline the honor. He proffered his vote in favor of Charles, and the great event was over.

However Pace or even Wolsey might have flattered themselves that their recent negotiations in Germany had been veiled in impenetrable secrecy, they had not escaped the keen and vigilant eye of Francis I. It is evident, from the hints dropped by that King and his mother, that both were perfectly well acquainted with the intrigues set on foot at the English court to impede his election.* Had Francis succeeded, he would

* Of course, Francis had been kept perfectly well informed of all that was going on by the admiral Bonnivet; and Bonnivet himself had come to the knowledge of Pace's most secret communications with the electors by an act of treachery common enough in electioneering proceedings. At Pace's interview with the marquis of Brandenburg in the town of Mayence, of which an account is given in no. 296 of this volume, Bonnivet was secreted behind the arras. Months after, when the two nations were linked ostensibly in the most friendly ties, Bonnivet told Sir Thomas Boleyn, with affected concern, "that when
" Master Pace went ambassador to Almayn, he (Bonnivet) was with the
" marquis of Brandenburg in the town of Mayence, in the said Mar-
" quis's lodgings, against the great church of our Lady, where he was
" behind the tapestry; and there, he saith, he heard Master Pace, in his
" oration that he made unto the said Marquis, observe that none might be
" accepted to the dignity imperial, that was not of the nation or tongue
" Germanic, but rather to be preferred one of their own princes of
" Almayn. And, finally, he heard him speak for the advancement of
" the King Catholic, which he thought strange; and further said that,
" forasmuch as he made this request, which he heard, to the marquis of
" Brandenburg, he is sure that he made semblable to all other of the
" electors." Such conduct was marked with more than usual ill faith; as

undoubtedly have shown his resentment. But the friendship of England had now become more indispensable to him than ever. His reckless extravagance had rendered him very unpopular. The expenses incurred in his late canvass had exhausted his treasury. He was compelled to resort to unusual imposts. On that head the evidence of the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, who was just then returning from his mission to England, is unimpeachable. He states that the French King and his mother Louise were more unpopular all over France than words could express;* that whilst his subjects were suffering under these oppressions, Louise was accused of hoarding money to aid her son on any sudden emergency. Stern punishment followed, though it could not stifle the murmurs of discontent, or the accents of fear goaded into frenzy. The people, says a French correspondent,† are much enraged at the King's exactions; of those who remonstrated he has whipped one, and put to death two. The royal demesnes were heavily mortgaged, the church plate pillaged, the nobility and gentry crushed by loans and benevolences. From the success of Charles, Francis had reason to anticipate that all the disputes in Italy, Navarre and elsewhere would be settled in favor of the Emperor; the Pope, would side with the strongest; except for the friendship of England, the whole of Europe would be confederated against him.

To the Venetian, Giustinian, he did not scruple to betray his real feelings towards Henry and his minister. Inquiring one day of the ambassador "what sort of a

not only had La Batye been told that England had promised to aid the cause of Francis, but Sir Thos. Boleyn had been instructed to assure the King that his master had labored to procure his election until his cause was hopeless! See nos. 416 and 530.

* See p. 144, *note*.

† No. 404.

“ statesman king Henry made, Giustinian endeavored
 “ to evade the question ; for (he says), *to bestow*
 “ *praise on that score is impossible*, whilst to censure
 “ appeared to him unbecoming. After a while, his Ma-
 “ jesty still pressing him repeatedly on the subject, he
 “ replied that king Henry devoted himself to pleasure
 “ and solace, and left the cares of state to the Cardinal.
 “ ‘ By my faith,’ rejoined Francis, ‘ the Cardinal must
 “ ‘ bear him little good will ; for it is not the office of a
 “ ‘ good servant to filch his master’s honor.’ ”*

But to Boleyn, the English ambassador at his court, his language, dictated by policy or suggested by his necessities, wore a different aspect. If Wolsey would aspire to the popedom, Francis would secure it for him on the first opportunity. He commanded, he said, the voices of fourteen cardinals, and of the whole Orsini faction at Rome. Let but the king of England and himself remain at one, and they would make popes and emperors at their pleasure.† His ministers re-echoed the same sentiments. It had never been seen or heard “ that one man, being a cardinal, had so great esteem, “ trust, and reputation ” with both kings, of France and England, as fell to the fortune of Wolsey.‡ And though, after the untoward event of the election, these flattering expressions of regard were not quite so numerous or so cordial as before, Francis continued from time to time to assure the Cardinal of his undiminished confidence, and the sense he entertained of Wolsey’s services.§

Nor, on the other hand, could England very well afford, at this delicate conjuncture, to neglect an ally with whom it was so recently connected by the strictest ties of amity. The marriage contract between Mary and

* Giustinian’s Despatches, II. p. 318.

† No. 122.

‡ No. 131.

§ Nos. 535, 545, 397, 452, 606.

the Dauphin still continued intact. As an earnest of their indissoluble union, Henry, in the person of Boleyn, had stood sponsor to the second son of Francis I., called after his royal godfather.* From the spring of the year to its close, a succession of proposals and negotiations for a personal interview had passed on both sides; as early as the month of March, a list of persons appointed to attend the king of England at the interview had been submitted to the king of France.† When the season was so far advanced that it became necessary to defer the arrangements for the present, Boleyn informed Francis that his master had resolved to wear his beard until their meeting, as a proof of his unabated desire for the interview. “And I,” said Francis, laying his hand upon his beard, in recognition of this token of affection, “protest I will never put off mine until I “ have seen the king of England.‡” After such repeated

* June 5th, 1519. See nos. 289, 306.

† See nos. 118, 122, 131, 416, 488, 514, 530.

‡ No. 416. Beards were apparently portentous. But in matters of the beard, Henry, alas! was as faithless in that as he had been in the more important matter of the election; and his faithlessness was again betrayed. When Montpesat, one of the French hostages for Tournay, was allowed to return from England to his own country, he seems, among other disjointed chat, to have informed Louise, the queen mother, that Henry had infringed his vow. Louise deemed it of so much importance as to communicate the fact to Boleyn. She told me, says Boleyn, that Montpesat had informed her “how the King my “ master had put off his beard, and axed me if I knew not of it. I said “ that Montpesat had been with me at my lodging, and told me likewise; “ and [1] further said that, as I supposed, it hath been by the Queen’s “ desire; for I told my Lady, that I have here-afore time known, when “ the King’s grace hath worn long his beard, that the Queen hath “ daily made him great instance, and desired him to put it off for her “ sake.” Whether Katharine’s Spanish gravity was affected by the beard, I know not. The apology was creditable to Boleyn’s powers of invention. The excuse was satisfactory, or passed for such; as, on further assuring Louise that Henry “had greater affection for her son than for any king “ living, she was well appeased, observing that their love was not in “ their beards, but in their hearts.” No. 514.

demonstrations of unalterable attachment, any sudden rupture was out of the question. In the opinion of Christendom, it would have brought down on the head of its author indelible disgrace; an opinion not to be hastily or harmlessly defied. It would have softened the mutual antagonism of Francis and the Emperor, and defeated the objects of Wolsey's policy.

For, notwithstanding the rivalry between the two continental monarchs, it was by no means certain that they might not consent to arrange their differences, and coalesce for their mutual interests. Of the real disposition of Charles little was known at that time in England, and that little did not warrant Wolsey in supposing that he would set any great value on an English alliance. Influenced wholly by his Flemish minister, Chièvres, who was by extraction a Frenchman, and warmly devoted to French interests, what reason could there be for anticipating that a prince so cold and taciturn would break through the traditional policy he had hitherto consistently maintained? In passing from one of his dominions to another by sea, Charles might occasionally find it advantageous to enter an English harbour; beyond this,—an advantage not needed if he were on friendly terms with France,—it was hard to discover what temptation the friendship of England could offer him.

So the two powers continued to maintain outwardly the most friendly relations, as if nothing had occurred to interrupt their cordiality. Henry, at least if Wolsey may be considered as an adequate exponent of the King's sentiments, still professed to feel the deepest interest in the welfare of his French ally; he volunteered the most disinterested advice, not always indifferent whether Francis followed or refused it. On the other side

Francis and his ministers, with the most candid desire of removing all causes of suspicion and misunderstanding between the two crowns, did not fail to call the attention of Wolsey and his master to every instance of bad faith, real or supposed, into which their double policy was sometimes liable to betray them. To make his own king the mediator of Europe,—more than Emperor in reality, as himself was more than Pope,—to continue friends with the two great rival powers without offending either,—to keep both asunder by filling their heads with mutual suspicions,—this was the chief object of Wolsey's policy. It required considerably ^{of} dexterity, to give it no worse name. How it was pursued, and how it succeeded, I have now to consider.*

Negotiations for a personal interview between the kings of France and England, so often proposed, discussed, postponed, in 1519,† were resumed in 1520 with more apparent earnestness than before. The state of queen Claude's health, who was expecting her delivery at the end of July, made it desirable that the meeting should take place as early as April or May.‡ Alarmed also at the news of the growing intimacy between Henry and the new Emperor, who was now seeking the friendship of England, Francis was anxious to hurry on the interview.

As both kings had consented to appoint Wolsey for their

* It is worth observing how little regard was paid to the Pope by any of the three powers during these negotiations, which affected the whole of Christendom. Though one of the great contracting powers whose consent was indispensable, his Holiness was treated with little ceremony, except when it suited the purposes of any of the three to delay proceedings by professing more than usual anxiety for the advice and sanction of the head of the Church. Leo X. made frequent complaints of this treatment but without avail. See p. 230 and no. 720.

† See particularly nos. 118, 122, 131, 170, 246, 397, 415, 416.

‡ No. 549.

proctor, the arrangements were pushed forward with his usual vigor. Precedents of chivalry were diligently scanned,—lists determined,—names put in and out,—all the interminable minutiae incidental to such an occasion duly sifted, discussed, arranged and rearranged. Christendom on both sides of the Channel was plunged up to the ears in the entrancing study of pageants and ceremonials. The orthodox arrangement of shields and banners, the places of the combatants, their entry and their exit from the lists, the arming and barbing of their horses, the dimension and weight of their swords, lances, and battle-axes, vexed the brains and contracted the brows of grey-haired veterans. Ancient knights, who had fought and flourished in the brilliant days of Edward IV., deeply read in Mallory's translation of the *Gests of Arthur*, or the pages of Froissart, resumed their former importance. The greatness of the event appeared to demand new agents. Sir Richard Wingfield was appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Boleyn at the court of Francis, with instructions to make himself agreeable to all parties. Sir Thomas was uncourtly, plodding, business-like, and niggardly; Sir Richard, free, open and liberal. Though not so chivalrous or enthusiastic as his brother Sir Robert, he was a Wingfield, and his name was a passport to favor.

The instructions carried by the new envoy* were marked by a warmth and cordiality of expression singularly at variance with the lukewarmness hitherto shown by the English monarch in all his negotiations with his royal brother. Sir Richard was to express, in the first instance, the extreme desire felt by his master "to hear continually" of the prosperity of his ally.

* No. 629.

Sensible as the king of England was of the services rendered him by Sir Thomas Boleyn, yet—so Wingfield was instructed to say—in consideration of their ancient amity, his love could not be satisfied without sending “one of his trusty and near familiars, to the intent that by renovelling of ambassadors new testimonies might be found, as well of the perseverance of fraternal love on both parts, as also by such means to further the augmentation thereof from time to time.” This, duly delivered with all the grace and emphasis of which Wingfield was master, “with other pleasaunt devices (conversation) of the King’s grace, my lady Princess,” and my lord Legate by no means forgotten, with “semblable amiable communications,” as he presented their letters, was to “suffice for the first audience.” He was to follow up on some future occasion the correspondence thus auspiciously commenced, by arguments of a highe strain, levelled at those frank and romantic sentiments which still lingered in the breast of the French king, who, in spite of his many failings, retained some sparks of that chivalrous spirit which contemporary monarchs neither valued nor possessed. It was not the verbal obligations of a nuptial alliance,—the vulgar security of hostages, or the stipulations of treaties,—so Wingfield was to urge,—which formed the strongest ties of friendship, and “knit the assured knot of perseverant amity betwixt them,” but the love they bore to each other in their hearts. “For remembering the noble and excellent gifts, as well of nature, touching their goodly statures and activeness,—and of grace, concerning their wondrous wisdoms and other princely virtues,—as also of fortune, depending upon their substances and puissance, given unto them by Almighty God, and *wherein*

“ *more conformity is betwixt them than in or amongst*
 “ *all other Christian princes*, it is not to be marvelled
 “ though (if) this agreeable consonance of semblable
 “ properties and affections do vehemently excite and stir
 “ them both, not only to love and tenderly favor each
 “ other, but also personally to visit, see and speak
 “ together, whereby that thing, which as yet standing
 “ upon reports is covered with a shadow, shall be brought
 “ to the light, face to face, if it proceed; and finally
 “ make such impression of entire love in their hearts
 “ that the same shall be always permanent and never be
 “ dissolved, to the pleasure of God, their both comforts,
 “ and the weal of all Christendom.” To grace his nego-
 ciations, Wingfield carried a new sword as a present
 to the French king; the secret handling of which it
 was reserved to the English monarch to divulge.*

Let not my readers curl their lips in scorn at such
 extravagant protestations, or denounce them with fierce,
 uncomplimentary epithets, proud of their greater sim-
 plicity of speech and clearness of vision. Let them
 not be mistaken. If we except the flattering allu-
 sion to Henry VIII.,—evidently intended for his own
 eye,—the style of Wingfield’s instructions is wholly
 unlike the general staidness and sobriety of those
 times. It had its purpose,—one that was not to be
 too plainly expressed, or approached too rudely. It
 required to be smothered under a multiplicity of details,
 and hidden in those half-lights in which the diplo-
 matists of those days sometimes delighted to indulge.
 The real purport of this rhetoric oozes out in a subsequent
 letter written by Wingfield some days after.† In some
 moment of unguarded gaiety or confidence, Wingfield
 was to extort a promise from Francis not to condescend

* No. 685.

† 8th March, no. 666.

to any other meeting,—prevent him, in other words, from playing off upon England the same manœuvre that England was then putting into operation against himself. The task was not easy; it must have seemed almost impossible.

To understand this more clearly, it will be necessary to turn back to the negotiations then going on between the English court and the new emperor, Charles V. Like most other rulers of his times, Charles was alternately swayed by a French and an English party. The influence of Chièvres, who supported the former, was now apparently on the decline;—had been so since the meeting at Montpellier in 1519;—and the bishop of Elna, the consistent advocate of the opposite policy,* was now appointed to manage the negotiations in England. In the month of August after his election, the Emperor, with a condescension as unusual as it was unexpected, sent his favorite, John de la Sauch, into England, instructing him to join with the Bishop in expressing the Emperor's gratitude to the King for the services rendered him by Pace in obtaining the imperial crown.† As the English court had signified a wish that the alliance between the two sovereigns should be preserved and increased, the imperial ambassadors were directed to assure the King that Charles reciprocated the wish, and intended to oblige his Majesty in all things. They were to add that the Emperor was gratified with the King's invitation, and would take the earliest opportunity of visiting England on his way to Spain. Among other ambiguous expressions, there is one which especially deserves attention:—if, Charles said, Henry proposes "to do any feat," he must make

* See his letter to cardinal Ximenes, 8 March 1516, in Bergenroth's Calendar.

† No. 419.

sure of the Swiss, and take care that they are not employed against him ; for that (said the Emperor) " is " the secret of secrets." What could this hint mean ? Had the King of England already entertained some secret intention of invading France, at the very time when negociations for the interview were going on ; or was it the suggestion of the tempter ? What was the feat here alluded to ? By whom were the Swiss to be employed ?

The proposal for a more intimate alliance thus candidly proposed and accepted by Charles had ulterior objects of the most secret nature, which it was not deemed safe should be committed to writing. On the arrival of the ambassadors in London,* Hesdin, the Flemish resident, wrote to the Cardinal, requesting an immediate audience with the King. To enforce his application, he told Wolsey that the ambassadors brought with them " agreeable proposals "; and that De la Sauch had communications to make touching " the marriage, of which " the Cardinal knew." " The matter," he added, " will " be easily colored ;" and he concluded by saying that Francis was making every effort to induce Charles to pass through France, and had offered his queen and his children as hostages ;—an assertion which, true or false, would not be without its effect on the King and the Cardinal.

As this letter was written in September 1519, negociations for transferring the hand of the princess Mary to the Emperor—for that was the marriage thus obscurely alluded to—must have been under consideration at least as early as the summer of that year. Yet, no longer back than the winter of 1518, Mary had been solemnly

*Sept. 11. See no. 449.

betrothed to the Dauphin. What was the reason for this change? Who was the author of it? Hesdin seems to attribute it to Wolsey. But he may have paid the Cardinal this compliment only in the hope of securing his attention. Was then that union of a princess of England with the Emperor, on whose dominions the sun never set, more tempting and dazzling than the hand of the Dauphin? Was it simply the ambition of a more magnificent alliance which induced Henry to break faith so easily, or some offence on the part of Francis? If what in private life would be termed duplicity were not in diplomacy colored with the name of political dexterity, it would be hard to justify the conduct of the Cardinal or his master in this intricate affair.

For reasons not adequately explained,—perhaps out of some displeasure at the terms proposed,—or suspicion of Wolsey's sincerity,—or dissatisfaction, not improbably, at the ostensible amity between this country and France, of which he was doubtless kept well informed by French agents,—this auspicious commencement was not followed up by corresponding ardor. Charles's subsequent instructions to his ambassadors were cold and distant.* He approved of Wolsey's proposal for a personal interview between himself and the king of England, but he would not undertake to visit England for that purpose exclusively. He contradicted the rumor that he had been treating secretly for a marriage with *Rénée*, the sister of the French king, unknown to the King and the Cardinal; but he cautiously avoided committing himself to the proposed union with Mary. With great appearance of communicativeness, he communicated

* See 12 Dec., no. 551.

nothing of the least importance. It required no great penetration to discover that the new Emperor, young as he was, fully understood his own interests, and was not to be cajoled or intimidated. Free from every tinge of romance, of sentiment, or of enthusiasm, unlike his French rival, he kept his feelings under absolute control. Appeals to his generosity, his honor or his candor were idle; cold, bland, clear-headed and imperturbable, he estimated such appeals at their full worth. His was an old, very old head, on very young shoulders.

Yet he could not afford to neglect this opportunity of a closer alliance with England. He could not regard without some degree of uneasiness the growing intimacy of the French and English monarchs, now ostentatiously paraded before the world. He knew,—no one better,—as Francis had said more than once, that if France and England were brothers in arms they would become absolute, and dictate the law to Christendom. As they led, the Pope would follow. His possessions in Italy would be rent irrecoverably from Charles, and all his claims disputed. D'Albret would recover Navarre; a focus for disaffection, growing hotter and more dangerous every day by the accession of his discontented Spanish subjects, would be established on the very skirts of his dominions. Symptoms of disaffection, not to be disregarded, had shown themselves already. A union of France and England was tantamount to the dismemberment of half his imperial dominions.

Therefore, although he assumed an air of indifference, in the hope of securing more favorable terms, especially when the interview between Henry and the French king had been abandoned in 1519, Charles had no real intention of rejecting the proposals of England. In the spring of 1520, when the French interview was resumed

with greater activity and earnestness than before, he thought it wiser to adopt a more conciliatory tone. As if his last instructions had been too cold and off-handed, he directed his ambassadors* to say that he had never meant in his previous instructions to retract his engagements, or violate his promise of a personal interview. Though time was pressing, and affairs were urgent, he was most anxious to enjoy the society of the king and queen of England. He offered to land at some convenient English port, and gave ample powers to his ambassadors to arrange the preliminaries. They were to insist, if possible, on having the interview in the Isle of Wight. If that was refused, and the King preferred Southampton, as more convenient for the usual festivities, they were to say that the presence of the King and Queen was a greater feast to the Emperor than any that could be offered him. If the King insisted on having his own way, they were to consent.

These concessions were ample; more ample than we should be apt at first sight to consider. The punctiliousness of that age demanded that the King should meet the Emperor on his own territory,—the inferior attend on his superior. Had the Pope descended from his throne to visit an ordinary bishop *in partibus infidelium*, such an unusual act of condescension might have been attributed to pious motives not unbecoming his spiritual functions. But for the Emperor to go out of his way and visit England was regarded as an act of extraordinary condescension, little short indeed of degradation. The world saw with astonishment the greatest monarch of the earth vailing his bonnet to a King who was scarcely considered as a member of the great triumvirate of Christendom. Even the Pope could

* Feb. 26; no. 637.

not conceal his indignation and surprise. Had the Emperor sustained a defeat on the field of battle, had he experienced a more real but less ostensible diminution of his power and authority, the event would have been regarded with less astonishment. But the necessities of Charles were urgent. He consented not only to waive his own wishes as to the place of meeting, but he engaged also to hold no interview with any other power. He conceded freely more than Wingfield had ever ventured to propose to the French King, and what now he had no occasion for proposing. Short of any substantial advantages there was, in fact, no concession which Charles was not prepared to make to secure the friendship of Henry.

As the Emperor was too far away at Burgos, it was left to his aunt, the lady Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, to settle the arrangements for the interview. Her instructions to De la Sauch testify her own and her nephew's anxiety to comply with the conditions offered them by England. Rather than risk any failure, she consented on her own responsibility to waive all dispute as to the place of meeting.* To hide the necessity they were under of securing this alliance, to make England believe that Francis was at that time soliciting their friendship, she had recourse to the unusual precaution of garbling the Emperor's own letters, and suppressing such parts of them as seemed to her too candid or too imprudent.

As quick and decisive in her movements as the Emperor's Spanish ministers were slow, formal and deliberate, the arrangements in her hands advanced rapidly towards a successful termination. Her wishes on this oc-

* No. 672.

casion found a warm partizan in queen Katharine. Long as she had been in England, Katharine still retained her Spanish predilections. News from the Spanish court were as welcome to her as tidings of friends and relations to the solitary in distant worlds. A knowledge of the Spanish tongue was an unfailing recommendation to her favor. It was not often that she took an active part in the amusements or politics of the times; and when she consented to share in either, it was chiefly against her own inclination, and to please the more buoyant temper of her husband. I do not find that in all the intrigues for the imperial election she ever interfered, or ever employed the little influence she possessed in promoting the interests of her nephew. But on this occasion she took not merely an active, but, for her, an obtrusive part. The political was merged in the personal aspect of the question,—the queen in the aunt. An officiousness that would have scarcely been allowed, or, if allowed, been distasteful to herself, seemed fully justified in the affectionate solicitude of a woman anxious to welcome her youthful and illustrious relative.

Arrangements proceeded rapidly. More lively, more cordial than her nephew, better versed in matters of this nature, Margaret, with the ready tact of her sex, broke at once through the icy formality with which the ministers of Charles had contrived to invest them. Her interposition was agreeable to all parties, to the English court especially, where, deservedly or not, she was certainly a favorite. She humored the great Cardinal; she agreed to accept Southampton, or any other place, even Sandwich, if he required it, for the place of meeting. This Sandwich, the ambassadors were careful to inform the Emperor, “is two leagues from “ Dover, in the English Downs, as you go towards Zea-

“land.” Great vessels, they add, cannot come alongside, but can anchor two leagues off at the turn of the Downs, without danger from tempest. Small or middle-sized ships can be moored to the very walls of the town, which is about as large as Vilvorden, only better built.*

Wolsey was radiant with good humor. He expressed, with less than his usual reserve, his satisfaction at the turn which events had taken. Sandwich was the best place that could have been fixed upon, considering the state of the arrangements between France and England. He was willing that this auspicious result should be attributed to nothing less than the inspiration of St. Thomas, his patron saint, and the providential interference of the Almighty. His exultation was pardonable. By the sheer force of his genius the two greatest monarchs of the West had become his humble servants; the one was as anxious to outbid the other for his favor as both had been zealous in their contest for the imperial crown; and now, even as then, the one cordially detested the other. The only conjunction which he had reason to apprehend, or which could have proved a serious obstacle to his policy, had been entirely prevented. The recent determination of Charles had placed once more the key of Christendom in the hands of the great Cardinal. Long since had the keys of St. Peter grown idle and rusty. They had ceased to open anything, or to shut; and the guardian of them, a poor “blind old man,”—such was the language of Wolsey himself,—had no function on earth, except to employ them at the dictation of the stronger. Terrors of the Papacy! With such examples before him, the sorriest and most contemptible wight might have bearded the grim phantom with impunity.

* 19 March, no. 689.

It was formidable to those only in whose bosoms there still lingered some sparks of faith and reverence.

In this happy frame of mind, Wolsey was willing to submit to almost any conditions the imperial ambassadors wished to impose. Upon their informing him that they had injunctions from lady Margaret to adjust various points for their mutual understanding, until the arrival of their colleagues, Wolsey replied gaily, "Come, and you shall be welcome; ask, and you shall have; speak openly and freely, and we shall say *Amen* to whatever you require." On Sunday morning, he carried them to the King at Greenwich.

The ambassadors waited for his Majesty as he came out of his chamber to go to mass, when De la Sauch presented him with Margaret's letters. Service over, they proceeded with the King to the Queen's apartments. Here a long conversation ensued between the King, Katharine and the Cardinal, about their projected visit to France. Turning to the ambassadors, the King said, "Well, I am very glad that affairs are in such good train, and I think all will go well." Then addressing himself to the Queen he said, "Madam, the Emperor, my brother and your nephew, will come hither this time. I hope we shall see him before we visit the king of France; but if we do not, it will not be my fault, for I could do no more. To give the Emperor more time, I have written to the king of France to defer the interview; but I have taken good care not to tell him the reason, and therefore I am in hopes of receiving from him a favorable answer. He cannot yet know the state in which matters now stand between me and the Emperor; for if he did, he would never grant my request; therefore, the thing must be kept as secret as possible. On this the Queen, clasping her hands,

“ and raising her eyes to Heaven, gave laud unto God
 “ for the grace she hoped He would do her, that she
 “ might behold her nephew,—saying it was her greatest
 “ desire in the world. So saying, she thanked the King,
 “ and made him a very low curtesy. The King, re-
 “ moving his bonnet, assured her that he would do all on
 “ his part that was possible. Then addressing himself to
 “ the ambassadors, he said, with a smiling countenance,
 “ As to what the king of France has said to the Em-
 “ peror, my good brother and nephew, I make little
 “ account of that ; for I am very sure he will not ven-
 “ ture to violate the treaties. If *you* do not want war,
 “ *he* wants it still less. I have also told him frankly,
 “ that it will be of no use for us to have an interview,
 “ if he is to begin war on the morrow ; for I must
 “ abide by my engagement, and protect the invaded
 “ against the invader. I will do all that I can to
 “ smooth the difficulties between the two sovereigns ;
 “ for if it be not done now, I have very little hope of
 “ its being done hereafter. However, I trust that God,
 “ who knows my good intentions, will further our wishes.
 “ I desire to establish peace in Christendom, and gain
 “ some opportunity of doing honor to God, and pro-
 “ moting the Faith by turning our united arms against
 “ the Infidel.”

Matters had already advanced so far that nothing now was required for completing the negociations, except the arrival of the commissioners with the imperial ratification. The King, the Queen, the omnipotent Cardinal were so well disposed, that De la Sauch wrote to Charles, that if one only of their colleagues had arrived everything might have been settled to their wishes. Speed was of the utmost importance. Aware of what was passing, Francis, in his anxiety to forestall and outdo his rival,

had condescended to yield the *pas d'honneur*, and meet the English monarch on his own territory. Whilst he was to be at Arde on 31st of May, Henry on the same day was to enter Guisnes. Yet, in spite of this concession, so agreeable to their pride, the English more than half repented of the advantage they had gained. In the dazzling prospect of an imperial alliance, they were ready to abandon the French interview. Happily, they were saved from the consequences of such a step by the slow and dilatory proceedings of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding their opportunity, notwithstanding the activity and importunity of the French king, the Spaniards courted failure by their usual formality and tediousness. Never were there worse negociators. Days and weeks slipped away ; yet their commissioners came not. It was of the utmost importance to the Emperor, as De la Sauch wrote to Chièvres* to keep Wolsey in good humor, to flatter the king, and by liberal demonstrations of candor and confidence counteract the subtle insinuations of Francis at the ensuing interview. Not less needful was it to keep up appearances, and make the world believe that Henry was wholly devoted to the Emperor ; for as England led, the Pope and the smaller potentates of Christendom† would follow. When the agents of Charles expressed some apprehensions as to the intentions of his Holiness, Wolsey readily undertook to mould the Pope entirely to their wishes. Blind men, he said, needed a guide ;‡ and he made no doubt of his

* 7 April, no. 728.

† Were England to be devoted to France, says De la Sauch to Chièvres, —and there could be no better authority,—it would be very awkward for us, as we do not know on what sort of terms we are with the Pope, and we should be abandoned by the Swiss and the Venetians. 7th April, p. 255.

‡ See p. 255.

ability to lead him. Arrogant as the sarcasm may appear, it was not wholly destitute of foundation. Hating and suspecting the French and German protectorate alike, Leo would have grasped at any method for eluding both. Yet the commissioners came not. With the pride of haughty and exclusive men, locked up in a rigid peninsula, whose introspection never turns itself outward to watch the motives and meanings of others, then, as always, the Spaniard was behind the occasion. Too much accustomed to flatter his own self-complacency, he would not condescend to the weakness of other men, or advance one foot towards any object, however important, beyond his usual and measured pace. When we have to deal with men of the world, observes La Sauch, in his secret despatch to the prime minister of Charles, we give them fair words and promise wonders, but all is forgotten when our object is attained. The French give and talk, and make liberal promises. "If you think," he continues, "that the English here will labor for us, " out of pure love for our smiles and our good looks, " and turn a deaf ear to others, certes, Monsieur, you " will find yourself very much mistaken." Agree with the master (Wolsey), he adds, and you need not trouble yourself about the men. So he suggests that if any preferment fell vacant before the Emperor's arrival, it should be offered to the Cardinal; "but it must not be " less than 5,000 or 6,000 ducats a year, or he will not " esteem it." In a similar strain, half bantering, half serious, he turns into ridicule the solemn and transparent manœuvres of his antiquated coadjutor, the Spanish bishop of Elna. The Bishop, in the fulness of his condescension, had made some promise to Wolsey of a gratuity in reversion, when the other numerous obligations of the Emperor had been satisfied, and his engagements

fulfilled to the many great personages who had done him service at the late election. "Fancy," says De la Sauch to Chièvres, "what a value the Cardinal set upon such a promise! He never uttered a word, any more than if he had been dumb. This is not the way to deal with great men. The Bishop had much better have held his tongue. It only makes them suspect that we take them *pour bêtes*, and expect them to do what we want on the faith of a promise to be kept some ten or twenty years hence. Thank you for nothing! As the old song says, '*Faictes moy ung chandean quand je suis mort!*'"

Meanwhile the French were busy and buzzing like flies in the shambles. Every advantage was eagerly seized by them, and vaunted to the utmost. Their activity, their tenacity, their lythe insinuations, were strikingly contrasted with the rigid and solemn stateliness of their rivals; mortifying to the quick De la Sauch and his comrades, who were compelled to sit still for want of instructions. The apparent success of the French led them to doubt, but without reason, Wolsey's sincerity. "The people here, to a man," wrote De la Sauch to Chièvres,* "detest the French interview; they say they are leaving their old friends for their old enemies; that there is no help for it unless the Emperor come; and in that case they hope the interview may yet be broken off. So you may be sure that you have only Wolsey to gain, which will now be very difficult; for, no doubt, besides the great gifts he has received from the French, they have promised him the Papacy, which we might have done with much better grace. I see quite well he will be very glad

* p. 256.

“ if the Emperor do not come ; for whenever we venture
“ to question his opinions, he gives us our *cong  *, say-
“ ing, ‘ *Bien ! ne le faictes point ; allez vous en ;*’ or
“ words to that effect.”

The insinuation that Wolsey received bribes from France appears to me, judging from the whole tenor of the correspondence, to rest on no better foundation than the suspicions of De la Sauch,—suspicions to which too much weight must not be attributed, whether they emanate from Spanish, Venetian or other foreign ambassadors. Beyond the facts which fell under their own immediate cognizance, the evidence of such men is worth no more than that of ordinary mortals ; not often so much ; for the circuit and means of their intelligence were more limited. Drawn off on a false scent to suit the purposes of the government to which they were accredited,—anxious not unfrequently to magnify their services at home,—agents and ambassadors were apt to exaggerate or lend too credulous an ear to rumors which coincided with their own views ; *singunt quod sibi volunt*. Frequently they wanted the ability, not seldom the inclination, to take a calm survey of passing events ; and as to testing the evidence on which hearsay information rested, that was generally impossible.

To this credulity I attribute the broad assertion of La Sauch, that Wolsey and the nobles of England, corrupted by French bribes, were ready to compromise their own honor and the interests of their country. The Spaniard judged others by himself. It was the readiest way for excusing his own incapacity ; the most obvious explanation of his own disappointments. “ We must
“ turn their own arts against the French, and not be
“ sparing of our promises,” says La Sauch in the letter already referred to, “ or Francis will make them drink

“ his *aurum potabile*, and they will tipple *à la bouteille*,
 “ while our ambassadors sit looking on with folded
 “ arms. Had this been provided for three or four months
 “ ago, the French interview would never have taken
 “ place, and our own would have been arranged more
 “ consistently with our honor.” Then, after telling a
 curious anecdote of Queen Katharine’s holding a council to confer about the interview, in which she had harangued the members present, and made such representations against the French meeting “ as one would
 “ not have supposed she dared to do, or even imagine,” he adds, “ there is no doubt that the French interview is
 “ against the will of the Queen and of all the nobles,
 “ though some may have already tasted the bottle.”*

Quick and lively as he was, this total misconception of Wolsey’s intentions and policy is not very creditable to the ambassador’s discernment. So far from lending a ready ear to the insinuations of the French, Wolsey was doing his best to delay, if not to hinder, the interview. Nor do these insinuations receive the least countenance from the correspondence of the times. His private letters are numerous; yet no hint of bribery is to be found

* Katharine was suspected throughout of doing her utmost to hinder the French interview; not without reason. Her strong predilections in favor of her nephew did not escape the penetrating glances of Louise of Savoy. “ Is not the Queen’s grace of England,” she said with the most artless guile to Boleyn, then ambassador in France, “ aunt to the King of Spain?” “ Madame,” said Boleyn, “ he is her sister’s son; but the king of England
 “ has greater affection for your son than for any king living.” At another time she demanded of Wingfield, who had succeeded Boleyn, whether he thought the Queen’s grace “ had any great devotion to this assembly (interview).” “ Whereunto,” says Wingfield, “ I answered, I knew well
 “ that there could not be a more virtuous or wise princess anywhere
 “ than the Queen my mistress was, having none other joy or comfort in
 “ this world but to do and follow all that she may think to stand with
 “ the King’s pleasure.” No. 721. The answers of both left the matter as they found it.

in them, or in the despatches he received from the French court. Such corruption as De la Sauch intimates could scarcely have existed, when not the slightest indication of it is found in the most confidential intercourse on either side.*

But to proceed. The powers so much desired arrived at last. It was arranged that Charles should land at Sand-

* Mr. Bergenroth thinks otherwise, but produces no other evidence in support of his opinion than what will be found in this volume (see no. 1321); that is, the half-yearly pensions paid by France to Norfolk, Suffolk and others. I am somewhat surprised that Mr. Bergenroth should have overlooked the title of the book from which he derived his information; *sc.* a "*Book of Accounts concerning the Payment of Pensions to the king of England and English Subjects.*" (Bergenroth, Cal. ii. p. 284.) If such pensions were given for treasonable purposes, would the king of England have taken a bribe from France to betray himself? Would such payments, if secret, have been formally registered half-yearly, like any other accounts, without any attempt at concealment?

To explain the real nature of these, I must call my reader's attention to the following facts. In the treaty of London, made between England and France on the 7th Aug. 1514, on the occasion of the marriage of princess Mary to Lewis XII., it was stipulated that a million of gold crowns should be paid to Henry VIII., in half-yearly instalments of 50,000 francs (see vol. i. 5280, 5306). At the same time *letters patent* were issued by Lewis, granting certain pensions to Norfolk, Suffolk, Wolsey and others, in consideration of the services rendered by them on that occasion. Such payments were not uncommon; as presents, at all events, if not in the shape of annuities;—and there was no mystery connected with them. As a proof—if proof be needed,—in 1518 Henry gave the French gentlemen 800*l.*, and not long after 1,829*l.* 14*s.* in plate (see this Calend., ii. p. 1479),—a much larger sum than *all* the French pensions added together (see also ii. 1475, iii. 1536); and in reward to Chièvres, prime minister of the Emperor, 500*l.*, in 1520 (iii. 1541). These instances might be easily multiplied. So far Mr. Bergenroth's statement is unfounded, that the ministers of important powers like France and Spain were inaccessible to "corruption money,"—for as such he stigmatizes gifts and annuities of this kind,—but that the practice was confined to England and inferior states.

The agreements thus entered into by Lewis were confirmed by Francis I. shortly after his accession, on the 5th April 1515 (see vol. ii. 244, 302), and he agreed to make good the arrears due from his predecessor.

wich in the middle of May. From Sandwich the two Kings were to proceed to the shrine of St. Thomas at

On the 1st of May following, 50,000 francs were paid at Calais, to commissioners appointed under Henry's sign manual (*ib.* 381), and undoubtedly at the same time the pensions mentioned by Mr. Bergenroth, for all the receipts are of the same date, and are treated as one affair. They continued to be made in the same manner until the close of 1518, when, in consideration of the surrender of Tournay, the rate of payment was altered, and Wolsey's claim on the bishopric of Tournay was compounded for by an annual pension of 12,000 livres Tournois. About May 1521 they ceased; Francis making various excuses for delaying these payments, the justice of which he never attempted to deny, or impugn them on the score of dishonesty. War was not declared against France until a year after; and one of the causes alleged was the refusal of the king of France to fulfil these engagements. It was the object of Wolsey in the interval to induce the Emperor, as a condition of his alliance with England, to take these responsibilities upon himself, and indemnify England for the pecuniary losses it must incur by a rupture with France. And this, doubtless, was the reason why Mr. Bergenroth found in the Spanish archives copies from the French archives of these payments. There was, I repeat, no secrecy in these matters; there was none in the intentions of Wolsey to obtain, if possible, indemnity from the Emperor; the whole process of which was submitted to Henry VIII. What foundation there can be in such proceedings for the charge of avarice brought against the King, I am at a loss to see; and equally am I at a loss to understand what evidence they afford that Wolsey wished to retain his pension from France, and yet obtain compensation from the Emperor for losses he had never sustained. These pensions, part of the general arrangement made by Lewis XII. at his marriage, made so publicly that they passed under his letters patent, were confirmed and reconfirmed by Francis at his accession. They were open and obvious to all parties. To twist out of them a general charge of corruption against English statesmen, to represent the King's displeasure at Francis, for violating his engagements, as an exhibition of impotent anger and cupidity, is a strange perversion of the facts. Nor is Mr. Bergenroth's discovery a new one, as he imagines, as my readers will see by referring to a copy of these accounts, no. 1321 in this Calendar, taken by M. Teulet from the French archives, and deposited in this office many years ago. Yet these half-yearly instalments, and no other, paid by France to England, repeated from time to time in various pages of Mr. Bergenroth's Calendar, as if they were so many independent proofs of bribery, are the sole evidence on which his accusation rests.

Canterbury ; and in honor of the event Wolsey had procured from the Pope a plenary indulgence and jubilee.* At Canterbury the Emperor was to be met by queen Katharine. The Spaniards pressed hard to have the term prolonged to the end of May, nominally for the convenience of their master, really in the hope that by further delays they might either get rid of the French interview, or infuse so much jealousy and suspicion into the minds of both parties as should neutralize any dangerous effects to be anticipated from it. But Wolsey remained firm,—not influenced by corrupt motives, as the Spaniards imagined,—but, as more careful and impartial thinkers will believe, by other considerations. So long as he held the scales between the two monarchs, he controlled the policy of both. Any exclusive preference for either would have compelled him to abandon his own position. He would have ceased to be mediator, and have become an ally.

Meanwhile the negotiations for the French interview

Long as this note is, I cannot conclude it without calling my readers attention to a letter from one of these pensioners, the marquis of Dorset, to Wolsey on this subject, in which he complains of the omission of his name from the lists of French pensioners, on the ground that his friends both in France and England would consider such omission as dishonorable, and a bad reward for his services to the King. Would any man in his senses write in this style if these pensions were given for corrupt purposes ? (App. B.)

Equally slender is the evidence on which Mr. Bergenroth asserts that Pace, the bishop of Durham and Brian Tuke were in the Emperor's pay. (Pref. p. cxvi.) The document quoted by Mr. Bergenroth in support of this extraordinary statement (see this volume, no. 803) is nothing more than a paper of agenda of the Emperor's council at Corunna, in which *it is proposed* to offer Wolsey "a sop in the mouth," and, *if he accept it*, a pension to Pace and others, to be deducted from that offered to Wolsey ! Mr. Bergenroth produces no evidence to show that these offers were ever made, still less that they were ever accepted.

* See no. 695.

were pushed forward with the greatest rapidity. Resolved to stick at no concessions, provided they involved no real sacrifice, Francis I. was prompt, courteous, and conciliating.* Contrary to the express wishes of his council, he consented, at Wolsey's suggestion, to advance beyond his own territories, and receive the king of England on English ground in the English pale.† He permitted Wingfield to resort to his chamber at all times, without waiting for his express permission. To all the points on which the Cardinal desired his pleasure he readily assented,—was, in fact, so ready to condescend to all his requirements, that Henry did not hesitate, as we have seen, to take advantage of this facility, and ask for a longer prorogation of the interview, hoping in the interim to bring his communications with the Emperor to a more satisfactory adjustment. But here the courtesy of the French monarch had reached its term. He was not prepared to play his opponent's game, or advance one step further than his own interest dictated. He had so far deferred to the King's wishes already as to put off the interview until the end of May, and the tourney to the 4th of June.‡ It was unreasonable, he said, to demand more. Then came the unanswerable objection, which neither politeness nor policy could overrule;—the Queen was eight months in her pregnancy, and further procrastination must prevent her appearance at the meeting.

To press for delay after such a plea was impossible. The English ambassador could do no less than declare that his master “would not for anything” that the Queen should be absent from the interview, “without “ the which his highness thought there should lack

* Nos. 645, 666.

† No. 643.

‡ Nos. 681, 697.

“ one great part of the perfection of the feast.”* The sickness of Wolsey, who appears to have been attacked by jaundice and colic in April, and the difficulty of completing the necessary preparations within the term prescribed, seemed at first to offer a more reasonable argument for delay. Guisnes and Ardres were equally neglected and ruinous.† Neither of them were adapted for a royal residence; least of all for the magnificent entertainments in which each sovereign proposed to outdo the other. To remedy this inconvenience, it had been proposed by Francis that the meeting should be held in the fields; that the Kings, or at least their retinues, should lodge in tents or wooden huts hastily erected for the occasion. But the country supplied no timber; every foot of wood, not merely for the lodgings, but for the lists, the barriers and the stages, had to be brought from a great distance.‡ Henry’s retinue amounted to 3,997 persons and 2,087 horses; the Queen’s to 1,175 persons and 778 horses. Besides the ordinary accommodations for housing so large and distinguished a company, state apartments had to be provided capacious enough to satisfy the King’s and the Cardinal’s requirements. There was to be a great chamber 124 feet long, 42 feet wide, and 30 feet high, “longer and wider than the White Hall;” a dining room 80 feet long, 34 wide and 27 high, “larger than the greatest chamber in Bridewell;” a withdrawing room 60 feet long, 34 wide and 27 feet high. A chapel,—for how could chivalry be divorced from piety?—duly served with deans, chaplains and singing boys, formed part of the arrangements. “The clerk
“ of the closet was to warn ten chaplains to accom-
“ pany the King, and provide the closet with the best
“ hangings, traverse, jewels, images, and altar cloths;”§

* Wingfield, 24 March.

† No. 700.

‡ No. 825.

§ No. 704.

whilst the rich copes and vestments given by Henry VII. to the abbey of Westminster, with all their emblazonments of jewelry and gold embroidery, were to add lustre to the scene, and divide the palm with gilded armor and regal ornaments. Horses and hounds, collars and leashes, horns and baldries, presents for the French nobility and gentry, tasked the ingenuity and swelled the baggage trains of the royal attendants.

It was an age of pageantry, when even the richest and the noblest found little scope for their inventive faculties except in ceremonials of romance and gallantry. Never had any occasion presented itself better adapted to the prevailing humor of the times. The genius and invention of the age found pleasant occupation in architectural rebuses, and riddles in paint and gilding. Wherever the eye fell, the Tudor badge of the rose stood all ablaze in resplendent colors, "large and stately," tricked out in every form of tortuous device, on canvas, tapestry and cloth of gold.* Posies not less ingenious than intricate, the work of the celebrated "Maistre Barkleye, "the black monk and poet," † attracted the gaze of puzzled spectators by their curious garniture and enigmatical flourishes. Brief as was the time allowed for preparation, and far as the work must have fallen short of the glowing conception of its prime architect, the accounts of eye-witnesses leave no room to doubt the extraordinary splendor of the scene.‡ Like similar exhibitions of a later date, and scarcely more restricted in its objects, the pageant was intended to show what England could accomplish in those arts which the age valued above all others. Fired with emulation, both nations sent notices through the world to come and

* No. 750.

† Author of "The Ship of Fools." No. 737.

‡ p. 309.

wonder. Even a gigantic glass greenhouse, sprawling over half an acre, would have lifted its livid and shapeless length in hopeless rivalry against this burnished summer palace, put up and pulled down in a month, and packed away in boxes for England when its work was over. For decorative art, even when subservient to these "fierce vanities," had not yet been wholly divorced from religious feeling. Fostered by scholars and ecclesiastics, it had not yet sunk into vulgar obtrusiveness or irretrievable meanness.*

Occupied with such designs, Wolsey might fairly have asked for delay, both for "better preparation, and in consequence of his maladies, which, if they did so fervently continue" as at present, would hinder his "travelling, to his great regret and inward pensiveness."† He might fairly hold out the tempting prospect that if queen Claude were delivered on the confines of the two kingdoms, when the king and queen of England were present, she might expect the honor of their becoming sponsors for the child. Under other circumstances such arguments might have proved successful. But Francis had begun to suspect, not without reason, that these repeated applications for delay were little better than a pretext for evading the interview altogether. However studied the secrecy in which the imperial negotiations were involved, he was not ignorant of the projected meeting of the King of England and the Emperor. He taxed the English ambassador with the fact; he desired, through his minister the Admiral, that the visit of Charles should be delayed until after the interview at Arde. What, he asked, would Henry have thought, if *he*

* Budaus, the great Greek scholar, who was present on the occasion, describes the astonishment which he felt on viewing this spectacle of unparalleled magnificence. See no. 878.

† No. 736.

had arranged on his part for a similar communication with the king of Castile? Reasonable as the appeal might seem, the Cardinal well knew that Francis was in no condition to enforce it. He scarcely deigned to notice this remonstrance. It would be a strange and ungrateful proceeding, he coldly remarked, if a prince should be debarred from receiving the ambassadors of his ancient friends and confederates. "And, to be plain with you, if the king of Castile should offer to descend at Sandwich or about those parts, as he hath done, to see and visit the King and the Queen, his uncle and aunt, the King being in journeying toward the sea and next thereunto, it were too marvellous ingratitude to refuse the same; for by such dealing the King might well judge and think that the King our master neither esteemed, loved nor favored him."

Such arguments afforded no loophole for discussion. Even the logic of diplomacy must yield to the demands of natural piety. As the condition of the French queen had proved an insurmountable obstacle to deferring the interview, the claims of hospitality and relationship were equally opposed to the ungraciousness of refusing hospitality to the Emperor, should chance or inclination drive him to the English coast. Nothing remained for Francis except to refuse the conditions, or proceed with the arrangements under all these discouragements. To refuse would at once have exposed him to the danger he was most anxious to avert, and have hastened the union between England and the Emperor. And though he must often have felt that he was embarked on a desperate policy, that sooner or later such a conjunction would inevitably take place, he preferred that course which seemed for the present most accordant with his wishes.

Possibly by the fascinations of a personal interview, by flattering the vanity of the English monarch, by the blandishments of the handsomest women in France,* selected with great care to be present on the occasion, he hoped to thwart the dreaded coalition of his formidable rivals. If he could not absolutely prevent it, he might yet put it off to a distant period when he should be better prepared to meet it.

So, though more than once in peril of shipwreck, the negotiations for the interview went speedily forward, with much apparent, but with little real cordiality. Articles for the tourney were arranged; officers were despatched, after the ancient fashion, to Spain, Flanders, and elsewhere,† to invite all who professed “the maistrie “of arms”‡ to meet and take part in these jousts “for “the honor and pastime” of the ladies; proclamations suspended in thoroughfares and public places,§ commanded all vagabonds and idle persons to evacuate the roads leading to the field within six hours “on pain of hanging;” and enjoined upon gentlemen and officers of every degree to abstain from profane swearing and the use of offensive language.

The numerous and intricate regulations required in order to control the emulation and curb the angry passions engendered by so exciting a pastime, had been duly considered and arranged,|| when a new difficulty

* No. 698.

† Nos. 685, 686.

‡ No. 699.

§ No. 841.

§ As many challengers would be “so vain glorious as to wish to run” as long as the day lasted or their horses endured, it was necessary to limit each tilt to six courses. The number of strokes with the sword was to be determined at the pleasure of the ladies, and therefore did not exceed, we may hope, the bounds of charity and discretion. Heavy swords, in which the superior bone and sinew of the English would give them manifest advantage, were excluded, except on special occasions. The two-handed sword, of the old chivalrous age, was objected to as a dangerous weapon, and few gauntlets would resist the stroke of it. In short, the

arose, bidding fair to set at nought the labor and expense already incurred. Rumors were industriously circulated that Francis was bringing secretly into the field large bodies of men with a proportionate quantity of ammunition.* At the moment when the English monarch was prepared to cross the sea, he was informed that the French king had equipped twelve or fourteen large vessels. Such rumors were easily spread and eagerly believed by partizans on both sides of the Channel who either looked with dissatisfaction at the proposed interview with an hereditary foe, or grudged Wolsey the power and importance he seemed to acquire from it. As if by magic, the clink of hammers,—the hum of preparation,—stopped at once, until the Cardinal had received assurance from the French king, under his broad seal, that no vessel should leave any port in Normandy or Brittany until the interview was over.†

So favorable an opportunity for display of personal skill and daring, of fine clothes, fine horses and fine armor, on such a field and before such a presence, had not occurred within the memory of man. Both nations were full of young blood; both were adventurous and greedy of distinction; both anxious to make proof of their activity and valor, for which no such vasty theatre could be found within their ordinary confines. Without offence to distribute places and employments

real interest of the meeting consisted in the opportunity it afforded for magnificent display, and perhaps some small trial of skill; but careful provision was duly made against personal hazard;—and that on prudential considerations. In the rivalry of the two nations, and in the tendency, especially of Englishmen, to settle down in right earnest to the work before them, forgetting the limits of mere pastime, without these restrictions the consequences would have been hazardous.

* Nos. 819, 825.

† Nos. 836, 842.

among so many competitors for fame was no easy task. Who should have the honor of sustaining the reputation of England in the lists, or be delegated to the more quiet but less envied honor of guarding the Queen or waiting on my lord Cardinal, gave occasion for interminable anxiety and jealousy. It was impossible for the coolest head or most conciliating temper to steer clear of heart-burnings and dissensions, and satisfy the claims of all. And though Shakspeare was mistaken in representing the duke of Buckingham as absent from the interview, he has expressed accurately enough in Buckingham's celebrated speech the bitter disappointment and offended pride of more than one of the nobility, whose employments on this occasion did not correspond with their own estimate of their own merits. "Why the Devil," says Buckingham,—

"Upon this French going out, took he upon him
(Without the privy of the King) to appoint
Who should attend on him? He makes up the file
Of all the gentry; for the most part such,
To whom as great a charge as little honor
He meant to lay upon: and his own letter,—
The honorable board of council out,—
Must fetch him in he papers."

As proctor for both Kings, the appointment of the lists rested exclusively with Wolsey. The arrangements, from the greatest to the smallest, were under his control:—yet not "without the privy of the King," as the Duke asserts in his anger; for Henry was generally consulted, and as generally assented to whatever the Cardinal proposed.

Many such lists will be found in this volume.* They are for the most part in the handwriting of Ruthal, then bishop of Durham and Secretary of State; in other words, they were dictated by the Cardinal; and at his

* See also the Rutland Papers, p. 29.

option "the file of all the gentry" was made up. But I find no reason for supposing that Wolsey was influenced by undue partiality or sought to gratify his own caprices in the selection. On the contrary, the names of the nobility and gentry attending the interview are an evidence that they were taken impartially from every shire of England, solely out of consideration to their rank, their wealth and their importance. Posts and employments were allotted according to the exigencies of the occasion, or the capacities of those who were appointed to fill them. And, so far as the duke of Buckingham was concerned, there is no warrant for supposing that he was suffering at this time under the displeasure of the Cardinal; rather the reverse.

He had, indeed, not many months before, incurred the King's displeasure. According to Hall,* in November the year before Sir Wm. Bulmer and others had been summoned to the Star Chamber for riots and misdemeanors,—offences not uncommon in the young men of that age,—Sir William especially, "because he, being the King's servant sworn, refused the King's service, and became servant to the duke of Buckingham." The King, who presided on this occasion, declared his displeasure in his sternest mood, and with greater passion than such an offence would seem to warrant; saying, "that he would none of his servants should hang on another man's sleeve, and that he was as well able to maintain him as the duke of Buckingham; and what might be thought by his departing, and what might be supposed by the Duke's retaining [him], he would not then declare. The knight," continues Hall, "kneeled still on his knees, crying the King mercy,

* Chron. p. 599.

“and never a nobleman there durst entreat for him, the King was so highly displeased with him.” Yet Sir William was pardoned, and his offence so far forgotten that he was appointed to attend the interview, “in the King’s wages,” commanding a body of light horse, specially appointed to secure the King’s person from surprise.* The Duke was also taken into favor. Nor can I find any indication that Wolsey at this time employed his great influence to injure Buckingham, except the omission of the Duke’s name from the lists of those who were appointed to take an active part in the tournament be considered as an evidence of the Cardinal’s malice.†

The King and Queen started for the sea side on Monday the 21st of May. On Friday the 25th they arrived at Canterbury. On the 26th news came that the Emperor’s fleet was in sight. The same evening Charles landed at Dover, and was received by the Cardinal. “In his retinue,” says Hall, “were many noble men, and many fair ladies of his blood, as princes and princesses; and one lady as chief to be noted was the princess Avinion. Great joy made the people of England to see the Emperor, and more to see the benign manner and meekness of so high a prince.”

* See p. 239. His name occurs among those of the gentlemen of Yorkshire appointed to attend the King; pp. 237, 241, 248. Two of the other offenders also mentioned by Hall, Sir Matthew Brown and the lord Howard, were also at Arde; pp. 236, 238, 241;—the former attending on the Queen; p. 245.

† Yet this omission may have arisen from the Duke’s determination never to run against the King:—on the King’s side he appears never to have run at any time, much as he desired it. The historical element in Shakespear’s *Henry VIII.* was derived from *Holinshed*; and *Holinshed’s* account is made up from two distinct and contradictory authorities, Hall and *Polydore Vergil*. To the latter we owe most of the popular calumnies against the Cardinal.

On hearing of the Emperor's arrival, the King rode over to Dover early in the morning. On Whit Sunday both sovereigns took horse for Canterbury, "the more to solempne the feast of Pentecost. But specially to see the queen of England, his aunt, was the intent of the Emperor."

On Thursday the last day of May the Emperor embarked at Sandwich for Flanders.*

What projects occupied the two monarchs in that solitary ride from Dover to Canterbury, we are not likely to know. Too secret to be trusted to the ordinary channels of negociation, they were of too grave a nature to be discussed before witnesses. Even Wolsey himself appears to have taken no part in them. Eyewitnesses and historians of the times have been careful to detail the ceremonies connected with the Emperor's landing; his cloth of estate, his black eagle "splayed in cloth of gold." The moderation, not to say meagreness, of his dress and equipage, disproportioned to his rank, as they thought, and unlike the magnificence to which they had been accustomed in England, have all been duly recorded. His fair complexion, his aquiline nose and blue eyes, his pallid face set off with an under-hanging jaw, detracting much from the general intelligence of his countenance, his mouth disfigured by small and irregular teeth, are subjects of history. But of the secret motives of his visit, of his meeting with Katharine and the princess Mary,—if indeed she was presented to her proposed husband,—no information is afforded. This much, in the absence of more satisfactory data, may be assumed as the true purpose of the Emperor's coming. It is not probable that he would have taken so long a journey, or left Spain then on the eve of a rebellion, merely out

* Hall's Chron., p. 604.

of love to the king and queen of England. If at so momentous a crisis he had resolved on visiting his Flemish dominions, it was not to be present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, or honor with his presence the sumptuous preparations of his rival. Unable to prevent that meeting, uncertain of its consequences, by his refusal as the head of Christendom to take any part in it he contrived to condemn it indirectly; by his proximity to the scene, to neutralize all the advantages expected from it by the French king.

Nor was this all. Uncertain how far the fascination and chivalrous frankness of Francis I. and the tact of his mother Louise might influence the King and the Cardinal, by abiding for a time in Flanders the Emperor would be better able to keep them steady to his interests; or at least he would be near at hand to remedy the mischief, if mischief should arise.

So fenced, prepared and watched, Henry proceeded to his interview with the French king; not in that unguarded, careless humor which some writers have surmised; nor yet bent on pleasure merely, or the display of his personal splendor and accomplishments. The reserve that marked his conduct on more than one occasion, as compared with the freer bearing of his rival, is not to be attributed to haughtiness alone or insular exclusiveness. Nor, on the part of Francis I., was his frank violation of tedious ceremony, or his romantic display of generous confidence, entirely free from interested motives. He had his purposes to serve, no less than Charles; and both regulated their actions accordingly.

On the day of the Emperor's departure, the King sailed from Dover, and arrived at Calais at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, remaining there until Monday the 4th of

June, when he removed to Guisnes. Situated in a flat and uninviting plain, — poor and barren, as the uncultivated border land of the two kingdoms, — Guisnes and its castle offered little attraction, and if possible less accommodation, to the gay throng now to be gathered within its walls. Its weedy moat and dismantled battlements, “its keep too ruinous to mend,”* defied the efforts of carpenters and bricklayers, as the English commissioners pathetically complained; and could not by any artifice or contrivance be made to assume the appearance of a formidable, or even a respectable fortress, to friend or enemy. But on the castle green, within the limits of a few weeks, and in the face of great difficulties, the English artists of that day contrived a summer palace, more like a vision of romance, the creation of some fairy dream, (if the accounts of eye-witnesses of all classes may be trusted,) than the dull every-day reality of clay-born bricks and mortar. No “palace of art” in these beclouded climates of the West ever so truly deserved its name. As if the imagination of the age, pent up in wretched alleys and narrow dwelling-houses, had resolved for once to throw off its ordinary trammels, and recompense itself for its long restraint, it prepared to realize those visions of enchanted bowers and ancient pageantry on which it had fed so long in the fictions and romances of the Middle Ages. As it was the last display of this kind which I shall have to notice, as it faded rapidly away before the sterner work in which men soon after found themselves engaged, with or against their wills, I have thought it worth while to notice so much of the details as will enable the reader to form some slight conception for himself of this scene of

enchantment which the genius of the age had contrived for its own amusement.

The palace was an exact square of 328 feet. It was pierced on every side with oriel windows and clerestories curiously glazed, the mullions and posts of which were overlaid with gold. An embattled gate, ornamented on both sides with statues representing men in various attitudes of war, and flanked by an embattled tower, guarded the entrance. From this gate to the entrance of the palace arose in long ascent a sloping dais or hall-pace, along which were grouped "images of sore and terrible countenances," in armor of argentine or bright metal. At the entrance, under an embowered landing place, facing the great doors, stood antique figures girt with olive branches. The passages, the roofs of the galleries from place to place and from chamber to chamber, were ceiled and covered with white silk, fluted and embowed with silken hangings of divers colors and braided cloths, "which showed like bullions of fine burnished gold." The roofs of the chambers were studded with roses, set in lozenges, and diapered on a ground of fine gold. Panels enriched with antique carving and gilt bosses covered the spaces between the windows; whilst all along the corridors and from every window hung tapestry of silk and gold, embroidered with figures. Chairs covered with cushions of Turkey work, cloths of estate, of various shapes and sizes, overlaid with golden tissue and rich embroidery, ornamented the state apartments. The square on every side was decorated with equal richness, and blazed with the same profusion of glass, gold, and ornamental hangings; and "every quarter of it, even the least, was a habitation fit for a prince," says Fleuranges, who had examined it with the critical eye of a rival and a Frenchman.

To the palace was attached a spacious chapel, still more sumptuously adorned. Its altars were hung with cloth of gold tissue embroidered with pearls; cloth of gold covered the walls and desks. Basins, censers, cruets and other vessels, of the same precious materials, lent their lustre to its services. On the high altar, shaded by a magnificent canopy of immense proportions, stood enormous candlesticks and other ornaments of gold. Twelve golden images of the Apostles, as large as children of four years old, astonished the eyes of the spectator. The copes and vestments of the officiating clergy were cloth of tissue powdered with red roses, brought from the looms of Florence, and woven in one piece, thickly studded with gold and jewelry. No less profusion might be seen in the two closets left apart for the King and the Queen. Images and sacred vessels of solid gold, in gold cloth, cumbrous with pearls and precious stones, attested the rank, the magnificence and devotion of the occupants. The ceilings of these closets were gilded and painted; the hangings were of tapestry embroidered with fretwork of pearls and gems. The chapel was served by thirty-five priests, and a proportionate number of singing boys.

From the palace a secret gallery led into a private apartment in Guisnes Castle, along which the royal visitors could pass and repass at pleasure.

The King was attended by squires of the body, sewers, gentlemen-ushers, grooms and pages of the chamber; for all of whom suitable accommodation had to be provided.*

* There were no less than 18 grooms of the chamber, 2 knights, 5 squires of the body, 11 gentlemen ushers, with others, in immediate attendance on the King's person; whilst, of the Queen's suite, there were only 3 persons appointed for the chamber, called *chamberers* and 14 or 15 ladies, called *gentlewomen*, whose duties are not defined.

The lord Chamberlain, the lord Steward, the lord Treasurer of the Household, the Comptroller, with their numerous staffs, had to be lodged, in apartments adapted to their rank and services. As it was one great object of the interview to entertain all comers with masques and banquetings of the most sumptuous kind, the mere rank and file of inferior officers and servants formed a colony of themselves. The bakehouse, pantry, cellar, buttery, kitchen, larder, accatry, were amply provided with ovens, ranges, and culinary requirements; to say nothing of the stables, the troops of grooms, farriers, saddlers, stirrup-makers, furbishers and footmen. Upwards of 200 attendants were employed in and about the kitchen alone.*

Outside the palace gate, on the green sward, stood a gilt fountain, of antique workmanship, with a statue of Bacchus "birlyng the wine." Three runlets, fed by secret conduits hid beneath the earth, spouted claret, hypocras, and water into as many silver cups, to quench the thirst of all comers. On the opposite side was a pillar wreathed with gold, and supported by four gilt lions; and on the top stood an image of blind Cupid, armed with bow and arrows. The gate itself, built in massive style, was pierced with loop-holes. Its windows and recesses were filled with images of Hercules, Alexander and other ancient worthies, richly gilt and painted. In long array, in the plain beyond, 2,800 tents stretched their white canvas before the eyes of the spectator, gay with the pennons, badges and devices of the various

* The provisions consumed in the household in *one* month consisted, among other items, of 340 beeves, 2,200 sheep, 800 calves; 150 tuns of French wines, 4 pipes of hypocras, 560 tuns of beer; spices to the worth of 440*l.*; and for fuel and light, 4,000 lb. of wax and 5,600 qrs. of coal are set down. The cost was 7,633*l.* See p. 337.

occupants; whilst miscellaneous followers, in tens of thousands, attracted by profit or the novelty of the scene, camped on the grass and filled the surrounding slopes, in spite of the severity of provost-marshal and reiterated threats of mutilation and chastisement. Multitudes from the French frontiers, or the populous cities of Flanders, indifferent to the political significance of the scene, swarmed from their dingy homes to gaze on kings, queens, knights and ladies dressed in their utmost splendor. Beggars, itinerant minstrels, vendors of provisions and small luxuries, mixed with wagoners, ploughmen, laborers and the motley troop of camp followers, crowded round, or stretched themselves beneath the summer's sun on bundles of straw and grass, in drunken idleness. No better lodging awaited many a gay knight and lady who had travelled far to be present at the spectacle, and were obliged to content themselves with such open air accommodation. Backwards and forwards surged the excited and unwieldy crowd as every hour brought its fresh contingent of curiosity or criticism, in the shape of some new comer conspicuous for his fantastic bearing, or the quaint fashion of his armor. Each new candidate for the love and honor of the ladies, for popular applause, or less noble objects, was greeted with shouts and acclamations as he succeeded in distinguishing himself from the throng by the strangeness or splendor of his appointments. Christendom had never witnessed such a scene. The fantastic usages of the Courts of Love and Beauty were revived once more. The Mediæval age had gathered up its departing energies for this last display of its favorite pastime,—henceforth to be consigned, without regret, to “the mouldered lodges of the past.”

At the time that Henry set sail for Calais Francis started from Montreuil for Arde. It was a meagre old

town, long since in ruins; the fosses and castle of which had been hastily repaired. He was attended on his route by a vast and motley multitude. No less than 10,000 of this poor vagrant crew were compelled to turn back, by a proclamation ordering that no person, without special permission, should approach within two leagues of the King's train, "on pain of the halter." As the French had proposed that both parties should lodge in tents erected on the field, they had prepared numerous pavilions, fitted up with halls, galleries, and chambers, ornamented within and without with gold and silver tissue. Amidst golden balls and quaint devices glittering in the sun, rose a gilt figure of St. Michael, conspicuous for his blue mantle powdered with golden *fleurs de lys*, and crowning a royal pavilion, of vast dimensions, supported by a single mast. In his right hand he held a dart, in his left a shield emblazoned with the arms of France. Inside, the roof of the pavilion represented the canopy of heaven, ornamented with stars and figures of the zodiac.* The lodgings of the Queen, of the duchess d'Alençon, the King's favorite sister, and of other ladies and princes of the blood, were covered with cloth of gold.† The rest of the tents, to the number of 300 or 400, emblazoned with the arms of the owners, were pitched on the banks of a small river outside the city walls. A large house in the town, built for the occasion, served as a place of reception for royal visitors.

From the 4th of June, when Henry first entered Guisnes, the festivities continued with unabated splendor for twenty days. They were opened by a visit of Wol-

* This pavilion was afterwards blown down in a gale of wind, and the mast broken. See p. 308.

† There can be no doubt that Ann Boleyn was at this interview.

sey to the French king, and gave the Cardinal an opportunity for displaying his love of magnificence, not unaptly reckoned by poets and philosophers as the nearest virtue to magnanimity.* A hundred archers of the guard, followed by fifty gentlemen of his household, clothed in crimson velvet with chains of gold, bareheaded, bonnet in hand, and mounted on magnificent horses richly caparisoned, led the way. After them came fifty gentlemen ushers, also bareheaded, carrying gold maces with knobs as big as a man's head; next a cross-bearer in scarlet, supporting a crucifix adorned with precious stones. Four lacqueys followed, with gilt bâtons and poleaxes, in paletots of crimson velvet, their bonnets in hand adorned with plumes, their coats ornamented before and behind with the Cardinal's badge in goldsmith's work. Lastly came the Legate himself, mounted on a barded mule trapped in crimson velvet, with gold front-stalls, studs, buckles, and stirrups. Over a chimere of figured crimson velvet he wore a fine linen rochet. Bishops and other ecclesiastics succeeded, and the whole procession was brought up by fifty archers of the King's guard, their bows bent, their quivers at their sides, their jackets of red cloth adorned with a gold rose before and behind.†

* Accounted by Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*, as the most royal and complete of all human virtues:—but the Tudor conception of magnificence has since disappeared and died out before the *μικροψυχία* of puritanism.

† The pomp and the splendor of his retinue on this occasion were often urged against Wolsey as a proof of his pride and presumption. It must be remembered, however, that he was acting as proctor and representative of two kings. As their accredited representative in the eyes of the most chivalrous and magnificent nation in the world, acknowledged universally, even then, as supreme in all matters of art, dress, decoration, or public pageantry, he might wish to show that his master, the king of France as well as of England, did not fall a whit behind the most

In this state the procession approached the town of Arde. Arrived at the King's lodgings Wolsey dismounted, amidst the roar of artillery, and the sound of drums, trumpets, fifes, and other instruments of music. He was received by the king of France, bonnet in hand, with the greatest demonstrations of affection. The visit was returned next day by the French. These ceremonies were preliminary to the meeting of the two sovereigns on Thursday 7th June. On that day the king of England, appareled in cloth of silver damask, thickly ribbed with cloth of gold, and mounted on a charger arrayed in the most dazzling trappings overlaid with fine gold and curiously wrought in mosaic, advanced towards the valley of Arde. No man, from personal inclination or personal qualities, was better calculated to sustain his part in a brilliant ceremonial such as then struck the eyes of the spectators. An admirable horseman, tall and muscular, slightly inclined to corpulence, with a red beard and ruddy countenance, Henry VIII. was at this time, by the admission of his rivals, the most comely and commanding prince of his age.* Closely attending on the King was Sir Henry Guilford, the master of the Horse, leading a spare charger, not less splendidly arrayed in trappings of fine gold wrought in ciphers, with headstall, reins,

splendid monarch of the age. For the time being, Wolsey had by his genius raised his master to the first rank and foremost place among the potentates of Christendom. It was the purpose of this interview to show him to the world, surrounded by all those accessories to which the imagination of nine-tenths of mankind at that time lent itself a willing prisoner. Railway scrip, or a supposed balance at a man's bankers', effects that object now.

* "The most goodliest prince that ever reigned over the realm of England." Hall, p. 609. So also the French accounts: "*Le roy d'Angleterre est moult beau prince, et honueste, hault et droit; sa maniere douce et benigne: ung peu grasset; et une barbe rousse, assez grande, qui luy advient tres bien.*"

and saddle of the same material. Nine henchmen followed in cloth of tissue, the harness of their horses covered with gold scales. In front rode the old marquis of Dorset, bearing the sword of estate before the King; behind came the Cardinal, the dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, with the earl of Shrewsbury and others.

A shot fired from the castle of Guines, and responded to by a shot from the castle at Arde, gave warning that the two princes were ready to set forward. As Henry advanced towards the valley with all his company in military array, the French king might be descried on the opposite hill with his dazzling company, in dress, deportment and the splendor of his retinue not less glorious or conspicuous than his rival. Over a short cassock of gold frieze, he wore a mantle of cloth of gold covered with jewels. The front and the sleeves were studded with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and large loose-hanging pearls; on his head he wore a velvet bonnet adorned with plumes and precious stones. Far in advance rode the provost marshal with his archers to clear the ground. Then followed the marshals of the army in cloth of gold, their orders about their necks, mounted on horses covered with gold trappings; next the grand master, the princes of the blood and the king of Navarre. After them came the Swiss guard on foot, in new liveries, with their drums, flutes, trumpets, clarions and hautbois; then the gentlemen of the household; and immediately preceding the King was the grand constable, Bourbon, bearing the sword naked, and the Grand Ecuyer, with the sword of France, powdered with gold *fleurs-de-lys*.

As the two companies approached each other, there was a momentary pause. The French watched with some jealousy the close array of the English footmen, who, stretched in a long line on the King's left, marched step

for step, with all the solemn gravity of their nation, as if they were rather preparing for battle than pastime; whilst, on the other side, the superior numbers of the French awakened the national jealousy of the Englishmen. "Sir, ye be my king and sovereign," broke in the lord Abergavenny in breathless haste; "wherefore, above all I am bound to show you truth, and not to let (stop) for none. I have been in the French party, and they be more in number;—double so many as ye be." Then spoke up the earl of Shrewsbury, "Sire, whatever my lord of Abergavenny sayeth, I myself have been there, and the Frenchmen be more in fear of you and your subjects than your subjects be of them. Wherefore," said the Earl, "if I were worthy to give counsel, your grace should march forward." "So we intend, my lord," replied the King. "On afore, my masters," shouted the officers of arms; and the whole company halted, face foremost, close by the valley of Arde.

A minute's pause—a breathless silence, followed by a slight stir on both sides. Then from the dense array of cloth of gold, silver and jewelry, of white plumes and waving pennons, amidst the acclamations of myriads of spectators on the surrounding hills, and the shrill burst of pipes, trumpets and clarions, two horsemen were seen to emerge, and, in the sight of both nations, slowly descend into the valley from opposite sides. These were the two sovereigns. As they approached nearer they spurred their horses to a gallop; then uncovering embraced each other on horseback, and after dismounting embraced again. Whilst the two sovereigns proceeded arm in arm to a rich pavilion, which no one else was allowed to enter, except Wolsey on one side and the Admiral of France on the other, the officers on both sides, intermingling their ranks, made good cheer, and

toasted each other in broken French and English :
 “Bons amys, French and English !”*

Friday and Saturday were occupied in preparing the field for the tournament. The lists, 900 feet in length and 320 feet broad, were pitched on a rising ground in the territory of Guisnes, about halfway between Guisnes and Arde. Galleries hung with tapestry surrounded the inclosure ; and, on the right side, in the place of honor, were two glazed chambers for the two Queens. A deep foss served to keep off the crowd. The entrances were guarded by twelve French and twelve English archers ; and at the foot of the lists, under a triumphal arch, stood the *perron* or tree of nobility, from which the shields of the two Kings were suspended, on a higher line than those of the other challengers and answerers. The *perron* for Henry VIII. was formed of a hawthorn ; and for Francis I., of a raspberry (*framboisier*), in supposed allusion to his name. Cloth of gold served for the trunk and dried leaves ; the foliage was of green silk ; the flowers and fruits of silver and Venetian gold. Under the tree, which measured in compass not less than 129 feet, the heralds took their stand on an artificial mound, surrounded by railings of green damask.

On Sunday, whilst the French king dined at Guisnes with the queen of England, the English king dined with the French queen and the duchess of Alençon at Arde. On arriving at the Queen’s lodgings Henry was received by Louise of Savoy, and a bevy of ladies magnificently dressed. Passing slowly through their ranks, in leisurely admiration of their charms,† he reached the apartment where the Queen attended his

* “Disoient ces parolles : *Bons amys, Francoys et Angloys*, en les repetant plusieurs foys en beuvant lung a laultre de bon couraige.”

† “Tout á son aise pour les veoir à son plaisir.”

coming. As he made his reverence to the Queen, she rose from her chair of state to meet him. Kneeling with one knee on the ground, his bonnet in his hand, he first kissed the Queen, next Madame, then the duchess of Alençon, and finally all the princesses and ladies of the company. This done, dinner was announced. At the third service, Mountjoy herald entered with a great golden goblet, crying, in the name of the king of " England, Largess to the most high, mighty and excellent prince, Henry king of England, &c. Largess, " largess!" The banquet ended at five in the evening; when the King took his leave. To display his skill before the ladies, he set spurs to his horse, making it bound and curvet "as valiantly as any man could do."

The jousts commenced on Monday the 11th. The rules adopted to secure fair play and guard against accidents may be seen at p. 307 of this volume.

On the first day the kings of England and France, with their aids, held the lists against all comers; and, with the exception of Wednesday, when the wind was too high, the jousts continued without interruption throughout the week. On Sunday the two Kings exchanged hospitality as before. On this occasion Francis, dropping all reserve, visited the king of England before eight in the morning, attended by four companions only, and, entering his apartment without ceremony, embraced him as he was seated at breakfast.* The jousts were concluded in the following week, with a solemn mass sung by the Cardinal in a chapel erected on the field. The arrangements observed on this occasion, not less elaborate than those by which the feats of arms

* This story has been repeated with various embellishments.

were regulated, may be seen at p. 311. Here, as in the ceremonial of the lists, the spirit of chivalry reigned triumphant. When the cardinal of Bourbon, according to the usages of the time, presented the Gospel to the French king to kiss, Francis, declining, commanded it to be offered to the king of England, who was too well bred to accept the honor. When the *Pax* was presented at the *Agnus Dei*, the two sovereigns repeated the same mannerly breeding. The two Queens were equally ceremonious. After a polite altercation of some minutes, when neither would decide who should be the first to kiss the *Pax*, woman-like they kissed each other instead. A sermon in Latin, enlarging on the blessings of peace, was delivered by Pace at the close of the service; and an artificial firework, four fathoms long, in the shape of a salamander, was sent up in the air in the direction of Guisnes, to the astonishment and terror of the beholders. The whole was concluded with a banquet, at which the royal ladies, too polite to eat, spent their time in conversation; but the legates, cardinals and prelates dined, drank, and ate *sans fiction*, in another room by themselves.

On Sunday, the 24th of June, the Kings met in the lists to interchange gifts and bid each other farewell. Henry and his court left for Calais; Francis returned to Abbeville.

The two Kings parted, on the best of terms, as the world thought, and with mutual feelings of regret. Yet, Henry had already arranged to meet the Emperor at Gravelines, there to settle the terms of a new convention, to the disadvantage of the French King.*

* See no. 914, *seq.*

The imperial envoy, the marquis d'Arschot, arrived at Calais on the 4th of July, and was received by the duke of Buckingham. On the 5th the King visited Gravelines, and returned with the Emperor to Calais three days after. The interview, graced by the presence of Charles, his brother Ferdinand, Herman the archbishop of Cologne, and the lord Chièvres, though less splendid, was more cordial than the interview with the French king, and was meant for business.

Frugal and reserved, the Emperor contrived, by his simple and unostentatious habits, to render himself more agreeable to his English guests than even Francis had been able to do with all his profuse and expensive civilities. Not, as some may condemn us, in consequence of our national fickleness; nor, as others may excuse us, because Englishmen preferred the plainer manners of the German or the Fleming; but because in the interview with France, in spite of appearances, there was no real cordiality. A tournament, in fact, was the least eligible method of promoting friendly feeling; it was more likely to engender unpleasant disputes and jealousies. To enforce the rules laid down for preserving order and fair play among the combatants was not an easy or a popular task. National rivalry was apt to break out, and it was hard for the judges to escape the imputation of partiality. Nor did the English, it must be admitted, return from the field in much good humor. With a feeling of complacency engendered by their insular position and their long isolation from the Continent, they had been wont to consider themselves as far superior to the French in all exercises of strength and agility. The French knights had shown themselves fully equal to their English opponents; the French king was not inferior

in personal courage and activity to his English rival.* Then rumors, such as spring up like the dragon's teeth in vast and motley multitudes, evidently fanned and fostered by Flemish emissaries, continually represented the French as engaged in contriving some act of treachery against the English king and nation. Among the nobles also, the dukes of Suffolk and of Buckingham, the lord Abergavenny and others were glad of any pretext for maligning a pageant of which Wolsey had the prime direction.

Francis still hovered on the frontier in the fruitless hope of being invited to take part in this interview with the Emperor. The day before Charles left Ghent, the lady Vendôme and the Duchess her daughter-in-law contrived to have business in that town; but their artifice was not successful. Francis was obliged to content himself with the assurance that the visage and countenance of his English ally appeared "not " to be so replenished with joy" as at the valley of Arde,† and that he had given proofs of undiminished affection by riding a courser that Francis had given him. With an impressiveness intended to be candid, he told Sir Richard Wingfield, who had succeeded as English resident at the French court, that "if " the king Catholic were a prince of like faith unto " the King his brother (Henry), and that he might " perceive from Wolsey that his coming thither (to " Calais) might be the cause of any good conclusion " between them" (that is, between himself and the Em-

* Thus Hall, who will not be accused of partiality to the French, says :
" The French King on his part ran valiantly, breaking spears eagerly,
" and so well acted his challenge of jousts, that he ought ever to be
" spoken of." p. 616.

† No. 913.

peror), "he would not fail to come in post, and not to have looked for rank and place to him belonging, but would have put him into the King's chamber as one of the number of the same." But neither his extreme humility, nor his flattering proposal that Henry and himself, as "the chief pillars of Christendom," should handle the Pope, whom Francis knew "to be at some season the fearfullest creature of the world, and at some other to be as brave," nor the schemes and blandishments of the ladies, availed. He chafed under his disappointment; still more at his ill success in counteracting the growing intimacy of Henry and the Emperor. He had exhausted, to little purpose, "that liberal and unsuspecting confidence" which too credulous historians are apt to think characterized his proceedings at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, to the disadvantage of his less attractive and engaging contemporary. He could neither prevent the meeting of his two rivals, nor penetrate their secrets. He was utterly foiled, yet dared not show his resentment. Whilst the Pope and the Spaniards, unable to penetrate beneath the surface, or read the signs of the times, were puzzled and scandalized at the Emperor's condescension, the world looked on with astonishment, as well it might, to see the two monarchs of the West thus anxiously soliciting the Cardinal's good graces. What could there be in the son of a butcher to command such deference?*

Of the projects discussed at this interview we are not precisely informed. The English version, intended for the meridian of the French court, and to lull the suspicions of Francis, will be found at p. 346. If any credit be due to a statement prepared under such circum-

* For the arrangements at this interview, see the Rutland Papers. p. 50.

stances, and calculated to alienate the French king irrecoverably from the Emperor, we are to believe that the imperial ambassadors had already proposed to Henry to break off his matrimonial engagement with France, and transfer the hand of the princess Mary to the Emperor. As an inducement for the King to coincide in this arrangement, the Emperor undertook to make war on France by sea and land, and not desist until Henry "had recovered his right and title in the " same."* The King, according to the same document, rejected such a treacherous overture with the utmost horror, vehemently protesting against its immorality and perfidiousness. That such a proposal was made, though probably not by Chièvres,† to whom it is attributed,—that it was accepted by England, but with none of the indignation described in the document,—is clear beyond dispute. Long before any interruption had occurred in the amicable relations between the two countries,—before even the landing of Charles at Canterbury, or the interview in the valley of Arde,—it had been secretly proposed that the French engagement should be set aside, and the hand of Mary be transferred to the Emperor.‡ The King's horror at this act of faithlessness—if it had any existence beyond the paper on which it was written—must have been tardy and gratuitous, seeing that the chief purpose of the meeting at Calais was to settle the basis of this matrimonial alliance, and obtain the solemn ratification of the Emperor.

* No. 936.

† The proposition was put in the mouth of Chièvres, the minister of Charles V., because he, more than any other, was supposed to favor the French interests.

‡ See pp. 425, 458.

But Charles was in no hurry to commit himself. His indecision was the result rather of policy than of temper. As the Princess and himself were within the prohibited degrees of relationship, no matrimonial alliance could be concluded between them without a papal dispensation:—a pretext fertile in delay, or, should his interests require it, spacious and convenient for retracting his engagements. The offer of his hand, whether made in sincerity or not by the Emperor, served his purposes; it kept Henry faithful to his interests, and opposed an effectual barrier to the blandishments of France. By insisting on a papal dispensation, the Emperor reserved for himself a loophole to escape, should he find his union with Mary inexpedient, or desire to extract more advantageous terms from his future father-in-law. His matrimonial projects at this time were somewhat complicated.

He had bound himself by the most solemn obligations to marry the princess Charlotte of France. Her continued indisposition, and the disinclination of his Spanish subjects to the match, furnished him with a valid excuse for breaking his engagement. To gratify himself no less than his subjects, the Emperor was already turning his eyes towards a matrimonial alliance with Portugal. Next perhaps to the hand of Mary, such an alliance offered those pecuniary advantages of which Charles at this time stood much in need. His troops were in a state of disorder and insubordination for want of pay. They could neither be suffered to remain where they were, nor be transferred to more friendly territories, lest by their excesses they should convert friends into enemies. His ambassadors wanted money even to pay their couriers. Of his vast dominions in the old world, Spain, in a state of insurrection, refused

to submit to the extortions of the tax collectors.* The Flemings, sulky and dissatisfied with the prodigality of the court, would advance no funds for purposes and projects over which they could exercise no control. Never wealthy,—jealous, to a fault, of their independence,—his new German subjects turned a deaf ear to his entreaties; whilst Italy, plundered alike by friend and foe, was in no condition to relieve his increasing necessities. Master of the most extensive dominions in the world, Charles was the least formidable prince of his age. As Leo X. told the imperial ambassador, his master's power was merely negative:—it depended on his opposition to French aggrandizement, which most men feared, and all men suspected. As for the rest, said the sagacious Pontiff, it was more in appearance than reality.

So a marital alliance with England, or rather the aid which so rich a country could afford him, became with Charles a state necessity. But of the three ladies whom he had engaged to wed, not one could be rejected without disastrous consequences. On Madame Charlotte depended the friendship of France; on the princess Mary, the alliance of England; the rejection of Isabella of Portugal was equivalent to the loss of some millions of ducats. It was his policy, therefore, or that of his ministers, to flatter the expectations of each by turns, and reduce none to absolute despair. La Sauch and Barroso carried on the negotiations with Portugal—to which his own sister, of course, contributed not a little; the bishop of Elna kept the English court in good

* See particularly no. 976. One of the chief causes of the insurrection was the prodigality of the Emperor's Flemish ministers. The insurgents insisted upon knowing what had become of 5,600,000 ducats of gold and other monies received by the Emperor since the death of Ferdinand of Arragon.

humor; whilst Chièvres, the most powerful and influential of his advisers, whom Wolsey most feared and hated, not without cause, supported his interests with France.

For the present, negotiations languished on all sides. On his return from the interviews at Guisnes and Calais, Wolsey had started on a pilgrimage to Walsingham, and all business was suspended in his absence. The King spent most of his time in hunting.* The Emperor was occupied in preparing for his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. As for France, its relations with England, though ostensibly amicable, were ruffled by various incidents which boded no good to the unity of the two crowns. Too cautious, if not too politic, to express his real sentiments, the French monarch naturally regarded the late interview at Calais with jealousy and distrust. He was too well informed of what had passed not to harbor resentment; too sensible of his danger to display it. A vigorous or angry remonstrance would have given England an excuse for throwing herself at once into the arms of the Emperor. If that step could not be entirely averted, every hour's delay was an advantage. A seeming friendship, however flimsy and hollow, was better than a declaration of open hostility. A show of undiminished amity with England served to intimidate the Pope, and keep in awe the secondary powers of Christendom, who were only too ready to declare against him. The task, as might be supposed, was a hard one; it was in danger of being frustrated every hour by some unforeseen accident,—by some trifle, weak as air, invested with exaggerated proportions by the jealousy of the two courts, or the mer-

* "There is no other news here," writes Tunstal to Wolsey, then on his journey, "but goodly pastimes and continual hunting." 18 Aug.

cantile rivalry of the two nations. At the meeting in the valley of Arde, Francis had taken an opportunity of putting the ruinous defences of that town into better condition. The work had been continued when the interview was over. Eager to take offence, Henry complained. He ordered his ambassadors to remonstrate. The French were indignant:—such a proceeding, they said, was “very strange;” and the ambassadors, must have exceeded their commission. The defences, they averred, were necessary for the security of the King’s person;—for the loyalty and obedience of his subjects on the frontiers. The English Court doggedly refused to entertain “this strange overture,” as they termed it. They urged that no fortifications had been erected at Arde ever since they were razed, either in this King’s reign or in that of his predecessor; therefore, “it was right strange under the “color of this interview that the French should “attempt to do what might annoy the King’s subjects, “and put them in suspicion of living in trouble rather “than in quietness.” With remonstrances that looked like menaces they mingled gentler expostulations. Such works, they said, could be of no advantage to the French king; the friendship of England was a better protection than walls or bulwarks. If, however, Francis persisted in this course, Englishmen would be faintly encouraged to take his part, so much they murmured at these proceedings.*

The town of Arde was as much a part of the French

* See Ruthal’s letter to the Cardinal while on his journey to Walsingham, 18 August, App. No. 10. As Ruthal was expressing the King’s sentiments before he had received any communication from Wolsey, it is a sufficient answer to the insinuations that the King was wholly influenced in all his measures by his minister, and scarcely ever looked at his despatches.

dominions as Calais was of England; and Henry would have deemed it strange and unwarrantable if, even under the pretence of amity, Francis had protested against similar repairs at Guisnes or Calais. The dispute grew warm;—the king of England and his minister more resolute;—at last Francis yielded. The fortifications of Arde were abandoned, and by the 1st of October, as Sandys wrote to Wolsey,* not a workman or pioneer was to be found in the place.

Whilst these causes for irritation arose to disturb the amity of the two Kings, the Emperor was occupied at Gravelines in making himself agreeable to his new allies, his subjects in Spain, taking advantage of his absence, rose in rebellion under Don Juan Padilla. The enthusiasm inspired by the insurrection, the celerity with which it spread among the commons, indicate some deeper and more abiding cause of disaffection than the greed of the Emperor's Flemish ministers, to whose rapacity and insolence it has been generally attributed. But I have only to consider the fact in its more immediate relation to those events which determined the policy of England. Whilst the whole energies of Charles were taxed to repress rebellion in Spain, he could find no leisure for interfering in the affairs of Italy. So Francis prepared to make the most of his advantage, by invading the peninsula, secure of success, and free from interruption.

The news of his intention fell like a thunderbolt on the astonished ears of the English court. Nothing could be more unwelcome or more disastrous. It was not merely the aggrandisement of French territory which had to be feared, should the French arms prove successful. The mere presence of the French in Italy would at

* No. 1013.

once put a stop to all those designs which English and Imperialists had been prosecuting with the utmost vigor, secrecy and despatch, and had not yet brought to a successful termination. It had been the object of Wolsey to unite in one firm alliance, offensive and defensive, the Pope, the Emperor and England. But if Francis persisted in his intention, if he once made his appearance in Italy, all hopes of such a combination were at an end. So far from becoming a party to the league, the Pope, timid and vacillating, would make the best terms that he could with his dreaded and abhorred protector. All Italy would follow his example; and thus the very instrument which the Cardinal hoped might be brought to bear against France would be turned against himself.

To oppose the design with threats or open violence would have been inconsistent with those professions of friendship which England still thought fit to adopt towards the French king. Nothing remained but to try the effects of negotiation. The English ambassador was instructed to represent to Francis the deep regret with which his master had heard of his intention to cross the mountains. Such a distance, he urged, must separate very friends, and prove a barrier to that free and constant intercourse which had hitherto existed between them. As French interests were so well established in Italy, Henry trusted that there would be no urgent cause for such an expedition. If, however, Francis apprehended the Emperor's designs in that quarter—(and that alone could justify his enterprise in the midst of profound peace)—his English ally would take ample care to send effectual aid, and join with him in repelling the invader.*

* No. 1092.

What answer was made by Francis to these amicable remonstrances we are not informed. I find by a subsequent despatch from Sir Nicholas Carew* that the English ministers were still laboring at the same anvil, with little apparent success. To discover his real intentions, Carew told the French monarch that after the diet, soon to be held at Worms, the Emperor intended to return into Spain, and extinguish the rebellion in person. More than usually cautious and reticent, Francis replied it was quite needful the Emperor should do so. He was in no mood to betray his intentions, as he was apt to do when drawn into conversation. When Carew informed him that his master had persuaded the Pope, the Emperor, the Swiss, and all the estates of Italy to maintain their amity with France, so that he should have no occasion to cross the mountains, except for his amusement, Francis coldly answered that his expedition was only for the satisfaction of his subjects and the reform of justice. With more courtesy, but less sincerity, his favorite minister, the Admiral, professed the greatest gratitude for Henry's good offices. He thought the English "counsel right" "good and honorable to the King his master;" and if matters could be concluded on the other side of the mountains in such a way as not to compromise his master's honor and profit, why—he himself would be content to urge the King to follow Henry's advice, and desist from so expensive an expedition!

Matters were beginning to wear a serious aspect. On the part of the Emperor they were not more encouraging. After his coronation at Aix, a ceremony imposed upon him by the constitution of the empire, Charles had to

* No. 1126; compare also 1157.

decide at once on his future movements. The condition of Spain and of Italy was equally critical ; both equally demanded his immediate presence. The rebellion was advancing with rapid strides in Spain ; Italy, exposed to the intrigues of the French, was in danger of being lost irretrievably. If Charles turned his steps towards Italy, Spain would be surrendered to the rebels, and Navarre revert to its ancient rulers. The d'Albrets, re-established on their ancient throne, would prove an effectual support to France, and cause incessant trouble to Spain. If, on the other hand, he turned to Spain, the Pope and all the minor potentates of Italy, abandoned to themselves, would fall a prey to the intrigues of the French.

Besides, he had already bound himself at his coronation to settle the troubles of Germany. What sort of task that was at any time, and still more in 1520, the reader may judge by a memorial of the agenda at the diet at Worms, apparently transmitted by Spinelly, at the instigation of Tunstal, and arranged under fifteen heads.* In addition to the religious controversies and the refutation of Luther's heresies, almost all the disputes by which Germany had been distracted for the last fifty years were to be carefully examined, and, if possible, adjusted. More than thirty bishops were at variance with the temporal lords for their several jurisdictions. Nuremburg, Wurtzburg, Bamberg, Constance, were each engaged in obstinate feuds ; here

* See no. 1185. The diet, says the memorial, will take notice of the books and descriptions (*i.e.* writings) made by friar Martin Lutero, a schismatic, against the court of Rome. According to the same witness the proceedings already taken against him had been of little efficacy. The Pope's curse was disregarded, and Luther's works were devoured with greater avidity than before : " the which friar Martin of the elector of Saxon " and other princes of this country is favored."

temporal, there ecclesiastical disputes, put forth their vigorous and interminable filaments. One proposal, especially worth notice, was to be carried if possible, and seemed likely to raise a storm of opposition; *sc.*, "that no man, without the consent of the Emperor and Electors, should, for any personal quarrel or other cause, presume to declare war, as had been done in times past:" and to this, says the memorial, the cities and towns were determined to stick fast.

Could anything show more clearly the confusion and disorder into which Germany was plunged, or the magnitude of the task undertaken by the Emperor, at the time when every quarter of his dominions was threatened by a domestic or a foreign enemy, and the very units of which society was composed were ready to start back into their primæval chaos?

Charles was perplexed, and hesitated. His council was divided. One party, of whom Chièvres was the chief, was loud and earnest in its asseverations that the ill news from Spain was exaggerated. If, said they, Italy be abandoned, Milan must be lost; French influence will become predominant in the peninsula; the Pope, inclined to befriend the Emperor, will make terms with his enemy. These arguments were enforced by numerous Italian exiles driven from their homes through hatred or oppression of French rule; still more, by the repeated remonstrances of Don Manuel, the Spanish ambassador at the Papal court. But they were not urged solely out of consideration to the Emperor's interests. Chièvres and his Flemish favorites had become odious to Spain by their rapacity. To return, and brave the irritation of the Spaniards, was impossible. So in the determination of this political dispute was involved the fall of one party, and the supremacy of its rivals. And not that only. If

Charles resolved on returning to Spain, the influence of Chièvres would be at an end, and with it all hopes of French supremacy in the councils of the Emperor. This is the key to the policy of Henry and his minister. This was the reason of their urging the Emperor to return to Spain. Their repeated representations of the necessity of such a step,—their solicitude for this quarter of the imperial dominions, so disproportionate to that charity which nations in general entertain for the troubles of their neighbours,—had this end in view,—this, and no other. And to this, and no other cause, must we refer the explosion of wrath with which the Spanish envoy some months before received Wolsey's considerate suggestion, that Madame (Margaret) should change places with Chièvres, whose grey hairs required repose, and whose presence would be less beneficial in Spain.*

* The singular conversation to which I refer is slightly abridged from a letter addressed by De la Sauch, the Spanish envoy, to Chièvres himself, 7 April 1520. After telling Chièvres how Wolsey had said his master was desirous of having Madame present at the interview (at Calais), that all might urge her to go to Spain, as the only means of reducing that kingdom to quiet, he continues: "On the other side, the Cardinal urged that, when our master went into Germany, it might be that you (Chièvres) would be desirous of rest, and so would like to have some person in your room; but that you would not wish to be deprived of all authority; reasonably enough." But, he added, they could not see how this could be easily brought about unless Madame were sent into Spain. Wolsey continued to insist on the advisability of this course, and the numerous inconveniences which would follow on rejecting it. "Upon this," continues De la Sauch, "I excused you, and I told him that I thought I knew your intentions well enough to assure him that whenever you made up your mind to retire, which I imagined you would do after the King's coronation at Aix, you would not wish to hold any office, for this would not be retirement (*repos*). If, on the other hand, you desire to continue your services you would not feel inclined to desert the Emperor; and as to any office or government, you would never become a party to such an exchange as he proposed, and so incur the displeasure of Madame. I told him she was the Emperor's aunt,

As sickness prevailed at Worms the diet was dissolved in the end of May 1521, after a very short conference. It was not reserved for Emperor or electors to settle in the space of two months the disputes by which Germany was distracted, still less to put back again into the original nutshell from which it had emanated the nascent spirit of reform. The sun-dial of public opinion would not return one degree backward for Pope, Emperor, men, or devils. So Luther, *fortissimus peccator*, retired from the diet to disseminate winged briefs and letters from his island of Patmos, and fight the devil over again in his solitude of the Wartberg, as he had fought with him among the beasts at Worms. Bishops were still doomed to go on quarreling with temporal lords, and temporal lords with bishops. The denunciation of private wars did not hinder Hutten and Sickingen from avenging their own quarrels, or those of others, as passion or interest dictated. The days when diets could

“ and there was no reason for supposing that he would deprive her of the
 “ government of the Netherlands for any one. Wolsey insisted, in reply,
 “ that the change was necessary for the Emperor’s affairs. ‘ We will per-
 “ suade him to this (he said), and that during her absence M. Chièvres shall
 “ have her place in Flanders.’ ‘ Certes, Monsieur,’ I replied, ‘ I think
 “ that if Madame wished to go into Spain she would be very welcome, and
 “ the King would be glad of it; but he would not press her to accept it
 “ against her will. And as for M. de Chièvres, I am sure that whenever
 “ he retires from the charge he has about the King he will never undertake
 “ any other office.’ ‘ Ah ! Master Secretary,’ he replied to me in Latin,
 “ ‘ if you believe that, I perceive well enough that you have no perfect
 “ knowledge of the dispositions of men in authority.’ To this remark I
 “ made no reply, but I thought that he fancied all mankind was like him-
 “ self, and that he would be very sorry if he were deprived of his autho-
 “ rity. On the other hand, I could not help wondering at his extrava-
 “ gant (*folle*) absurdity in supposing that if the King our master wished
 “ Madame to go into Spain, she would rather do so at their persuasion
 “ than at his.” Chièvres was an old man, whose influence had once been
 paramount with his master. He must have been more than mortal, if ever
 he forgave the Cardinal this insult.

smooth down into unity the ruffled passions, principles, convictions of men, were as equally numbered with the past, as those of Convocation and General Councils.

But the political complications in which Charles found himself involved were augmented by his matrimonial projects. To carry on three such negotiations as these simultaneously with secrecy and success demanded great tact. His choice varied between England and Portugal, for the rupture with France had already proceeded so far as to cause him little uneasiness. A matrimonial alliance with Portugal suited best his inclination, while one with England best served his political interests. But then the dowry offered by Henry was less in amount than that offered by Portugal; besides, the English monarch insisted on deducting from it the sums he had already advanced to the Emperor. One hope remained. If he consented to the projected marriage with Mary, the fulfilment of which could be indefinitely postponed on a variety of pretexts, Henry might be induced to declare war against France, and so irretrievably commit himself to a course from which he could not retire with honor. This was all that the Emperor wanted; that done, he would be free to choose his bride from France, England or Portugal, as best suited his inclinations or his interests. So the policy of the Emperor was mainly concentrated on two objects; first, to exact from the king of Portugal as large a dowry as possible; secondly, to induce England by all means in his power, short of an irrevocable engagement to Mary, to declare war against France. Of the real nature of his negotiations with Portugal, the English court was to be kept in ignorance, except so far as a knowledge of the offers of Portugal might serve to advance his interests in England; whilst the king of Portugal, informed from time to time of the advantageous conditions

offered by England, would be induced to bid higher for an imperial son-in-law.

With the course of these negotiations at the court of Portugal I am not concerned. Although the secret was very strictly kept, it did not wholly escape the penetration of Wolsey. Into the trap thus cunningly prepared for him he obstinately refused to enter, much to the dissatisfaction of the imperial agents, who vented their anger in abusive epithets, and consoled themselves for their disappointment by insinuations against the Cardinal's honesty. It cannot be said that he remained unmoved; for he was not of a temper to bear indignity with patience. But, conscious of his strength, he treated their anger and impatience with indifference, and not unfrequently with lofty contempt. He had determined on his course; he had fixed the terms on which the alliance of England was to be had:—these, and no others;—they might take them, or go. He would not bate an inch, or depart a hair's breadth from them, let Emperors and imperialists storm as they would.

And storm they did, for they were not accustomed to contradiction. The least pliant, the least courteous, in general the least successful negociator in the world, the Spaniard was detested in every court in Europe. In dealing with the Pope, the Venetians, or inferior powers, he dispensed with the arts of diplomacy, not because he despised them, but because he was too proud to condescend, too overbearing to conciliate, where force could be employed with impunity. With England that was impossible. In Wolsey he met with a scorn loftier than his own, and his anger was consequently unbounded. Formal, tedious, corrupt, are the expletives by which Don Manuel and others, in their correspondence with Charles V., found a safety-valve for their vexation, a compensation for their

wounded vanity. But to accept as some have done such expressions as grave historical evidence, to regard them as anything more than the spleen of the moment, to convert them into a solemn and ponderous charge against Wolsey's integrity, is altogether absurd.

The Emperor's council was no less perplexed and distracted than the Emperor. A million dollars with the hand of the princess of Portugal was a tempting offer ; but then its acceptance involved the loss of the English alliance, and the union of England with France. That alliance could be had only upon the terms dictated by Wolsey, and these were hard and strict :—a dower of 50,000*l.*, the privilege for Henry to declare hostilities against France at his own option, and indemnity for the losses he must incur in so doing. Would it not be possible to cajole or bribe the Cardinal, and so extract from him more favorable terms, a greater deference to the wishes and interests of the Emperor? Might he not, being only an Englishman, incapable of conceiving grand theories of universal dominion, and a stranger to that wisdom which a continental education engendered, become a puppet in the diplomatic hands of Cobos, Gattinara, or even Don Manuel? So weak men judge of the strong ; so small men imagine the great.

At this time Tunstal was the English ambassador at the imperial court. He had complained already of the waywardness, delay and indecision of the Emperor's council. In no mood to be trifled with, the Cardinal wrote in the King's name to the ambassador, then at Worms. After thanking him for his discreet behaviour and good service, he thus proceeds :* “ We marvel at the sudden “ change in the Emperor's council, in resolving not to

* See no. 1150. I have abridged the document, as it consists of 40 pages.

“ enter further into this alliance of marriage till he have
 “ leave from the Pope, unless we consent to treat all
 “ matters simultaneously ; *sc.* make a defensive league
 “ with the Pope, take the Swiss into pay, grant him aid
 “ against his Spanish rebels, and agree to a new interview.
 “ This is far discrepant from the overtures made us at
 “ Calais and by his ambassadors in England. Now,
 “ although, as you state, the Pope’s dispensation is
 “ necessary for this marriage, as we have foreseen, the
 “ parties being in the second degree of consanguinity,
 “ the difficulty may be cleared by a bull of dispensation.
 “ But we will not consent to any treaties or arrange-
 “ ments *until this article of the marriage be first fully*
 “ *concluded*, nor join in any league with the Pope and
 “ the Emperor until such dispensation be first granted
 “ *sub plumbo*, which shall be obtained in the most secret
 “ manner.*

“ We wonder they refuse these things, which are so
 “ much to their advantage. For considering the amity
 “ between us and France, that our daughter is already
 “ honorably bestowed there, that we are at peace with all
 “ Christian princes, what need have *we* of any further
 “ alliance with Pope or Emperor than such as we have
 “ already ? Why should *we* meddle with the Swiss, or
 “ make war upon France ? What object have *we* to gain
 “ in aiding the Emperor against his rebels, except it be
 “ for the love we bear him ? Do we stand in need of aid
 “ from the Emperor, or from any other ? If they make

* In spite of all the intrigues and threats of don Juan Manuel, Leo X. could not be persuaded to make any alliance with the Emperor until he had first made sure of the friendship of England. The favor of Henry, as the ambassador repeatedly told his imperial master, was indispensable to the success of his affairs. See especially his despatch, 3 Dec. 1520, in Bergenroth’s Calendar.

“ difficulties, we are not minded to bestow our favors upon
“ those who are unwilling to accept them. We only
“ require this assurance on their part that we may be the
“ more heartily inclined to the Emperor’s interests; for
“ without it we have no special inducement to tender his
“ welfare. It will not prevent the Emperor from marrying
“ any person of lawful age before our daughter comes to
“ mature years, as he will only be bound to take her if
“ he be then at liberty.”

Then addressing himself specially to the ear of the ambassador he adds: “This alliance must be concluded
“ before any other convention; for, if it were delayed
“ until after the league with the Pope, the Emperor and
“ his ministers might insist upon very unreasonable demands, lead us into war and intolerable expenses, bring
“ us into suspicion with our other confederates, and, after
“ we had helped them to play their game, leave us in
“ the lurch.”

After some remarks on the dowry to be given with the Princess, which was not to exceed 50,000*l.* sterling, Tunstal is informed that no particulars will be sent him at present as to the league with the Pope, the entertainment of the Swiss, the aid to be given against the Spanish rebels,—all points of the utmost solicitude to Charles and his ministers, and their main inducement for entering on these negotiations for Mary’s hand. For, “to be plain with you,” he subjoins, “it would
“ be great folly *in this young prince*, not being more
“ surely settled in his dominions, *and so ill provided*
“ *with treasure and good councillors*, the Pope also
“ being so brittle and variable, to be led into war for
“ the pleasure of his ministers. It is therefore not
“ advisable to enter into stricter bonds with the Pope
“ than at present, or be at charges for the Swiss, or

“ to send any embassy to alienate them from France,
“ or give assistance against the rebels in Spain, as the
“ Emperor may reimburse himself by confiscating their
“ lands and goods. As for the interview which they ask
“ for, though it will be expensive to us and our nobles,
“ we shall not object to it, if all else be concluded.”

Then, as if to remind the Emperor that these new objections had no place in his thoughts when he first viewed with the utmost jealousy and alarm the personal interview of the French and English monarchs only a few months before, he adds : “ At Canterbury, and again at
“ Calais, when this matter was broached, the Emperor
“ was willing to have concluded this alliance without any
“ dispensation from the Pope ; and we are led to suspect
“ that they now only are seeking to delay it until they
“ have learned from the French ambassador now sent to
“ them what offer will be made [them] by the French
“ king. As we understand that the Emperor lately
“ reproved Chièvres and the Chancellor (Gattinara) for
“ neglecting England, and charged them that they
“ should write nothing to us without his express know-
“ ledge, if you see no better towardliness in them than
“ heretofore, repair to the Emperor himself, show him
“ our mind, note his answers, and how he seems dis-
“ posed ; for we doubt not, when he has well weighed
“ the nature of this bond and the advantage of the
“ match, he will make no further difficulty. Then, if
“ the Emperor’s council continue intractable, you shall
“ tell the Emperor secretly, as of yourself, that, in
“ consideration of the old-standing amity between the
“ two sovereigns, there is no prince, your own king
“ excepted, for whom you entertain a stronger regard ;
“ and therefore you are induced for his own sake to tell
“ him what consequences are certain to ensue if he reject

“ this alliance. For if the match between the princess
 “ Mary and the Dauphin be suffered to proceed, and
 “ the Dauphin become king of France, and in her right
 “ king of England, the navies of France and England
 “ will shut the Emperor from the seas. If he make his
 “ abode in Spain, the Low Countries will be in danger;
 “ and the French king, monarch of two kingdoms and of
 “ the duchy of Milan, will imperil Naples, and attain the
 “ monarchy of Christendom. Whereas all these advan-
 “ tages would fall to the Emperor, if he accepted this
 “ alliance; so that he should rather labor himself to break
 “ this match with France than stay for England to make
 “ any overtures for the same.”

Thus fortified, Tunstal returned once more to the great object of his negociation. The chief impediment to its success was the Flemish minister Chièvres, as might have been expected. He was far advanced in years, and resented the suggestion of Wolsey, already mentioned, that he should give himself a little repose, and enjoy the shade of his own laurels, without venturing again into Spain. The advice was not the more palatable because it was wholesome. The rapacity of Chièvres and his nephew the young cardinal De Croy,—cardinal and archbishop of Toledo at the age of twenty,—self-sufficient and incompetent,—had filled the breasts of the Spanish nobles and ecclesiastics with bitter indignation. The old goat, as they complained, in gibing allusion to his name, did nothing but fill empty Flemish wells, and, gnawing to the bone his imperial ward, foster poverty and contention in his household.* But though his in-

* See Pet. Martyr. Epist. 646 *et passim*. Within the last four weeks he had sustained a great loss in the death of his favorite nephew, for whose aggrandizement he had exposed himself to so much obloquy. Spinelly's letter, App. 22.

fluence was on the wane, he was still omnipotent with the Emperor. In his present temper, it was hopeless to expect that Chièvres would countenance a match with England, and thus augment the influence of that party to which he was personally and politically opposed. In vain Tunstal argued first with one and then with another: points determined at one meeting were unsettled at the next. Pretexts were not wanting to avoid a definitive answer, or put off the ambassador's audience, when it was not likely to prove agreeable.

First, the terms of the alliance were open to controversy:—the Emperor did not understand Latin, and the papers must be translated into French. Then again his attention was engrossed by the diet at Worms. He had much business with the electors on the affairs of the empire. At Shrovetide, there was to be “a solemn joust of nobles and gentlemen.” His sister's marriage, visits of ceremony from and to the Electors, filled up the interval. It was clear the ambassador would get no answer. “I think,” says Tunstal, “they will delay till they see how the electors are inclined.”* This was the real secret. If the Emperor could bring them into good humor and some degree of unanimity, he might expect to reap the fruits of his ingenuity and their benevolence, and so stand upon his own terms. For Charles was deeply involved. “The household and all the gentlemen been behind of their wages almost three quarters,” says Spinelly; “whereupon hath grown a great murmur against the lord Chièvres.” But Charles was not disheartened. On the strength of his new expectations he had borrowed of the Belzers of Augsburg 130,000 florins. He was a young man then,

and the child of fortune. The reconciliation of the rival claims of the spiritual and temporal powers, the pacification and unity of all Germany, the harmonious cradling of the lion with the kid, of Luther with the Lady of Babylon,—all these were golden visions, easy to be realized by the supreme monarch of Christendom,—an Emperor of twenty-one.

In this juncture Wolsey addressed himself to Henry VIII. After stating that he had received letters in cipher from his ambassador with the Emperor, the contents of which he had deciphered, and sent, he proceeds: “This is far discrepant from good and congruence, founded and contrived only for delays, whereby they be like more to lose than your Grace shall; and great simpleness and lack of good remembrance may be arrected to them, thus to use so wise and expert a prince in his affairs as ye be; alleging that they cannot treat of the alliance proposed by your Grace, the honor of their master saved, except the Pope do dispense with their oath made to France; whereas, both at Calais and also Canterbury, they would actually have concluded marriage, if your Highness would have been thereto agreeable, without making any mention of any such dispensation. And whereas your Grace, in the Emperor’s privy chamber at Calais, objected that the Emperor was bounden by the contract made with the daughter of France, by cause he was of full age, notwithstanding she was not at like age; yet the Chancellor expressly denied the same. And though your Grace said according to truth and the law, yet by their denial it manifestly appeared that they reckoned their master solute, not needing any such dispensation as that they now allege; and much the less that this promise by your Grace demanded import not

“ so much as an actual and real contract, whereunto a
“ all times they have showed themselves to be agreeable,
“ to the intent thereby your Grace should break with
“ France

“ And whereas the lord Chièvres hath found a new
“ invention, wherein he thinketh that your Grace should
“ be pleased; that is to say, that a diet within your
“ realm should be holden at Calais betwixt commis-
“ sioners to be sent thither on both parts, and that
“ they should treat as well of the said alliance as of all
“ other matters; I cannot see to what pur-
“ pose that diet should serve, or what good effect should
“ come thereof, but only thereby ye should be brought
“ in suspicion with France: and by the color of the
“ same, the Emperor the sooner and rather should make
“ his hand with the same. Wherefore, seeing this their
“ untowardness, and that this answer is their final resolu-
“ tion, it shall be in mine poor opinion well done, that
“ the Master of the Rolls (Tunstal) do no further press
“ them in this behalf; but after a little tarrying there
“ to know what conclusion shall be taken in this great
“ assembly of the estates of Almain, and using to the
“ Emperor’s own person such words as be contained in his
“ last instructions, he shall take his leave and depart.
“ And I assure your Grace, may be or long too they shall
“ on their hands and feet seek unto your Highness; for if
“ the French king and they be at pique, as your Grace
“ shall perceive they be right like to be, by the copy of
“ such letters as the French king now writeth to his
“ ambassador, which I send unto the same herewith,
“ Spain also continuing in rebellion, they shall not only
“ have need of your favor, succor and assistance, but
“ also, if they attempt anything by hostility, your Grace
“ not consenting thereto, they shall be utterly undone.

“ Howbeit, in this controversy betwixt these two princes,
“ it shall be a marvellous great praise and honor to your
“ Grace so by your high wisdom and authority to pass
“ between and stay them both, that ye be not by their
“ contention and variance brought into the war ; which, as
“ I perceive by the latter clause of the French king’s
“ letters, he trusteth ye will be in case the Emperor should
“ enter into Italy, and so pluck the crown imperial at
“ Rome with a great army ; whereupon I doubt not but
“ your Grace will take good deliberation and be well ad-
“ vised, considering what ye be bounden to do by virtue of
“ such treaties as be passed betwixt you, or ye shall make
“ any promise to the said French king in that behalf.”

The result will have been anticipated by my readers. When reason fails to open men’s eyes to their true interests, what remains? *Moriemini in peccatis vestris*. Considering that the Emperor’s ministers wilfully rejected a proposal more to the Emperor’s profit than to the King’s, as Wolsey wrote shortly after to Tunstal, it was the King’s pleasure they should be pressed no further. So leaving Sir Thomas Spynelly in his place, he was ordered to return immediately.*

Thus matters stood : Charles remained still at Worms, feasting electors and denouncing Luther ; Francis I. was in the full bustle of war, levying lanceknights, and preparing ordnance ; Henry VIII., digesting, as best he might, the Emperor’s strange behaviour, and more strange refusal of his daughter’s hand ; Leo X. was oscillating between the French and Imperial alliance,—now deluding Don Manuel, and now the French ambassador, by taking them alternately into his confidence, and playing the one off against the other ;—when an event took place, which

struck not only England, but all Europe, with amazement. This was the apprehension of the duke of Buckingham.

In Shakspeare's play of Henry VIII., the Duke is introduced as holding conversation with the duke of Norfolk. He demands news of the latter touching the interview " 'twixt Guisnes and Arde," on the plea that "all the whole time he was his chamber's prisoner." Now, even if by Norfolk we are to understand Surrey, who became duke of Norfolk on his father's death in 1524,—and no other supposition will suit the chronology of the play—Shakspeare has fallen into a grave historical error. It was not Buckingham, but Norfolk, who should have required an account of the meeting of "those sons of glory, those two lights of men;"—for both Buckingham and his son-in-law lord Abergavenny were present at the interview. Whereas Norfolk, with Fox bishop of Winchester, and other members of the Council, remained in England,* and Surrey was absent as lieutenant in Ireland. On what authority Shakspeare, who in general adheres closely to Hall in his English historical plays, assumed that Buckingham was confined to his chamber "by an untimely ague," I have not been able to discover. Not a word of this illness is found in Hall. On the contrary, Hall states, correctly enough, that the Duke was appointed, in conjunction with Wolsey, to conduct the French king to his lodgings at Arde, on the last day of those famous festivities.† Perhaps Shakspeare may have been struck by the fact—not a little remarkable—that to the duke of Buckingham, next in rank to the duke of Suffolk, popular, wealthy and greedy of distinction, no conspicuous part in the tournament was assigned. His name does not appear among the combatants. He abstained from the

* See their letters, nos. 873, 895.

† Chron., p. 620.

various feats of arms, in which not Suffolk only, but other noblemen far inferior in rank to the duke of Buckingham, found numerous opportunities for display. This is the more remarkable; for we learn by the papers in this volume that the Duke had entered with zest and eagerness into such courtly amusements only a few months before. As the arrangements were "ordered" by the good discretion of the right reverend cardinal of "York," it might be thought that the omission of Buckingham's name was a studied insult:—and hence his indignation at Wolsey for usurping the authority of his master.

But neither Wolsey's pride nor "an untimely ague" was the true cause of the Duke's exclusion. Once before, when he had been appointed one of the answerers in a tilting at Court, he had requested Wolsey to be allowed to run on the King's side. If this could not be granted, he begged to be excused from taking any part in the jousts;* and I presume that his excuse was accepted. Unless then the King was willing to nominate the Duke as one of his own band, at the interview—a favor he could hardly expect,—it was not likely that he would consent to run on the opposite side in contradiction to his own expressed wishes, and his notorious dislike of the French.

Up to this time then, he had conceived no offence against the Cardinal, or had contrived to conceal his displeasure. It was not known to the King or Wolsey; for immediately after the French interview the Duke was selected to wait upon the King at Calais and at Gravelines, and assist at the meeting with the Emperor.† He distinguished himself on this occasion by his cordial reception of the imperial envoy, the marquis d'Arschot.‡

* See vol. ii. 2987.

† No. 906.

‡ No. 903.

In attributing to the Duke a violent dislike to the French king, Shakspeare adheres to historical accuracy. The Duke's cordiality to the imperial envoy, his desire to promote a union with Charles, were prompted as much by that dislike, as by any jealousy, real or supposed, of the Cardinal's overweening influence. From that date until the end of November his name disappears from the page of history.

In the autumn of 1520 we come upon a paper of instructions* given by the Duke to his chaplain and chancellor Robert Gilbert, afterwards produced as a witness against him, and upon whose evidence, as well as that of his steward Charles Knyvet, the Duke was mainly condemned.† Gilbert enjoyed the Duke's confidence. The names of Gilbert and of Charles Knyvet frequently occur in the Duke's miscellaneous accounts; for, besides acting in the capacity of chaplain, Gilbert seems to have been employed as a confidential agent in many of the Duke's pecuniary transactions‡ From the paper just referred to it appears that the Duke had already begun to suspect some act of treason in his household. For, among other directions, Gilbert is ordered to proceed to Oxford, and inform Dr. Bentley, the Duke's physician, § of the Cardinal's conduct, and what Margaret Gedding (apparently a waiting-woman of the Duchess) had declared upon oath respecting Charles Knyvet. The name of Margaret Gedding occurs again shortly after, in con-

* No. 1070.

† See his confession and deposition against the Duke, p. 494.

‡ See pp. 499, 501, 502-5. One of these entries is too curious and interesting not to be noticed; it refers to the 13th November of this year: "Paid by Robert Gilbert, chaplain to the Duke, 16th March, to Thomas Heneage, gentleman usher to the Cardinal (Wolsey), in reward, 6s. 8d." p. 504.

§ See p. 501.

nexion with this mysterious affair; Gilbert is directed to ascertain whether Margaret Gedding has misreported the Duke to the Cardinal, and he is ordered to inquire of the lady Fitzwalter,* the Duke's sister, whether she would advise the Duke to take Margaret again into his service. These notices are followed by one still more remarkable, which might lead us to surmise, if indeed surmise may be safely hazarded on so obscure a subject, that the Duke and the Duchess did not live happily together.* Gilbert, after delivering a letter to the same lady Fitzwalter, is directed by the Duke "to show
 " her the demeanor of my Lady our wife, and also to
 " my lord Fitzwalter. And, therefore, my lady Fitzwalter
 " may do us great pleasure and comfort to purvey us of
 " a sad (steady) woman to be about her (the Duchess);
 " for we think the demeanor of my Lady is such that
 " Margaret Gedding would be loth to be about her; and
 " to know who told her of the things we should do (*i.e.*
 " we did) at Southampton." Of this Margaret Gedding we have no other notice than what is furnished by the Duke's private accounts. In 1518 the sum of 15*l.* was paid to her for the funeral of Elizabeth Knyvet, the Duke's cousin; and she is doubtless the person referred to as "Mrs. G.," that is, Miss Gedding, who receives as

* Robert Ratcliffe, earl of Fitzwalter, married the Duke's sister Elizabeth.

† The Duke's wife was Elinor, daughter of Henry earl of Northumberland. To show how intimately the Duke's family was connected with the great houses in England, the following table may be found useful.

Edward duke of Bucks = Elinor dau. of Henry earl of Northumberland.			
Henry Stafford; mar. Ursula d. of Margaret countess of Sarum.	Elizabeth; mar. Thomas d. of Norfolk.	Katharine; mar. Ralph Nevill earl of Westmoreland.	Mary; mar. George Nevill lord Abergavenny.

a New Year's gift from the Duke the extraordinary sum of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and her mother 40*s.**

It is not improbable that the Duke's conduct in relation to Elizabeth Knyvet was one of the causes of his surveyor's resentment. Evidence occurs more than once of the Duke's arbitrary conduct to his servants and his inferiors. At p. 512 will be found an information against the Duke for wrongfully withholding the goods of Elizabeth Knyvet, deceased; and in the same place there is a petition to the King from his tenants in Thornbury, complaining of the inclosures made by the late duke of Buckingham. In the survey of his lands by the King's officers after his death, it is stated that he had "enclosed into the park" at Thornbury "divers "men's lands, as well of freehold as copyhold, and no "recompense as yet is made for the same."* Rents and farms are described as "decayed from inclosures." In the paper already mentioned, Gilbert has orders to see Sir John Coke, lately the Duke's chaplain, arrested for leaving his service contrary to his oath; and the same process is to be put in force against another of the Duke's dependents, named Gamme. In fact, indications crop out, that, however popular the Duke might have been with comparative strangers, for his courtesy and munificence,—virtues which cannot be denied him,—he was not beloved by his retainers, or his immediate neighbors.

Upon Charles Knyvet, the Duke's cousin and surveyor, the imputation has hitherto rested of being the foremost to betray the Duke,—the malice of Wolsey always excepted. So deeply has this conviction been rooted in the minds not only of ordinary readers, but of historians, by the genius of Shakspeare, that it might seem invidious to disturb it. There are reasons, however, for questioning

* p. 498.

† p. 506.

the accuracy of the general impression. The principal culprit was not Knyvet, but Margaret Gedding, or more probably Robert Gilbert, the Duke's chaplain and chancellor. That Knyvet was not the first or the original informer,—that Wolsey was not so hungry for the Duke's destruction, as historians, unsuspiciously following that old libeller and maligner Polydore Vergil, assume too readily,—is clear, I think, from the following unsigned letter addressed to the Cardinal :*—

“Please it your Grace to be remembered ; as touching the matter that I showed unto your Grace at More of Charles Knyvet, &c., wherein ye advertised and commanded me that I should handle it further, the best I could, to bring it to light and better knowledge ;—so it is that I have communed with him divers times this last term, and persuaded him in the matter as far as I might, in such wise that he should not suspect my meaning therein ; and in effect he resteth still in his first mind, affirming the chief cause of his putting away was for disclosing of certain matters to Mr. Lark, to be opened unto your Grace. I answered him I marveled much that he did not resort unto Mr. Lark, and showed him the same, it were the next mean to induce your Grace to be his better good lord. He said that your Grace had partly knowledge thereof already ; for this last term ye had sent word to the Duke, by his chancellor,† to have himself in await ; and although that he used to rail upon your Grace, yet that he should take heed how that he did use himself towards the King's highness. I showed Charles again, though so it were, yet was that neither thankful to him nor his discharge. Then he answered me how that he labored to be the King's servant, and if he were once sworn and admitted, then durst he speak boldly, and would tell all. And further he said, ‘Then will I speak, by Saint Mary, for it toucheth the King in deed.’ And so, if it please your Grace, of likelihood some great matter there is, or else is Charles a marvelous simple, insolent body. Very good policy it were to have the truth known.

“The King that dead is, whom God pardon ! would handle such a cause circumspectly, and with convenient diligence, for inveigling, and yet not disclose it to the party nor otherwise by a great space after, but keep it to himself, and always grope further, having ever good await and espial to the party. I am sure his Highness knew of the untrue mind and treason compassed against him by Sir William Stanley and divers other great men, two or three years before that he laid it to their charge ; and kept it secret, and always gathered upon them more and more. And as

* No. 1283.

† Robert Gilbert.

unto this matter, if any weight be therein, to bring it to light, under the reformation of your Grace, after my poor mind this were the mean ;—that your Grace should send for Charles to come before you, showing unto him that as ye have heard he should be [put] from the Duke, whereof ye much marvel, considering the great service that he hath done him, and how near he is of his blood. And thereupon I think that Charles will be plain, and disclose to your Grace everything. If not, your Grace then may show unto him that ye have heard, by divers servants that the Duke hath lately put from him, how that in his fumes and displeasures he will oftentimes rail and misuse himself in his words, as well against your Grace as against the King's highness ; and ye doubt not but that he that hath been so great and secret with him, and in so good trust, that he hath heard and knoweth much more of his inward mind than any other ; charging him therefore to be plain, both for his thank, and also for his own discharge in that behalf, according to the duty of his allegiance ; and that [if] he fear not to speak truly, the King and your Grace both will be his good lord, so that the Duke shall neither do him hurt nor displeasure ; and yet if he color or stick, then your Grace to show yourself more grievous and displeasing unto him. And show him also that great marvel it is that he will conceal unto your Grace that matter which toucheth and concerneth as well you as the King's highness, which he hath opened and disclosed to divers other ; reciting him then the effect of my former writing delivered your Grace at More, which at all times I shall be ready to avow and justify, if it so come to pass, as my duty bindeth me, with these premises ; albeit loth were I so to do, if the matter might come otherwise to revelation.

“ Please it your Grace further, there is a bill of articles come this last term to my hands, amongst other remembrances, touching such covenants as Sir Nicholas Vaux bound himself unto by indenture and other writing[s] and bonds, when the King that dead is appointed him to the office of Guysnes ; which writings and indentures I made by the King's commandment. Meseemeth it requisite that your Grace have sight thereof, to the intent ye may examine at your leisure whether he hath and doth perform and observe everything concerning the same. Therefore I do send your Grace the said bill herein enclosed. I think by leisure I shall find the very copies of the indentures, and also much like writings and indentures touching the Lord Mountjoie for the office of Hammes. And thus the Blessed Trinity have your Grace always in His holy tuition.”

The original informer, then, and prime mover in this design against the Duke must have been the author of this letter, whoever he was. He must also have been intimate with Knyvet, and well acquainted with his secrets. He avows his willingness, if need be, to come

forward and justify the insinuations he had already thrown out against the Duke in a previous letter to the Cardinal, "if it so come to pass as my duty bindeth me with these premises; albeit loth were I so to do, if the matter might come otherwise to revelation."

Now, unless the writer were under some obligation to the Duke, or in danger from his power, it is not easy to surmise upon what grounds he should be loth to avow his knowledge of the Duke's treasonable practices. That the letter must have been written either by some one in the Duke's service, or by one who had been long and intimately acquainted with the Duke's family, is without dispute. Who except Gilbert or Delacourt, the Duke's confessor, could have possessed such an intimate knowledge, as this letter reveals, of what was passing in the Duke's household? Yet Gilbert, called by Hall "the first accuser of the Duke," must be acquitted of this treachery; for he is mentioned here, in the third person, as the Duke's chancellor;—and Delacourt had no such employment at Court as this letter writer appears to have held. The handwriting is clear, stiff and formal; like that of one who had been accustomed to make "writings and indentures." Who, again, are the discharged servants alluded to? Who except Gilbert or Delacourt could have been aware that Wolsey had sent a message some time before to Buckingham, secretly warning him that though he might indulge in railing against himself he should take care how he "did use himself towards his Highness"? Would so important a witness have been permitted to go at large, or not have been produced at the trial? Yet, with the exception of Knyvet, who is out of the question, and of Nicholas Hopkins, whose handwriting differs from that of the letter, no other witnesses besides Gilbert and De-

lacourt were produced against the Duke. Both also were committed to safe custody in the Tower; as much, no doubt, out of regard to their personal security, as to the integrity of their evidence. Gilbert's testimony is aggravated by bitter hatred, and malignant betrayal of details in the Duke's conversation, not unlike the tone of a man who had been false to his master, and sought to cover his falsehood by exaggerated statements.* Can he then have been the author of the letter? And did he speak of himself in the third person, as the Duke's chancellor, in order to escape detection?

But be this conjecture probable or not, the letter shows that the popular account of Wolsey's inveterate malice and his supposed designs against the life of the Duke, rest on no certain foundation. The calumny was derived from Polydore Vergil,† and rests on no other authority. Not a word of it is to be found in the

* See his Confession.

† In that portion of his history which relates to the Duke, Vergil sought chiefly to gratify his spite against the Cardinal, and blacken his memory. According to Polydore,—who has been literally translated by Holinshed, unsuspectingly followed by Herbert, and of course by most historians since,—on receiving letters to prepare themselves to attend the King on his journey to France, “and no apparent necessary cause expressed,” the nobles grudged that such a costly journey should be taken in hand to their intolerable charge and expense: “But namely the duke of Buckingham, being a man of a lofty courage, but not most liberal [this is false], sore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture forth at this time, saying that he knew, not for what cause so much money should be spent about the sight of a vain talk to be had, and communication to be ministered, of things of no importance. Wherefore he sticked not to say that it was an intolerable matter to obey such a vile and importunate person (as Wolsey).” This is Polydore's version of the report preserved by De la Sauch: that when the Duke and other nobles were warned to attend the King at the interview, *they were said to have replied*, that as this had been determined on without their cognizance they would require at least three months for preparation.

Vergil then proceeds to tell us that when these words came to the Cardinal's ears, Wolsey, cruel and forgetful of his holy functions—(as if

pages of Hall, whose sympathy with the Duke is so manifest, and so strong his dislike of the Cardinal, that he would scarcely have suppressed a circumstance so unfavorable as this is to the Cardinal's memory, had there been any truth in it.

Polydore's holy functions consisted in malice and evil speaking),—and determined to lure on the Duke to destruction, the better to execute his purpose, sent Surrey, who had married the Duke's daughter (Elizabeth), into Ireland, "lest he might cast a trump in his way. There was great " enmity betwixt the Cardinal and the Earl; for that on a time when the " Cardinal took upon him to check the Earl, he had like to have thrust " his dagger into the Cardinal." He adds that an opportunity was given by the arrival of Kildare in England, well provided with money, whom Wolsey resolved to fleece, and therefore accused him to the King, and had Surrey sent in his place. (The falsehood of this statement may be seen by referring to the King's letter to the Council in Ireland, no. 860.) The next step was to get rid of the earl of Northumberland (whose daughter the Duke had married); and therefore the Cardinal picked a quarrel with him for seizing "upon certain wards which the Cardinal said appertained " of right to the King; and as Northumberland refused to give them up " he was committed to prison.

" Now, in the meanwhile, the Cardinal ceased not to bring the Duke " out of the King's favor, by such forged tales and contrived surmises as " he daily put into the King's head; insomuch that through the infelicity " of his fate divers accidents fell out, to the advantage of the Cardinal; " which he not omitting, achieved the thing whereat he so studiously, " for the satisfying of his cankered and malicious stomach, laid full aim. " Now it chanced that the Duke coming to London with his train of men, " to attend the King into France, went before into Kent, unto a manor- " place which he had there. And whilst he stayed in that country till " the King set forward, grievous complaints were exhibited to him by his " farmers and tenants against Charles Knevet, his surveyor, for such " bribing as he had used there amongst them. Whereupon the Duke " took such displeasure against him that he deprived him of his office, " not knowing how that in so doing he procured his own destruction."

Then, after interspersing some remarks, not pertinent to our subject, Polydore proceeds to narrate how the Cardinal, "boiling in hatred against " the duke of Buckingham, and thirsting for his blood, devised to make " Charles Knyvet an instrument to bring the Duke to destruction."

That Polydore's narrative is little better than a tissue of misrepresentation, exaggeration, and falsehood, devised by this partial historian to gratify his hostility to the Cardinal, is abundantly clear from the documents contained in this volume.

The Duke was tried at Westminster by seventeen of his peers, on Monday after Ascension Day, that is, on the 13th of May, the Duke of Norfolk acting as lord high steward. It will be remembered that in Shakspeare's play the Duke is declared guilty by the King at a meeting of the Privy Council, even before his regular trial had taken place; — a process altogether informal. In the Council Chamber in which queen Catharine and Wolsey are present, the King is represented as conducting the examination of the Duke's surveyor, Charles Knyvet, in person. The Duke has no one there to defend him; the witnesses are not subjected to cross-examination, nor is any attempt made to ascertain the accuracy of their charges, or to test their honesty and good faith by the methods now adopted in similar cases. The Duke's guilt is assumed upon their unsupported assertions. In this travestie of justice, the Queen is the only person who appears to retain any sense of what is due to reason and equity; but she is too feeble an advocate, too much bewildered by the sophistry which she feels, but is unable to unravel, to render the accused any effectual help. Besides, when kings sit in council, who shall contradict them? When their minds are already made up, "God mend all," is the natural and sole reflection which presents itself to the thoughts of inferiors. Strange as this proceeding may appear, it is not due merely to the poet's imagination. It presents us with a general likeness of state prosecutions in the Tudor times. The presumption that men are innocent until they are legally proved to be guilty, the facilities granted to the accused for substantiating his innocence by retaining the ablest advocate, the methods for sifting evidence now in use, had no existence then. In crimes against the sovereign, real or supposed, men were pre-

sumed to be guilty until they had proved themselves to be innocent, and that proof was involved in endless difficulties. What advocate or what witness would have ventured to brave the displeasure of a Tudor king, by appearing in defence of a criminal, on whose guilt the King had pronounced already?

With the exception of making Wolsey present at the examination of the Duke's servants and surveyor, Shakespeare has strictly adhered to facts in this preliminary examination of the Duke's servants. We have indisputable evidence that it was conducted by the King in person, assisted by Ruthal, secretary of state. For on the 16th of April, Pace, then at Greenwich with the King, wrote, in answer to the Cardinal's request for Ruthal to be sent to him, that the King would not suffer him to leave,* but had commanded him to tarry at Greenwich for examination of certain things connected with the duke of Buckingham's servants. He adds that Ruthal was then sending to Wolsey a letter written by the King's command for "such as shall see to the keeping of the " said Duke's house during his absence;" that is, whilst he was at London taking his trial; for he was not then in custody. On the back also of a private letter addressed to Pace from Rome by the bishop of Worcester, he has jotted down two or three obscure memoranda relating to this tragic affair, showing that the King had already made up his mind as to the Duke's guilt and condemnation. "The King is convinced," so run these fragmentary notices, "that Buckingham will be found " guilty, and be condemned by the Lords; and for this " matter, and for the affairs of Ireland, a Parliament " will be summoned." "The monk (Hopkins) and De- " lacourt (the Duke's chaplain) have been sent to the

* No. 1233.

“ Tower. Arthur Pole (the Duke’s cousin) has been “ expelled the court.” Then follows a most tantalizing passage, the meaning of which cannot be clearly made out; and the whole ends with this remark: “ As to the “ countess of Salisbury, nothing has yet been decided, “ on account of her noble birth and many virtues (*boni-
tatem*).”*

From these passages it seems to me unquestionable, that it was the King himself who was most active in the prosecution of the Duke; not active only, but, as Shakspeare describes him, fully convinced beforehand of his guilt, and resolved on his condemnation. Why the countess of Salisbury† (who escaped on this occasion only to fall by the executioner at a later period) was spared “ in consequence of her high birth and virtues,” I do not pretend to inquire. To some of my readers it may suggest a conclusion I forbear to draw from expressions so brief and so ambiguous.

Whilst his surveyor and his chancellor, unknown to the Duke, were either in the Tower or closeted with the King at Greenwich, concocting evidence for their master’s fall, the Duke was idling away his hours at Thornbury, either in listening to the sermons of Stanley, an Oxford friar,—for he was deeply tinctured with religious terrors,—no wonder,—or in making offerings to the holy relics and blood at Hales, and at other consecrated shrines, in which the neighbourhood of Thornbury abounded.‡ On Monday the 8th§ of April a messenger, to whom the Duke ordered a gratuity of a mark, arrived with letters from the King, commanding the Duke to repair instantly

* See no. 1204.

† Lord Stafford, the Duke’s only son, was married to the Countess’s daughter Ursula.

‡ See the diary, p. 500.

§ Misprinted 18th. *Ibid.*, p. 501.

to London. He set out wholly unconscious of the purport of the summons. His progress day by day may be traced in the diary of his accounts. At Reading he made an oblation of 6*s.* 8*d.* to "the child of grace;" to Our Lady of Eyton near Windsor, on the 14th, 6*s.* 8*d.*; and as knight of the garter, he presented to the keeper of the garter robes at Windsor the sum of 20*s.* Here, for the first time, the real nature of that mission on which he was bound flashed upon the unhappy prisoner. Wherever he turned, armed men, as if watching his movements, seemed to hover in the distance: at every winding of the road, as if to cut off all hope of escape, real or imaginary, they drew more closely upon him. Such conduct at first attracted no attention. It was not unusual for soldiers and archers to be travelling on the road to Windsor and the metropolis, either for the King's service or for other purposes. But as they continued to press upon his rear, and dog his movements,—as some of them had even the audacity to take up their lodgings for the night in the hostelries occupied by the Duke,—his anger was roused at this seeming impertinence. The morning after he had arrived at Windsor, as he was sitting down to breakfast, seeing a royal pursuivant loitering about the place, the Duke somewhat suddenly and sharply demanded of him, what he did there. The messenger replied, that his office lay there, by the King's commandment. Then, for the first time, so well had the secret been observed, the Duke discovered that he was a prisoner. The news fell on him with the abruptness of the headsman's axe. He turned ashy pale,—the untasted morsel dropped from his lips,—death was before him,—escape was impossible.

Evidently he had not expected this. Since the interview between the two Kings in the vale of Arle, he had

retired to the country, never making his appearance in London, or taking any part in the political discussions of the times. He had been employed in superintending his garden,* making curious knots and summer bowers, or busying himself with the lying-in of Lady Stafford, his son's wife, at Thornbury. If we may judge from his papers, his employments during his retirement were as far removed from treason or plots against the state, as any employments could well be. Next to making religious offerings at different shrines on every holy day,† for which the Duke seems to have entertained a kind of passion, his chief delight was in training horses or purchasing dogs and falcons. Sometimes these occupations were varied by others of a different character. Poets, harpers, minstrels, players, and tumblers amused his tastes and partook of his bounty. On one occasion he gives to three maidens of Kainsham 8*d.*, in May, "for bringing hawthorns to my lord's grace when he was in his orchard;" at another time he pays 6*s.* 8*d.* for "a throstle bird." Part of his care is centred on "little Francis,"‡ a poor child whom he was bringing up for a scholar at Oxford, on the recommendation of a

* p. 499.

† Here are a few: To Our Lady of Kingswood; to St. Aldhelm at Malmesbury; to St. Ann in the Wood; to Our Lady of Belhouse, Bristol; to prince Edward at Tewkesbury; to two idiots—then regarded with superstitious reverence,—one at Drinkwater, and another belonging to the abbot of Chichester.

‡ This child was placed under the care of the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, and the items for his expenditure are highly curious and interesting. For shaving his head 1*d.*, a pair of gloves 2*d.*, a pair of shoes 6*d.*, a pair of hose 10*d.*, a silk girdle 6*d.*, writing paper 1*d.*, pen and inkhorn 2*d.*, washing his petticoat sundry times 3*d.*, mending and dry-scouring his Kendal coat 6*d.*, a shirt 20*d.*, walking shoes 8*d.* "For a hen at Shrovetide, for Francis to sport him with the childer," 7*d.*, a bow 6*d.*, shafts 3*d.*, strings, shooting glove and brace 3*d.* The Duke gives him 40*s.* as a reward. See pp. 503, 504.

kind-hearted but crazy enthusiast, Dan Nicholas Hopkyns, a monk of the Charterhouse at Henton, who brought the Duke unintentionally into trouble, and died brokenhearted after his fall.*

It is true that the Duke had done nothing to conciliate the powerful Cardinal, now grown more powerful than ever. He had been at no pains to conceal his dislike and contempt of one, who like a cloud "had darkened his clear sun." Never, like Norfolk and Suffolk, had he graced

* Here is the monk's letter, no. 1277 :—

"My most singular and gracious lord in God. I, your poor and unworthy orator, desirous of your noble Grace's prosperity, which our Lord God omnipotent of His infinite mercy and goodness continually conserve from all misadventure and peril, as well in this miserable world as in the celestial world to come, where as is perdurable joy ineffable, attempt now to write unto your gracious Highness, trusting and also beseeching your noble Grace to accept my charitable striving, as your noble Grace has done herebefore. And whereas I now with fervent charity am moved to be desirous of your noble Grace's charity, I beseech your Lord's grace (*sic*) to condescend unto my desirous petition, forasmuch as it is to the augmenting of God's service, and specially as I do fey[th]fully trust it will be in time coming to the great comfort of our small company and place.

"There is now with us a poor child of 14 year of age, which is virtuously disposed, intending to be of our holy religion when Almighty God send time lawful; unto whom, for the virtue and grace that I daily see in him, I owe great favor. Wherefore, if it might please your noble goodness to do your alms upon him, finding him to his grammar till he be full twenty year, which (when) without doubt I trust verily ye shall have of him a good and a virtuous religious man, and also a true and trusty beadman. And moreover, after my confident feeling, I believe it shall be to your Lord's grace as charitable deed before Almighty God, and as well accept as ever was deed of charity by your noble Grace's power done. As knoweth Jesus, which be ever your protector, and at His most pleasure be once your Lord's grace conductor unto our poor place. Amen.

"Written at Charterhouse, Henton, by your simple and unworthy orator,

DAN NYCH'AS HOPKYNs, Vicar."

Addressed: "Illustrissimo in Christo Domino, domino Edwardo duci Buckinghamiæ, tradatur hæc litera cum honore."

Also: "To the right honorable and his singular good lord, my lord Chamberlain."

by his presence those occasions in which Wolsey shone forth, as another and scarcely second sun, in some religious or state ceremonial. But he had taken more than ordinary pains, and apparently not without success, to regain the favor of the King. In August 1519 he had entertained Henry and his retinue magnificently at Penshurst for several days.* The same year he entered into the questionable amusements and gaities of the court with an abandonment hazardous to a man of his high spirit and hasty temper. Along with other fashions introduced into this country by the French hostages was a taste for gambling; in which the King and many of his immediate attendants engaged with the rash ardor and unguarded inexperience of novices. On one occasion the Duke lost at dice with "the duke of Suffolk and the Frenchmen" no less a sum than 7*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*, that is upwards of 1,000*l.* in modern computation.† At another time, he lost to the lord Montague 65*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*, to the King at tennis 14*l.*, to Suffolk at shooting 31*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and again to Suffolk and others, "since coming to the King," 51*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* He was apparently sobered by these and other heavy sacrifices, for no sums are entered in his subsequent accounts for losses incurred at play.‡ If we except some hasty and unguarded expressions dropped in the irritation of the moment in the recesses of his family circle—and even these are uncertain—conscious of his blood, his great wealth and popularity, he seems to have been more than usually cautious of provoking the King's displeasure.

* No. 412.

† See p. 499. On one occasion he paid the Duke of Suffolk in full 500 marks, *i.e.* upwards of 3,000*l.* of our money, for losses at dice. (p. 505.)

‡ As might be expected, there are various entries, at the same time, for money borrowed by the Duke, on his gold chains, jewels, or his bond; doubtless in support of this extravagance.

Until the autumn of 1520, and for the three years previous, he had been in favor at court, and his offences (if any) had been forgotten or forgiven.*

To return. The Duke quailed, but only for a moment,—as what spirit, however brave, would not quail, in the pride of its strength,—at such a sudden prospect of death, and of death in a form so hateful as the doom of a traitor. Ordering his horse immediately, he rode to Tothill Fields, near Westminster. On taking his barge, and landing at the stairs of the Cardinal's palace, his worst apprehensions were confirmed. In reply to his inquiries he was told that the Cardinal was sick, and could not be seen. "Well," said the Duke, not abating a whit of his high spirit at this new demonstration of danger, "I will yet taste of my Lord's wine or (ere) I "pass:" and he was conducted to the cellar by one of the Cardinal's gentlemen with all due courtesy and reverence.

Embarking once more on board his barge he was rowed down the river to London Bridge. As the barge neared the stairs it was suddenly boarded by Sir Henry Marny, captain of the Guard, attended by a hundred yeomen. Attaching the Duke in the King's name, Sir Henry commanded his attendants to retire to the Duke's manor of the Rose, in St. Lawrence Pountney, whilst he carried his prisoner, who had now landed at the Hay Wharf, through Thames Street to the Tower. Here Nicholas Hopkyns, the Carthusian monk, John Delacourt, the Duke's confessor, and Robert Gilbert, his chancellor,

* On 5th Nov. 1519 he had a grant from the crown of the wardship of Thomas, son of Gerald FitzGerald, earl of Kildare. See also vol. ii., nos. 1893, 1959, 2987, 4037, 4061, 4075, 4124. From these it will be seen that up to the interview at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Buckingham was not only in favor with the King, but, as he admits, (no. 2987,) he owed that favor to Wolsey's interposition.

were already in custody, pending the Duke's arrival. Shortly after, his son-in-law the lord Abergavenny, and the lord Montague, were apprehended and sent to the same place.

The Duke was committed to the Tower on the 16th of April. The indictment was laid at the Guildhall, before Sir John Brugge, lord mayor, and others, on Wednesday the 8th of May. On the 10th of the same month the duke of Norfolk, acting as lord high steward, issued his warrant for the attendance of the peers at Westminster Hall on Monday the 13th. Among the peers thus summoned for the Duke's trial were the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Dorset, the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Devonshire and Worcester, the prior of St. John's, with nine other barons, including William Blount lord Mountjoy, the celebrated friend and patron of Erasmus.

The axe was carried before the Duke as he was brought to the bar, between Sir Thomas Lovel, the constable, and Sir Richard Cholmeley, deputy lieutenant of the Tower. The indictment, in the rambling, legal terminology of the times, framed like the Gospel-net to catch all chances of condemnation, good or bad, substantial or otherwise, extended over a period of ten years, from 1511 to 1520. It rested exclusively on the depositions of the Duke's servants, Delacourt, Gilbert and Charles Knyvet. Their evidence related chiefly to a correspondence said to have been held by the Duke with Nicholas Hopkyns, a pretender to the gift of prophecy, and seems almost too absurd or too exaggerated to be credible. Hopkyns—so the evidence ran—first exacting an oath of secrecy from Delacourt, bade him inform the Duke that “he should have all,” and encouraged him to win the love of the commons. On being questioned how he knew this, Hopkyns replied, “By the grace of God.”

At another time the monk assured the Duke that the King should have no male issue; — a safe prophecy enough, so long as Katharine remained Queen. In April 1514, according to the same witness, the Duke went to the priory at Henton, and was assured by Hopkyns he should be king of England; to which assurance the Duke replied, that in such a case he would act like a just prince. In confirmation of this treasonable correspondence, it was alleged that the Duke had given the house to which Hopkins belonged an annuity of 6*l.* for a tun of wine, and 20*l.* for a water conduit, of which sum he then and there had traitorously paid 10*l.*

In Gilbert's evidence the Duke was accused of purchasing cloths of gold and silver, to the amount of 300 marks, for the purpose of distributing them in presents to the King's guards; of endeavoring to obtain a licence from the King for arming certain of his subjects in Wales;—a charge not unlikely to be true, and, considering the disorders of the principality, and the Duke's large possessions there, not necessarily indicative of any felonious intention.

But the most invidious and perilous charge, resting wholly on the evidence of his chancellor, Gilbert, has yet to be mentioned. Gilbert deposed that on the 20th of February 1520, the Duke told him, at Bletchingly in Surrey, that he would wait for a more convenient season to execute his purpose; and that it would be well if the lords would show their minds to each other, but they were afraid to do so. The Duke said also that all that Henry VII. had done was done wrongfully; and as for himself he was so great a sinner that he was certain he had not the grace of God, and therefore if he attempted anything he was sure of being punished.

The evidence of Charles Knyvet, his surveyor, whom

the Duke had deprived of his offices, was of a fouler and blacker dye than that of the rest. It will be remembered that in 1519 the King had been grievously offended with Sir William Bulmer for leaving his service, and entering the service of the duke of Buckingham. In reference to this event, Knyvet deposed that the Duke had said, in conversation with him, that he expected nothing less at that time than to have been committed to the Tower; but if that had been done, the principal actors — (meaning the King and the Cardinal) — should have had but little joy; for he would have done what his father intended to do to Richard III. at Salisbury, when he made suit to come into the King's presence; kneeling before the King, he would have started up suddenly, and stabbed him on the spot. In saying this (continued Knyvet) he laid his hand upon his dagger, swearing by the blood of the Lord he would do the best to execute his purpose. Shakspeare has adhered so strictly to the facts connected with the Duke's indictment that I need not continue these remarks.

A summary of the depositions against him will be found at p. 493 of this volume. They contained many particulars which it was not deemed prudent to bring forward at the trial. Some of them are apparently so immaterial that it is difficult to discover their bearing on the case. Thus it is deposed (evidently by his chaplain Delacourt) that on the 26th October 1520, the Duke, in the presence of his council,* had said, "I commanded you to bring your books with you;" and on their affirming they had done so, he thus proceeded: "I intended not to busy you or to trouble myself with any such matter at this time, but to commune with

* p. 495.

“ you and show you my mind. Ye see I wear a beard,
 “ whereof peradventure ye do marvel. But marvel not
 “ of it; for I make a vow unto God that it shall never
 “ be shaven unto such time as I have been at Jerusalem.
 “ And if I may obtain the King’s licence to perform
 “ my promise and vow, it were more to my comfort than
 “ if his Grace would give me 10,000*l.*; yea, more glad
 “ than if his Grace would give 10,000*l.* land to me and
 “ mine heirs.” That there was no great wisdom in these
 words is apparent enough; but what treason could lurk
 behind them I confess I am unable to discover. In
 fact, all the depositions against the Duke show him to
 have been rather a weak than a wicked man;—not
 without ambition—not without hopes, perhaps, of suc-
 ceeding eventually to the crown;—too vacillating to be
 innocent, too weak to be dangerous,—sinning and repent-
 ing,—“letting I dare not wait upon I would.” The
 King might very well have pardoned the Duke, without
 fear of sparing a dangerous rival and pretender, had
 that been all.

I subjoin, without abridgment, the deposition of Robert
 Gilbert, the chancellor, as affording the clearest exem-
 plification of the *animus* of the chief parties concerned
 in the prosecution, and of the sort of legal evidence
 admitted in trials for high treason during the reigns of
 the Tudors.

CONFESSION and DEPOSITION of the DUKE’S CHANCELLOR.*

“First, he saith he heard the said Duke say that he had a writing
 sealed with the King’s broad seal, confessing the acts of parliament,
 wherein it was enacted that the duke of Somerset, one of the noble
 ancestors of our sovereign lord, was made *mulier*, or legitimate, and that
 the same Duke said that he was minded to have given the same writing
 to our sovereign lord the King’s father, and he said he would not he had
 so done for ten thousand pounds.

* Harl. M.S. 283, f. 70.—B.M.

“Also he saith that he heard the said Duke say at sundry times that my lord Cardinal was an [i]dolator, taking counsel of a spirit how he might contin[ue in th]e King’s favor, and that he was the King’s bawd, showing him w[hat w]omen were most wholesome, and best of complexion, for his Grace to use; and that the life that they used was so abominable that God would punish it, and that it could not continue; and that my lord Cardin[al] is so sore with noble men, that they would be all in his top if the King’s grace were displeased with him, and that he would undo all noble men if he could.

“Also he saith that he heard the said Duke say, that he had done as good services as any man, and was never rewarded; and that the King would give his fees, offices, and rewards rather to boys than to noble men, which was small comfort to them to do his Grace services.

“Also he saith that he heard the said Duke say, that he trusted to see the time that Sir William Compton should be glad to let him have the land again that he had sold him.

“Also he saith that the said Duke hath always done as much as he could to have favor of the King’s guard, and hath many times greatly rejoiced in it, that he thought himself sure of them; and now of late he hath much studied to make many particular offices in his lands, to the intent that he might retain as many men by the same offices as he could.

“Also the said Duke would at many times cause to be provided for him in cloth of gold and other silks to the value of three hundred or four hundred marks, and would give it all within a quarter of a year to gentlemen, to get their love.

“Also of late, when the said Duke had given a doublet of cloth of silver to Sir Edward Neyvell, he rejoiced of it, and said to my lord of Burgavenny that he had gotten the good will of his brother Sir Edward Neyvell, and said that he was sure that my lord Burgavenny could not get the good will of Sir Edward Neyvell from him.

“Also he heard the said Duke [gr]udge and be discontented many times that the earl of War[wick was put t]o death, and said that God would punish it, and that [he had pu]nished it in that he would not suffer the King’s [grace’s] issue to prosper, as it appeareth by the [death o]f his son, and that his daughters prosper not, and that the King’s g[race ha]s no issue male, and that it would be further punish[ed; and] further the said Duke said, that he would suffer till that he might see a more convenient time, and that it would do well enough if the noblemen durst break their minds together, but some of them mistrusteth, and feareth to break their minds to other, and that marreth all; so that there is no remedy for us but to suffer till that a convenient time may come, for there be but few of us contented in our minds; we be so sore and so unkindly handled.

“Also he saith that if the said Duke might have had convenient time,

and have been strong enough to have made his party good, he would have done as much against the King's grace as he could have done ; for he hath said that all that the King's father did was wrong and naught, and he hath at all times grudged against every thing that our sovereign Lord hath done.

"Also the said Duke said, that he had been such a sinner that he was sure that he lacked grace, and therefore he knew well that he should speed the worse when he should begin to do anything against the King ; and therefore he said he would suffer till that he might see a more convenient time for it."

The depositions of the witnesses were read at the trial ; but, if we may draw any conclusion from the silence of Hall, no opportunity was afforded the Duke of confronting and cross-examining the witnesses in person, or of producing evidence in his own defence. He was allowed no counsel ; and no other course was open to him for establishing his innocence, beyond the bare denial of the offences charged against him. "When the indictment was openly read," writes Hall, "the Duke said, 'It is false and untrue, and conspired and forged to bring me to my death ; and that will I prove,' — alleging many reasons to falsify the indictment. And against his reasons the King's attorney alleged the examinations, confessions and proofs of witnesses ;" that is, the confessions and allegations prepared some weeks before, without the knowledge of the Duke, by the King and his ministers at Greenwich.

"The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought forth. Then was brought before him Sir Gilbert Perke, priest, his chancellor, first accuser of the same Duke ; Master John Delacourt, priest, the Duke's confessor ; and his own handwriting [was] laid before him, to the accusation of the Duke ; Charles Knevet, esquire, cousin to the Duke, and a monk (Nicholas Hopkyns), prior of the Charterhouse (at Henton) besides Bath, which, like a false hypocrite, had induced the Duke to the treason,

“ and had divers times said to the Duke that he should
 “ be king of England; but the Duke said that in him-
 “ self he never consented to it.” The depositions were
 then read, and the witnesses were handed over to the
 custody of the officers of the Tower.*

* In the following paper, under his own hand, the Duke substantially denied the charges brought against him.

“ Ans[wers made by me the du]ke of Bekingham beffore Sir Thomas Lovell, knyght, one off the Kyng’s most honorable concell, towching such words as was betwene me and my gostly fader, callyd th[e] wyicar generall of Henton.

“ Fyrst, I seye tha[t in] the somer beffore the King’s grace whent to Calys, he sent a letter off hys owne hand unto me, and desyryd me that I wold cum over to speke with hym, for he had dyveres thyngs to shewe me, whych he wold schewe no body on hys good wyll; but iff I myght not cum he wold be content to schewe it to one off my chapeley[ns] suche as I wold trust. Wherupon bycause he had bene longe my goostly ffader, thynking that he coold have infformyd me off sum wrongs that I had doon, or elles to sum materes off pyte, I wrote a letter to hym ageyne, and schewed hym that I myght not cum to hym, and prayd hym to wryte it to me, or elles to schewe it to Mayster Dalacourt; whych Mr. Dalacourt came to me ffrom hym, and seyde he wold not wryt, but the nexst tyme that I cum to hym [he] wold schewe it me hymself; and su[me time] followyng, whyche [was when the King took his] jorney in warffar into France, I [confessed to] hym; and when I whas in schryft to hym [he axed me] wheder I schuld goo into France w[ith the King]; and I schewed hym ye; and he sayd [that he was very] glad theroff; ffor he sayd the Kyng’s grace [would] wyn gret honor ther, and that who [should] all cum home save ageyne; but that the Scotts schuld make sum troby[l]. And then he sayd, iff the kyng off Scotts came [into this realm he] schuld nott goo home ageyn; and I [asked him] howe he knewe thys, and axyd him wheder he had knowledge thereof [by] prophesye; and he seyde, naye, but said to [me] *Ex [Deo habeo]*.

“ And after he axyd me how meny c[hildren] the Kyng had had, and I told hym; and [he] sayd, I pray God hys issue may co[n]tinue, ffor I ffer gretly God ys not contentyd [that] he makyth not resty[tu]cion acordyng to the Kyng [his father’s will], ffor he herd no [man] speke thereof; and [he] charelyd me, upon my allegiance towards hys Grace, to adwyse hys concell to make restitution, and wheder he schewde part off thes words can not perffyghtly remember

“ Then spake the duke of Norfolk, and said : ‘ My lord,
“ ‘ the King our sovereign lord hath commanded that
“ ‘ you shall have his laws ministered with favor and
“ ‘ right to you. Wherefore if you have any other thing
“ ‘ to say for yourself, you shall be heard.’ Then he
“ was commanded to withdraw him, and so was led into
“ *Paradise*, a house so named.”

As trials for treason were conducted in those days it was little better than a question of personal credibility—assertion against assertion; and very few reasonable men could entertain doubts as to the issue. The King had already pronounced judgment; he had examined the witnesses, encouraged and received their confidence, and expressed his belief of the Duke’s guilt. Who was to gainsay it? Who should be bold enough to assert that the King had arrived at a false conclusion, and that such methods of procedure were fatal to justice? In a court also, constituted of men who were not lawyers by profession, who had received no training for such nice questions, who understood nothing of the salutary laws of legal evidence, what hope could there be for the accused? How could he expect that protection which not only innocence but guilt has a right to demand, until the charge be fairly and fully proven? The only

theym, ffor the most part off t and Mayster Dalacourt alsoo
* * *”—Cott. App. xlviii. 109. B.M.

The substance of this confession has been preserved by Lord Herbert in his History of Henry VIII. According to Herbert the Duke is reported to have said that he repeated these words to his chancellor Gilbert; and upon his return from France he visited Hopkins, stating that he had told the truth. He adds, that at another time the Duke visited Hopkyns, with his son lord Stafford and the earl of Westmoreland, and that Hopkyns then said that some of his blood should hereafter prove great men. After this Hopkyns again sent to the Duke requesting him to help their house at Henton in making their conduit, according to his promise, for the 10*l*. he had formerly given them was all spent.

lawyer employed was the attorney general in behalf of the Crown. But in those days attorney generals regarded themselves as the servants of the Crown, who had to earn their wages by establishing the guilt of the prisoner.

So the lords retired, and upon their return into court the sentence of each peer was taken one by one. Then said the duke of Norfolk to the duke of Suffolk, "What say you of Sir Edward, duke of Buckingham, touching these high treasons?" "I say that he is guilty," answered the Duke, laying his hand upon his breast. Every peer made the same response; and against each of the names entered on the panel,—a little scrap of dirty parchment, still preserved at the Record Office,—there is to be seen to this day, in the handwriting of the duke of Norfolk, *Dicit quod est culpabilis*.

Then was the Duke brought to the bar to hear his sentence. For a few moments he was overpowered by his emotions. In the extremity of his agony, he chafed and sweat vehemently. Recovering himself, after a while, he made his obeisance to the court. After a short pause,—a deathlike silence: "Sir Edward," said the duke of Norfolk, "you have heard how you be indicted of high treason; you pleaded thereto not guilty, putting yourself to the judgment of your peers, the which have found you guilty." Then bursting into a torrent of tears—(he was an old man, who had faced death unmoved in the field of Flodden)—he faltered out, "Your sentence is, that you be led back to prison; laid on a hurdle, and so drawn to the place of execution; there to be hanged, cut down alive, your members to be cut off and cast into the fire, your bowels burnt before your eyes, your head smitten off, your body quartered and divided at the King's will. And God have mercy on your soul! Amen."

The Duke heard this horrible sentence with unusual dignity and composure. Turning to the duke of Norfolk, he quietly replied, "You have said, my lord, as a traitor " should be said unto; but I was never none." Then, addressing himself to the court, he requested that those present would pray for him, assuring them that he forgave them his death, and expressing his determination not to sue for mercy.

In compliance with the customs of the time, the edge of the axe was turned towards him, as he was led out of the hall by the constable and deputy lieutenant of the the Tower. At Westminster stairs he took water, and landing at the Temple was delivered over to Sir Nicholas Vaux and Sir Wm. Sandys, by whom he was conducted through the city to the Tower. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon.

The proceedings for his trial had commenced on Monday, and lasted some days. Between the short interval of his sentence and execution, constant to the resolution he had expressed of not suing to the King for mercy, the Duke protested his innocence and prepared for death. On the following Friday morning, the 17th of May, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, at a time when the hills of Surrey were clothed in their freshest verdure, and the then unoccupied banks of the Thames sloped to the water's edge with the tender green and delicate blossom of the white thorn, the Duke's favorite flower, the sombre procession threaded its way through the dark passages of the Tower, and emerged upon the Green. Among the sobs and tears of the spectators, the Duke, led by the two sheriffs, mounted the scaffold with a firm and composed step. Turning himself to the crowd, he requested all men to pray for him, "trusting," he said, "to die the King's true man;

“whom, through his own negligence and lack of grace, he had offended.” With this brief request, he kneeled at the block. There was a sudden glimmer for an instant in the air, then a dull thud, and the head rolled heavily from the body. The headsman wiped his axe; the attendants threw a cloth over the headless trunk, to conceal the blood which streamed in torrents over the scaffold, and dripped through the platform on the grass beneath. In rough frieze, barefooted and bare-headed, six poor Augustinian friars, shouldering a rude coffin, emerged from the shuddering and receding crowd. Gathering up the remains of the once mighty duke of Buckingham,—for the King, satisfied with his condemnation, had commuted the last extremities of the sentence,—they carried the corpse to the church of the Austin Friars.* The Duke in his lifetime had been kind to poor religious men, and this was the last and only office they could render him.

An unwise and unguarded man, the Duke had in him little of that metal of which traitors are generally made. Capricious in temper, careless of tongue, even had he contrived to steer his way in safety to less dangerous times, he would never have grasped political power with a steady hand. Formidable from his wealth, his connexions, his rank and his blood,—formidable from his nearness to the throne and the barrenness of Katharine,—it behoved him to have been either more than usually courteous, or more than usually conciliating. He was too proud to be either. He despised the Cardinal, and was at no pains to conceal it. He despised the King for being guided by the Cardinal, and was easily goaded on by treacherous friends and cunning domestics to

* Memorandum on the cover of Lambeth MS., no. 316.

speak dishonorably, if not treasonably, of his sovereign. If he had committed anything worthy of death, if he had conspired against the life or dignity of the King,—of which I can find no trace, no probability even, in his private papers,—the proofs tendered of his guilt at his trial can satisfy no one at this day. If they are inconclusive in themselves, they appear more so from the fact that whilst the evidence for the prosecution had been deliberately framed for many weeks, the unhappy prisoner, kept in the dark as to the precise charges to be brought against him, had no time or opportunity to prepare for his defence until the day of his trial;—until then, when the indictment was read and the witnesses produced, he had no knowledge of the crimes he was called upon to answer. But the people, though they pitied his fall, had no very clear notions of the reasons for his condemnation; unaccustomed to question the judgment of their superiors, they accepted the verdict of his peers as conclusive against him. The presumption was stronger than the proof. It was enough for ordinary thinkers that the Duke was a proud man; he was certainly a wealthy man, descended from a stock that was dangerous to royalty, and apt to be overbearing. That he listened readily to prophecies, at a time when prophecies were the oracular expressions of discontent and instruments of mischief, seemed enough to justify the impression of his guilt. So he fell, not without pity,—tears alternating with the sterner conviction that his fate was unavoidable. The happiness of the nation was bound up in its King; and the blood of the noblest was not a sacrifice too costly to expiate the least taint or suspicion of disloyalty.

On the day of the Duke's execution Wolsey was attending on the King as he sate in his chair in his

gallery at Greenwich. The King was just then recovering from fever and ague, under which he had been laboring for some days, when the Cardinal took the opportunity of urging that letters of "consolation and credence" should be sent to the widowed Duchess and her son, lord Stafford.* On reminding the King of this request a second time, a few days after, Wolsey added, "If you think them (*sc.* these letters of condolence) not convenient to pass, I remit that to you."

Of the jury who had concurred in the condemnation of the Duke, two thirds, perhaps, participated in his sentiments. The exclusion of the ancient aristocracy from office, in conformity with the Tudor policy,—their hopelessness, as expressed by the Duke, of obtaining any just recognition of their services, however great,†—their hereditary hatred of an ecclesiastic, of low birth, like Wolsey, who monopolized the King's favor, and excluded them from their due share of influence in the state,—their fixed aversion to a French alliance,—all combined to spread a feeling of discontent among them, which might have found a centre in the Duke, however otherwise unfitted by genius or resolution to be the leader of a great conspiracy. Then, again, from the days of Richard III. the De la Poles had never wholly abandoned their hopes of the crown, between which and themselves there stood so slight, so thin, an obstacle,—hopes nearly realized more than once. Such a conspiracy would have been mortal to the Cardinal;—dangerous at least, if not destructive, to the royal authority. Men who looked

* No. 1292.

† "He heard the Duke say that he had done as good services as any man, and was never rewarded, and that the King would give his fees, offices and rewards to boys rather than to noblemen; which was small comfort to them to do his Grace service."

not deeply into the character of Henry VIII. might easily flatter themselves that a monarch who appeared to surrender his judgment exclusively to his great minister, and spend so much of his time in hunting, amusements and devotion, would prove no great obstacle to their designs; and the King, surrounded by a compact and narrow band of the greatest nobles, would have been reduced to a cipher.

So the execution of the Duke was a state necessity, in strict accordance with Tudor maxims. It crushed entirely all danger from a suspected quarter. The nobility were more humbled, more scared, than ever. That accomplished, there was no reason why mercy should not take the place of judgment; and the moderation of Wolsey is conspicuous in thus moving the King to write these letters of condolence.

But more remained.

It was not possible that a nobleman, so eminent as the Duke, could be thus taken off without provoking much discussion and many disagreeable suspicions in every court in Europe. It was not politic that the oft-repeated boast of the King's popularity should be considered as devoid of foundation, or that it should be said that the greatest of his nobility were disaffected to his government. In his despatch to the English ambassador at the French court,* the Cardinal enjoins him to thank the French king for the offers he had made to defend the King's person, when he first heard of the Duke's attachment. He was to say that the King had been aware for some time of the Duke's disaffection;—that he had recently been detected in treason against the King's person and succession, especially against the

* No. 1293.

princess Mary, with whose alliance in France he was much displeased;* that these things being proved, and at last admitted by himself, he had been executed according to his demerits. As no trace of this charge is to be found in the Duke's indictment, or in the account of his trial, it must be considered as a political figment invented to suit the atmosphere of the French court, and justify, on motives fully appreciated by the French king, the execution of the Duke.† But though nothing of this appeared on the trial,—and there were excellent reasons why it should not, for the Duke would certainly have been regarded as a political martyr to a measure in the highest degree unpopular,—there are indications that, in common with Suffolk, Abergavenny, and the people in general, Buckingham regarded the French and this marriage alliance with aversion. Fully to understand the feelings of the times, we must take into account the long-standing rivalry between the two nations. The irrepressible jealousy and excessive dislike with which France, its ambition, its habits, its fashions, its activity under all forms, were then regarded by the mass of the English people, are barely intelligible to us now, to whom the conquest of France has ceased to be more than a dim and idle tradition,—stirring no blood, awakening no memories and no regrets. But in those days men still talked over by the fire-side the deeds of their forefathers in the fields of France; they believed as fully in the right and title of their kings to France as we believe in our title to India or Ireland.

* At the Calais conference in the following August Wolsey positively assured the French minister, Du Prat, that Buckingham had been beheaded for opposing the Cardinal in promoting the alliance of France and England. No. 1556.

† No. 1293.

Henry's only surviving child and heir was the princess Mary. The nation had ceased to expect any other. By her union with the Dauphin a way was opened to the succession of a French prince to the throne of England. Nothing could be more odious to the people than such an anticipation; and there was no policy that Buckingham could have adopted which would have secured his object with greater certainty, had he been really desirous of the Cardinal's overthrow, than to have declared himself an enemy to that measure, of which Wolsey boasted to be the sole author. With a little more cunning and self-control, he might at this critical moment have filled England with discontent from one end to the other. The suspicions of the King and the Cardinal were not wholly devoid of foundation. They watched the actions of the Duke and his friends with considerable apprehension.* Once only had he been in the company of Francis, and had not left a very favorable impression. Sir Thomas Cheyney details a conversation he had with Francis I. respecting the Duke a short time after.† Francis, he says, "fell on devising (talking) of the duke of Buckingham, and said he had no fancy to him, and said " he thought he should come to that he is now come " to. And he reported him to my Lady his mother, " whether he said so or no immediately after his coming from Arde." On another occasion,‡ Francis, talking on the same subject with Fitzwilliam, inquired what sort of a man the Duke was; Fitzwilliam replied that "he was a high-minded man, and one that would " speak sometimes like a man in a rage." Francis said, " he judged him for such a man, and so full of choler

* See the King's extraordinary letter to the Cardinal, no. 1, and the note.

† 13 Feb. 1522.

‡ No. 1245.

“that there was nothing could content him.” The ambassador rejoined that the King had often given the Duke good lessons; so good that, if he had had any grace, he would never have deserved to be in the Tower; and he added that the Duke had often received warnings as well from Wolsey as from his own servants.

The Emperor,—for the death of the Duke was a subject of discussion in all the courts of Europe,—never very demonstrative, expressed his regret *more imperatorum*. There had been much talk in his court, he told Wingfield,* of the Duke’s attainder, and it was not easy to prevent it; but as for himself, he knew too well the King’s great virtue and wisdom to suppose he would have had the Duke executed except upon great and just cause. When Wingfield told him that the charges were proved against the Duke, and confessed by him before his death, the Emperor observed that the King could not have done otherwise than he had done. Nevertheless, he said, he was sorry the Duke should have come to such an end; for he had taken him for a friend, supposing he had been a friend to the King. Such conversations as these must not be accepted for more than they are worth. The ambassador received his cue from the minister; and if he doubted of its truthfulness, it was not his business to give utterance to his doubts, much less in despatches addressed to his own court and its minister.

But far away from the metropolis men canvassed in less bated terms the execution of the Duke. On the 18th of June 1521, an information was laid against John Stede, of Warham, Norfolk, for “heinous words against “the King’s grace.”† On the Monday in Whitsun week,

* No. 1328.

† No. 1356.

—so runs the deposition of one witness,—John Fuller or Fowler came to John Stede at Sydestern, and was hired into his service in Dovehouse Close. Stede asked the new comer, in whose service he [had been ; he replied, in the duke of Northumberland's.* Then said Stede, “I am sure my lord and yours is pensive for the “ duke of Buckingham.” To which Fowler answered, he could not tell, for it was not known there upon St. George’s day, and he had left the day following. Stede rejoined: “My lord would be pensive if he “ knew as much as I do; for I heard that upon “ Monday his judgment was given unto him before “ my lord of Norfolk and other lords; and then the said “ Duke sat down upon his knee, and desired the Lords “ that they should desire the King’s grace to be good “ and gracious unto his wife and to his children; but “ as for his own life he would not sue. And further- “ more he said, ‘An he had not offended no more unto “ God than he had done to the Crown he should die as “ true man as ever was in the world.” On another occasion, Sir John Estcott, the parish priest, and Nicholas Parker, my lord Broke’s huntsman, were talking together on 16th May in Monkyn Bucland, about the duke of Buckingham.† Then said Estcott, it was a pity such an honorable man should order himself so against God and his King. And Parker said, “in counsel,” that the Duke seven years ago had made lord Broke of counsel in this matter, and invited him to join his household.

But if there were any who really hoped that the execution of Buckingham would occasion discontent, and end in the overthrow of the Cardinal, they were doomed

* The duchess of Buckingham was Northumberland’s daughter.

† No. 1320.

to disappointment. The nation in general silently acquiesced in the Duke's fall; none cared to scrutinise too narrowly the evidence on which he was condemned, or the constitution and procedure of the tribunal before which he had been tried. The King was the fountain of all justice, not in the sense of a dry legal axiom, which as no one disputes, so no one realizes, but in the hearts and intimate convictions of his people. And if that fountain occasionally in turbulent times or distressing emergencies sent forth bitter waters as well as sweet, the nation was not inclined, on that account, to forego their belief in the justice of their sovereigns, or question the benefit of a strong and resolute rule. To those who looked back on the horrors and disorders of the civil wars, the occasional harshness of an arbitrary but regular government seemed a happy exchange for the licentiousness and cruelty of internecine strife.

The big birds of prey swooped down and clamoured round the noble quarry. The Duke had been one of the richest men of his times. His manors, castles, parks, stewardships were scattered over eleven of the best counties in England.* Wolsey excepted, he had a more magnificent taste for building than any of his contemporaries, and had spared no expense in decorating his mansion, park and gardens at Thornbury. At the time of his death he was engaged in erecting a castle "with curious works and stately lodgings." On the east of the castle was "a goodly garden" to walk in, a large orchard with many alleys; and in different parts of the orchard, "on a good height,"

* *Sc. Hants, Wilts, Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Bucks, Bedfordshire, Kent and Surrey; not to mention his vast possessions in Wales. See no. 1286.*

were "roosting places" or summer houses, embowered with white thorn and hazel. The orchard communicated with a new park, containing 700 deer, and inclosed thirteen fish ponds, fed by a spring. Crossing the road was another park holding 300 deer; and two miles from the castle a third, seven miles in extent, filled with 500 fallow and 50 red deer.

Next in value was his borough of Newport in Wales, with its haven full of shipping, and a proper castle with three towers, close to the water's edge; "the middlest tower having a vault or entry to receive into the said castle a good vessel." Here the Duke exercised the rights of a suzerain, imposing fines and imprisoning offenders.

Next came the lordship of Tunbridge in Kent, with its castle; "as strong a castle as few be in England. The town of Tunbridge is a borough large and well inhabited with people, having plenty of water running through it in divers places." Adjoining it was a park of oaks and beeches, giving pasture to 300 fallow deer, and embracing in its circuit fifty-two islands. There was also his manor place of Bletchingly, "properly and newly builded;" with its hall, chapel, chambers, parlors, closets and oratories newly ceiled, its wainscoted roofs, floors and walls, "to the intent they may be used at pleasure without hangings."

Then the town of Brecknock, "a very proper walled town, well builded, and as well paved, with many honest inhabitants in the same, enclosed on the west side thereof with the castle, which is a good and a strong hold, with all houses of offices and lodgings builded after the old fashion." The castle had a hall, the roof of which "was newly and costly made with pendants after a goodly fashion, and into the said castle

“ water was conveyed by a conduit.” Adjoining it was a forest and a great mere, “ in length nigh three miles, “ and in breadth a mile, well replenished with fish, and “ specially with breams.”

Kimbolton Castle, in Huntingdonshire, another of his possessions, is described as being “ within a moat, well and “ compendiously trussed together in due and convenient “ proportion.” Within a quarter of a mile of it was Stonely priory, a park and a fox hunt. Then the manor of Writtell, in Essex, partly decayed, but substantially built, “ all of gross timber, in a quadrant with a cloister.” The commissioners report that this might be made with no great charge a convenient house for the King, “ when “ by any occasion his Grace should be minded to remove “ from Newhall, or for hunting time in summer.”

Maxstock Castle, in Warwickshire, another portion of his estates, is described as “ a right proper thing after “ the old building; standing within a fair and large moat “ full of fish, being builded four-square, and at every “ corner is a tower covered with lead, wherein be proper “ lodgings.” Besides its spacious hall, chapel and chambers, the apartments in this castle “ had chimneys “ and draughts.” “ Much of the work,” it is added, “ was done by my Lady’s grace the King’s grand-dame, “ and wanted finishing in sundry wise;” but it would, at an outlay of 100/., make a suitable castle for the King and the Queen in the time of their progress.

The town of Stafford is returned as “ a proper and a “ fair town, which continually aforetime hath been the “ King’s town, albeit the benefices in the same, and “ lands lying about it, were the late duke of Bucking- “ ham’s.” The castle stood in a park a mile from the town, “ upon so goodly an height that all the country “ might be seen twenty or thirty miles about; and one

“ way a man may see to the King’s lordship of Caurs in
 “ Wales, thirty miles from thence, and another way to
 “ the King’s honor of Tutbury.” Six of the little cham-
 bers in the castle had “ draughts and chimneys.” As it
 was only fifteen miles from Tutbury, and thirteen or four-
 teen from Lichfield, it is suggested that it would be
 “ right pleasant for the King, when making his progress
 “ in grease time.”*

Other lordships are enumerated and described, but those already mentioned will be enough to give my readers some notion of the wealth and magnificence of the great Duke. The total annual rental derived from his possessions in England and Wales was estimated at 6,045*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.*, or about twelve times that amount according to our modern computation.†

Here were noble spoils; for, without detracting much from the general value of the confiscation, there were minor estates, manors, offices, stewardships, chapelries to be distributed among those who had boldness enough to ask and favor enough to obtain them. Among the sharers of the spoil we find two of the Duke’s judges, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk,‡ Sir Nicholas Carew,§ Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam,|| Sir Griffith Don,¶ Henry Norris** and the two Wingfields.†† In this distribution there might be, there probably was, nothing culpable; but we have reason to be thankful that such usages exist no longer.

Meanwhile the relations between Francis and the Emperor were every day becoming less satisfactory. The rebellion of the Emperor’s subjects in Spain, his absence

* No. 1286.

† No. 1288.

‡ Nos. 2382, 3162.

§ No. 2396.

|| No. 2167.

¶ No. 2587.

** No. 2659.

†† Nos. 2043, 2682.

at Worms, his incessant occupation with the cares of his new empire, seemed to offer an excellent opportunity to the French king for prosecuting his own designs, and invading the imperial dominions. Charles had given no cause for hostility, and he was well aware that, in case of a rupture, the assistance of England would be required against the aggressor. To furnish the Emperor with no pretext for invoking that assistance, — to secure it, if possible, for himself, by inducing Charles to strike the first blow, — this was the main object of his policy. To avoid a contingency he clearly foresaw must happen sooner or later, Francis hurried on his preparations.

To keep England in good humor, to hide from an ally with whom he professed to be on amicable terms so much of his design as it did not suit his purpose to reveal, required no little tact and dexterity. In the unsatisfactory state of his relations with other European powers, as they were jealous and suspicious of his movements, he could not afford to throw away the amity of England. He was conscious that the Pope hated and feared him, and was straining every nerve to unite Italy and the empire against him. The Emperor's hostility, he was aware, was no less personal than political. Therefore, his safety and his ambition alike demanded that Francis should, if possible, prevent those combinations of his enemies to which they were prompted by their fears, their jealousies or their interests. On the other hand, it was equally the policy of Wolsey and the Pope, though for different reasons, to keep Francis and the Emperor employed by fomenting divisions between them. The Pope could only hope to secure his independence by their mutual antagonism. For if two such champions of the Church and irresponsible dictators

of Christendom were once united, they would control the Papacy, and distribute the thunders of the Vatican at their pleasure. Weak enough already, the Pope would then have become a weaker and more submissive vassal;—a mere instrument to do their bidding. Now, if Charles or his ambassadors attempted to coerce his Holiness—as they were not disinclined to do whenever they found him less compliant than they wished,—if they quartered Spanish and Sicilian troops on the Neapolitan frontier, or afforded convenient relief and refuge to the Pope's enemies and evil doers, his Holiness had the means of bringing them to reason by lending a ready ear to the French overtures. If Francis, in his turn, sent troops to the duke of Ferrara, or aided in spoiling the Church's patrimony, — an easy method of making the Pope feel the weight of his resentment, without the least diminution of outward respect,—the Pope, by promoting the designs and interests of the Spaniards, could as easily retaliate, without appearing to violate the decencies of friendship. In fact, had an intimate union and alliance sprung up between Charles and Francis, that consummation for which many Protestants have panted might have taken place three centuries ago. The temporal power as well the spiritual independence of the Pope would have ceased to exist. At the same time there would have been no Protestant living to rejoice over its destruction. For the same combination which triumphed over the Papacy would have stamped out every spark of religious freedom. Liberty of conscience and national independence, weak in their beginnings, cradled so often in the shock and mutual antagonism of the great, would have been successfully coerced, and Luther and his followers have experienced the fate of

Huss.* Whether Wolsey's thoughts ever travelled beyond the more narrow and immediate objects of his policy to the general safety and welfare of Christendom, may be questioned, but that both depended on the measures he unremittingly pursued admits of no dispute. To balance the two great continental powers against each other, to prevent their dangerous conjunction, to trim and adjust the scale when the one or the other predominated, was necessary for the security and aggrandizement of England; but it was no less necessary for the general interests of Christendom, and of every individual state of which Christendom was then composed.

If, then, it was the policy of the French king to keep his rivals asunder, it was no less the policy of Wolsey to prevent the union of Charles and Francis; — a union neither distant nor improbable, considering the inability of the former, in his present perplexities, to cope with the French monarch. But the task which Francis now proposed to himself was not easy. Already, with his connivance, Henry d'Albret had seized the opportunity of repossessing himself of Navarre, and found his progress unopposed, in consequence of the dissensions among the Castilians. At the same moment Robert de la Mark, lord of Bouillon, on the frontiers of Luxembourg and Champagne, took the field at the head of a body of adventurers, led by French officers, with the French king's connivance, if not with his positive sanction. In Dauphiné the famous Bayard was busily employed in collecting troops. French dockyards swarmed with carpenters; great galleons and floating batteries

* Some writers have supposed that Charles had a secret inclination to Luther and his doctrines. If there be any such now, I beg to refer them to his own letter on this subject at p. 468 in this volume.

towered up in imposing magnitude and number to threaten and annoy the enemy's country.* Yet all the while Francis professed the most pacific intentions, and deprecated the suspicion of any sinister motives in himself or in those who were thus actively engaged. It was impossible for the English court to shut its eyes to these facts or their consequences. Taxed with the expedition of the king of Navarre, Francis replied that D'Albret was only setting out to visit his grandfather; as for Robert de la Mark, he had never "aided him with a penny," and entirely disapproved of his proceedings; whilst his own preparations for Italy were only prompted by the wish he had long entertained "to see his duchy of Milan, and to show himself to his subjects there." Howbeit, he said, he would make no great haste thitherwards for the present.

These specious excuses were accompanied with professions of unalterable respect and affection for England. He listened to Henry's ambassadors "marvellous amiably." If their master wished for another interview, he assured them, though he were in Italy, "he would gladly ride in post" to any place where Henry would appoint a meeting.† His respect for my lord Cardinal

* Francis informed Fitzwilliam, in March, that he had a ship to be ready at Midsummer, somewhat larger than *The Great Harry*,—also the great ship of Scotland, and 16 sail beside,—the smallest above 350 tons. He has, says Fitzwilliam "three great galleons that I never heard of such, for they draw so little water that he will bring them so near shore that he may land out of them, without a boat, 500 footmen and ——— horsemen." This feat was to be accomplished by means of a bridge, "that shall be ever carried with them." Fitzwilliam adds, that Francis had also a design of constructing galleons with low decks like floating batteries. (No. 1198.) "I think he spoke to me," says Fitzwilliam, "as Vice-Admiral, and asked me how I liked them; and I praised them enough." The incredulous Englishman!

† No. 1157, cf. 1202.

was only second to that which he entertained for his master. The French agents at Rome had contrived to possess themselves of a most important secret. Don Manuel, the imperial ambassador, a blustering and pompous Spaniard, had dropped certain hints of a matrimonial alliance between the Emperor and a Portuguese princess; boasting that his master might have secured, if he pleased, the hand of the princess Mary.* A report so derogatory to England, so well calculated to produce a rupture between Henry and Charles, was duly conveyed to the French king. With many emphatic denunciations of the calumny, so insulting to his ally, with many protestations that he did not believe it, Francis transmitted the report to England. It was received by Henry with no small vexation and chagrin; the more so, because it was well-founded. Digesting his vexation with a gracious countenance, Henry thanked his candid ally for his " manifold demonstrations of friendly kindness," and assured him of the continuance of their friendship. " Such sinister reports," he added, " as those of Don Manuel were only contrived by their enemies to break their friendship, and sow dissension between them. The King was certainly surprised to hear that the Emperor was suing for a dispensation to marry the daughter of Portugal; but as for the other part of the story, there was no truth in it. True the king of the Romans had made overtures, both at Calais and since, to marry Madam the princess Mary; but the King, in consequence of his engagements with France, had peremptorily declined the offer."†

This assertion, as bold as it was untrue, deceived no one. So far from rejecting the Emperor's proposals,

* Nos. 1258, 1283.

† Condensed.

Henry had been negotiating with him for many months the terms of a matrimonial alliance, and of this the French king was well aware. But he thought it best to dissemble; and he answered, with great gallantry, that the King needed not have troubled himself with disproving the calumny, as he gave it no credence.* It was, he added, undoubtedly true that the Emperor was seeking a dispensation at Rome to marry the king of Portugal's daughter, but as to the report that he might have had my lady Princess, that, he assured the King, he never could believe; adding, with his usual gallantry, "I had liever have my lady Princess and (even) though the King's grace had ten children, than the king of Portingale's daughter, with all her father's spices."

Such a reply was as provokingly polite as it was unsatisfactory. It left Francis master of the field, and sole depository of his own intentions. Some new method, as Wolsey discerned at once, must be adopted; and he was not slow in acting on his discernment. With a rashness which would have appeared unpardonable in less able politicians, he called home from the French court the old and experienced diplomatists Sir Richard Jerningham and Sir Richard Wingfield, supplying their places with a young man who had never yet been engaged in any public employment—Sir William Fitzwilliam. From the time when Fitzwilliam was not more than ten years of age, he had been brought up with the King, and was perfectly familiar with his personal habits, his likings and dislikings. He shared in the King's love of sportsmanship; was an adept in the craft of venery; knew that and nautical matters better than anything else. With Latin, strange to say, he was wholly unacquainted;

* No. 1303.

and though he spoke French fluently, yet with French spelling and French proper names, as will be seen from his letters, he makes sad havoc. Keen, intrepid, sagacious, he possessed for a courtier the rare and invaluable gift of neither seeing nor talking too much; he was diligent and straightforward in business; had a firmness and presence of mind which never forsook him in the most trying emergencies. Proof against menaces, which in a French court he had not much reason to apprehend, he was equally impenetrable to the more common and insidious approaches of finesse and flattery.

He was cordially welcomed by the French King, who was quite at his ease, and somewhat off his guard, in the presence of an ambassador who, to all appearance, was "neither too deep nor too sufficient." He talked with Fitzwilliam about hunting;* promised he should lodge and hunt with him every day; "opposed (posed) him" upon the sight of the view, and also upon all other "properties how to know an hart;" discussed with him the propriety of his master having a park for wild swine "half a mile or a quarter in the thickest ground he could find."† It might have been imagined,—it probably was imagined,—by the sharpest and subtlest of the French ministers, that they had to deal with a raw inexperienced youth, who was much better versed in the craft of a sportsman than the affairs of Kings, Popes or Emperors.

Meanwhile, with his keen and vigilant eyes Fitzwilliam took diligent notice of all that was going on. Albany or De la Mark, or his son Fleuranges, could have no interview with the French king without his perceiving it and guessing the drift of it. When the designs of Francis

* Nos. 1161, 1202.

† No. 1176.

were too ripe or too momentous for his ministers to be communicative, Fitzwilliam in the equalizing usages and momentary unguardedness of the field, managed to pick up useful scraps of intelligence, hermetically sealed from the staid and steady diplomatist in the saloon or the ante-chamber. "Very glad am I to see the towardness of this "young man," writes Wolsey to the King, "which (who), "in mine opinion and poor judgment, falleth right well to "the matter, and indites his letters to good purpose."* His despatches justify the Cardinal's commendation.

There could be no fitter instrument for Wolsey's purposes. Without appearing to pry into the motives and actions of the French king, without ever travelling beyond the rôle of mere intelligencer, Fitzwilliam disarmed suspicion. He never alarmed the jealousy of Francis, never flinched before the curious searching eyes and more searching tongue of his mother Louise. It was important above all things to keep the French monarch in good humor. The least surmise on his part, of Wolsey's and his master's intentions, would have snapped short all amicable relations between the two courts; and matters with the Emperor were not yet on so satisfactory a footing that England could afford to break with one until she had secured the other. Cold, distant and exacting, the pride and the avarice, or, if that word be too strong, the necessities of Charles, revolted from the conditions attached to the hand of Mary. Who could tell whether, with all his personal antipathy to his brilliant French rival, he would not yet digest his spleen, and content himself with a French bride, if the king of France, like the king of Portugal, would promise a million for a dowry? At all events, such a contingency was not to be

* No. 1192. Compare also Wolsey's letter to Fitzwilliam : no. 1191.

hazarded by a prudent statesman; and therefore Fitzwilliam was instructed to continue his discreet manner, using always the most pleasant words to the French King in declaration of Henry's fraternal love.* He was to assure Francis that his master loved him "above
" all other princes, most esteeming his amity and constant dealing;" that he could take no rest, "nor be
" contented in his mind, till he should eftsoons attain
" the sight of his person by a new, secret, loving and
" familiar interview."†

How well Fitzwilliam carried out his instructions may be judged by the repeated assurances of Francis that he fully reciprocated these tokens of affection: "A foy
" day gentelhommes," so Fitzwilliam reports his conversation, "there was no man living he loved better" than his brother of England. "And if," said Francis, "I
" should not rejoyce of this amity that I have with my
" brother, I know not whereof I should rejoyce, for I
" cannot be allied to [so noble] a man in this world;
" for there is no king [to be compared] to him; for
" they be childer or men that be not worthy to be esteemed like him. He is worthy to be a king alonely
" but for his just dealing and his virtue. Let him but
" send me word to meet him at Calais, and I assure
" you, in what place soever I be, I shall come to him
" in post." No eulogist of Henry could desire more.

But if soberer judgments demand less questionable proofs of the ability of Fitzwilliam and the accommodating disposition of the French king, here is one that cannot be disputed. In the near and almost certain prospect of a continental embroilment, with a powerful enemy across the sea, a cold and hesitating ally in the

* No. 1212.

† No. 1191.

Emperor, the king of England was naturally reluctant to waste blood and treasure in a war with Scotland. Ireland at the same time was causing him some alarm ;—an importunate creditor put off again and again until a more convenient season, but ever more importunate, exacting, and intolerant of delay. Mindful, therefore, of the old adage, “If that you will France win, then “with Scotland first begin,” Henry was anxious that the “weazel Scot” should for the present fold its claws, and keep peaceably within its lair. But how was this to be accomplished? The armistice with Scotland was fast expiring; Albany was watching for his opportunity to slip over unnoticed from the French court, and aid and countenance the faction incessantly opposed to England. French gentlemen, ostensibly with the most peaceable designs, passed and repassed the sea* between France and Scotland, and an outbreak appeared unavoidable. To punish the temerity of the Scots, to engage in a tedious border war, was a hindrance at best,—might, if not ably and expeditiously concluded, be taken by foreign nations for a proof of weakness. To betray an inclination for peace, still more to sue for it or grant it too readily, would be dishonor worse than weakness. What then was to be done? Francis was to be persuaded to induce the Scotch, as of himself, to sue for peace; he was to employ his intercession with the king of England to grant that as a favour which Henry was only too anxious to concede. And to this, strange as it may seem, and more than this, though detrimental to his own interests and his influence in Scotland, was Francis induced by the persuasions of Fitzwilliam. He enjoined the Scotch to sue for peace, and send ambassadors to England for

* No. 1212.

that purpose;* and Henry was thanked for his generosity in granting terms to Scotland at the French king's solicitation. "The matters of Scotland," writes Fitzwilliam a few days after to the King, in his quiet and significant manner, "are answered after your own mind."†

Incessantly employed in crushing a formidable rebellion in Spain, the Emperor had no wish to be embroiled with France, and therefore listened readily to the proposals of Wolsey, that the king of England should act as a mediator, and compose the differences between himself and his rival.‡ Wolsey found no difficulty in persuading him "to forbear entering on a war, regarding "the state of his affairs in Almayn, Flanders, Spain, "Navarre and his other countries," or of inducing him "to remit these variances" to the King's hand;§ especially as he insinuated that in so doing arrangements might be made for an attack upon France at a more convenient season. But with Francis, on the other hand, in spite of the address of Fitzwilliam, and "the loving "communications and pleasant devices" of Jerningham, who was now sent to his assistance, the task was more delicate and more difficult. Immersed in the bustle and excitement of war, his confidence of success was increased by the news|| that the young D'Albret had entered Navarre, had taken St. John Pié de Port, and no later than Saturday last (May 18th) received the keys

* No. 1257.

† No. 1227. On the top of this letter, which is interesting in other respects, Fitzwilliam has written in his own hand and in his own spelling: "The copy of thow (the) King's letter, with thow hanswar " (answer) to an artykell, I had forgoton whan I had closed (closed) my "letter." Competitive examinations were not then.

‡ 28 April 1521; no. 1255.

§ No. 1270.

|| 24 May; no. 1303.

of Pampeluna,—memorable as the place where and the occasion when Ignatius Loyola was wounded. He protested that he could not desist from war, and submit to Henry's arbitration. The Emperor, he said, had oppressed him so long, he could not with honor abandon his enterprize. His army was now ready; to disband it would be a great disadvantage. Fitzwilliam listened with coolness and attention,—allowed him to talk on without interruption,—gave him a long line,—(he knew the arts of a sportsman,)—then suggested that as the Emperor had already offered to submit to the King's arbitration, Francis, out of friendship, might consent to do the same.* The French king replied that he was too well acquainted with the Emperor's dissimulation to sacrifice his present opportunity; the commons of Spain were in rebellion, the electors of Germany had refused aid, and the Swiss had rejected the Emperor's offers. He declined to waste a minute in fruitless negotiations; but—if he ever consented to treat—he would put himself in the King's hands sooner than in any other's.

The resolution of some men is in their circumstances, not in themselves; and so it proved now. Fortune, which had hitherto seemed to smile, proved proverbially fickle. The rebellion in Spain was suddenly crushed; the first advantages gained in Navarre were sacrificed by the rashness and incapacity of d'Espares. Nassau, a cool, able and implacable soldier, retaliated tenfold the injuries committed by De la Mark; destroyed his towns, hung up his garrisons, imprisoned his son, and forced him to sue for an ignoble peace. With misfortune Francis learned moderation. After a little more blustering, a little more show of reluctance,—for the cold and quiet observation

of Fitzwilliam was not to be deceived,—he consented to treat; for no fear, as he assured Fitzwilliam,—for he had no dread of any man living,—but only for the love he bore to the King his brother, and out of regard for the peace and the quiet of Christendom.*

But the same causes which had induced Francis to listen to pacific counsels encouraged Charles to retract, and breathe nothing but blood and vengeance. He had been informed, on his return from Worms to Mayence, of the invasion of Navarre and the capture of Pampeluna. Fired with indignation, he demanded that England, in conformity with the promise made at the meeting at Canterbury, should assist him in punishing the presumption of France; adding, in a tone half threatening, half reproachful, that, had he been willing to listen to the mediation of others, no variance would have existed between himself and the French king.

At no time is the life of a prime minister a bed of roses; and so Wolsey found. The care and study he had bestowed in manipulating the French king now seemed likely to be wasted by this sudden intractability of the Emperor. At length, after many difficulties, — not to weary the reader with a minute account of these tedious negotiations,—both powers consented to accept Henry's mediation. It was arranged that Wolsey should be sent to Calais; nominally with full powers to hear and decide their differences; really for the purpose of concluding a stricter amity with Charles, without exciting the suspicions of Francis.† Before, however, he consented to stir one step in this business, he exacted from both princes a written assurance to accept his mediation; and a promise, at the same time, that, not until his sentence

* No. 1331.

† No. 1340, 1383.

was pronounced, should either of them attempt to be reconciled to the other.

Did both parties consent to this strange convention from conviction of the justice of their cause, or confidence in the impartiality of Wolsey? Did they submit to the conditions thus imposed because they involved no sacrifice, and depended on their own inclinations to break or observe them? Or—more likely—were all parties deceiving, and being deceived? Francis was not unacquainted with the secret understanding between Henry and the Emperor; nor could Charles be ignorant of the true motive which demanded that he should make no approaches for reconciliation with his rival. On the other hand, so keen a politician as Wolsey would hardly repose such implicit belief in the promises of the two sovereigns as to think that they would keep their word when it no longer suited their interests or their inclinations. Strange as it may seem, none are more credulous or more blind than those who impose on the credulity of others; and, harsh as it may be to say so, kings and their ministers, in the 16th century, sate down to the game of political diplomacy with a fixed determination to overreach not only their opponents but their partners. So all parties concerned deliberately resolved on securing their own advantages, without too nicely scrutinizing the means.

Whatever may be thought of this conduct, however contrary it may appear to our present notions of fair and honorable dealing, it was not so considered then. The chivalrous application of the Christian maxim, if it ever had any existence beyond the imagination of poets and romancers, scarcely remained in the times of the Tudors; and certainly not among the Tudor sovereigns. Perhaps the selfishness, the cruelty, the suspicion, en-

gendered by years of civil strife, still left a root of bitterness behind them. To count on the forbearance of their enemy might be an amiable weakness in the Stuarts; no Tudor would have trusted the generosity of a friend, much less of a foe, or of a friend who might prove a foe. Love of policy for its own sake, strength of will, proneness to suspicion, readiness to forgive, inability to forget, an injury,—these were the characteristics of Henry VII., and ran through the whole line of his descendants. In Henry VII., whose throne, seated on a molehill, was constantly undermined by active and unseen enemies, such taints in the blood were to be expected, and might be excused. Nurtured in distrust, the events of his life had fostered in him the habit of suspicion. It would have been unnatural if none of these defects had descended to his son; especially as men transmit to their posterity their ignoble as frequently as their nobler qualities. Henry VIII. was the son of Henry VII. From the “Field of the Cloth of Gold,” where he and his French ally had met as brothers in arms, and to all outward appearance brothers in affection, Henry retired to meet the Emperor at Calais, to betray and sacrifice to a new alliance the monarch whose hospitality he had accepted and returned. He had solemnly disavowed to the French king that he entertained any purpose of espousing Mary to the Emperor. And now one of the chief articles to be discussed and settled at this Calais conference was the secret and final transfer of her hand to his antagonist. For months the King had been urging his mediation on Francis and the Emperor, assuring both that their honor and their interests should be strictly maintained. Yet from the first he had resolved to betray his French ally, and, under pretence of mediation, waited only for a closer union with the Em-

peror, and a more convenient season for invading the French dominions. But this the age called policy, and Henry, as we shall see, triumphed in the thought of his superior dexterity.

Whatever may have been Wolsey's part in these intrigues, it is certain that not a single step was taken by him without the full knowledge and hearty concurrence of his master. The following account left us by the imperial ambassadors of their interview with the king of England on this occasion, places this assertion beyond question.*

The ambassadors were carried down to Windsor in the first week of June 1521, by Sir Richard Wingfield, and lodged in the house of the dean of the chapel, within

* The notion, once popular and still entertained in some quarters, that Henry VIII. was an inexperienced youth, without capacity for business, without concern for anything beyond his pleasures, and little better than a tool in the hands of his great minister, seems to me so extremely absurd, that I should have thought a very slight perusal of the first volume of the State Papers of his reign, published some years since by the English Government, would have sufficed to dissipate such a notion for ever. The King might be more fond of the chase than his father Henry VII., and indulge more frequently in violent exercise, to keep down his growing tendency to corpulence ; but he kept a hand no less firm, no less absolute, than his father's, over his ministers. Woe betide the luckless wight who was careless in sending intelligence, or the post who failed in his duty ! What judgment is to be formed of the policy of the King and Wolsey is another question. Yet I think they were as correct and competent judges on this matter as most modern theorists ; perhaps better. To represent Henry as a feeble bungler, to set down the King and the Cardinal as children, compared with the superior political intelligence and sagacity of the Emperor and Francis I., is mere prejudice, or mere puerility. It is not the *δύματα* but the *πρόβυματα* which must decide these questions ; and the comparative strength and prosperity of the three nations at the death of their respective sovereigns, and for half a century after, is the best criterion of the abilities of their respective rulers. Even if the attempted conquest of France was chimerical, and involved the sacrifice of vast treasure for a barren idea, we have yet to learn that, if war is to be permitted at all, it is more ennobling and less demoralizing when undertaken for profit than for barren honor.

the castle. Here they were joined at supper by Pace, the King's secretary. At a late hour in the evening, when his majesty had returned from the chase, in which he had been engaged all the day, the aforesaid master Secretary came to them with a message that the next morning (Wednesday 5th) the King, after he had risen, would give them a favorable audience.

The said secretary and Master Wingfield came next morning in search of the ambassadors to their lodgings, and between the hours of ten and eleven in the forenoon conducted them to the palace. After tarrying some time in the ante-chamber, for the King was engaged in conversation with the duke of Suffolk and the earl of Worcester, the said secretary came to inform them that his Majesty, after hearing mass, had found himself in such good appetite, consequent upon the exercise he had taken in the chase the day before, that he wished to dine before he gave them audience. Dinner was set before them in the said apartment (*en la dite salle*) with the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Worcester, and another nobleman, who was called my lord Acant (my lord of Canterbury or the earl of Kent?).

Dinner ended, the King sent for them. They were ushered into his presence by the said secretary and ambassador, and then, after reverence done and recommendations made, they presented the Emperor's letters, declaring their charge as they had in all things been instructed to do by the Cardinal.

The King received them with great courtesy. He expressed himself extremely well pleased, and lovingly affected to the Emperor and his projects; but he declined to declare himself at present in the way that the Emperor desired; that is to say, he could not, for many reasons, openly announce his determination of supporting the

Emperor in his war against France ; because, in so doing, he could render him no effectual service, and would bring irreparable injury on himself, considering that his enemies were ready whilst he was wholly unprepared. He said that he was of opinion that the Emperor should by all means remain on the defensive, incur as little risk and expense as possible, until they two had consulted together, and fixed on the time and manner of a combined attack, *which might easily be settled at the ensuing conference.* He remarked, in conclusion, that he fully coincided in Wolsey's opinion, *that the Cardinal should be sent to Calais under pretence of hearing the grievances of Francis and the Emperor, and as soon as he saw that it was impossible to bring the two parties to agreement he should withdraw, and discuss and conclude with the Emperor the matters and propositions aforesaid ; which was a thing, he said, he most desired.* He added another motive for desiring delay : the pensions due from France for the surrender of Tournay in 1518 had not yet been paid ; and too precipitate a declaration of hostility would justify Francis in withholding them.*

To the general line of policy here marked out by the King Wolsey strictly adhered in the celebrated conference at Calais ;—a proof, if any were needed, that the King was sincere in the counsel he gave to the ambassadors, and in his professions of friendship for the Emperor. It is not pleasant to see the two great potentates of Christendom descending to artifices which could scarcely be justified against a declared enemy, much less towards a professed ally. Such conduct, however little it accords with the popular conceptions of Henry's character, or with that homeliness of aim and transparency of purpose

we have been taught to expect from him, is far more in harmony with his birth and the traditions of his family. It may, perhaps, be urged in palliation, if not excuse, that Henry believed that Francis would have acted with the same dissimulation had the same opportunity been offered him; and in his creed of political ethics, it was justifiable by deceit to anticipate deceit. Perhaps also the very fact that state-craft was king craft, and not popular craft, did something to encourage the notion, that the vulgar honesty of the multitude was not sufficiently intricate and refined for the atmosphere of politics. All these things the people then left wholly to their rulers. Class theology, class literature, class legislation, class politics, can only become strong, hearty, humane and national, when they receive the vigorous infusion of a broad lay element. But that was the slow outgrowth of the Reformation.

Wolsey delayed his journey to Calais as long as it could be delayed with safety or with decency. It was his object to give the Emperor as much time as possible for pushing on his successes, in the event of any future determination at the congress that both parties should remain in the *status quo*. By too long delay the equilibrium of both might become deranged, and his mediation be rejected or despised. He landed at Calais on the 2nd of August. On the road from London to Dover he was received with great demonstrations of respect; for the people had persuaded themselves that the purport of his mission was somehow favorable to the Emperor; and there was not a man throughout the realm of England, from the noble to the lowest bondsman, who did not rejoice at the prospect. When Montpesat, the late French ambassador, returned to the French Court, after a long residence in this country,

he expressed his conviction that, with the exception of the King and the Cardinal, "all England after cared "not and (if) all the Frenchmen were in the same case "they were in in Navarre,"—Navarre having been lately recovered by Charles from the French, not without a bitter exhibition of his vengeance.* But even in this exception Montpesat was deceived; for Henry, fired with the thought of recovering what even Wolsey did not hesitate to call "his righteous inheritance in "France," was to the full as desirous as any of his subjects of seeing that kingdom reduced once more to the condition of a conquered province. Henry V. was still the most popular of English monarchs. The deeds of the brave John Talbot, "the terror of the "French," were still watered with the tears of Englishmen, and freshly embalmed in their memory. So the chance of a war with France was as welcome as its alliance was odious; and though lord mayors and aldermen were not generally to be found among the number of the Cardinal's well-wishers, they attended him on this occasion with profuse demonstrations of respect, bidding him "God speed!" and confusion to the enemies of England.

Armed against all contingencies, the Cardinal carried with him various commissions, all bearing the same date of the 29th of July. By the first he was empowered to settle the differences between Francis I. and Charles V.; by the second, to conclude a treaty of marriage between the princess Mary and the Emperor; by the third, to arrange a league between the Emperor and the king of England for carrying war into France, and recovering the King's dominions. By another set, intended to serve as blinds, he was authorized to treat of a closer amity

* No. 1456.

with Francis I., and, if need be, make a general confederation of all the great powers of Christendom.*

The Cardinal was attended on his journey by the bishops of Durham (Ruthal) and Ely (West), the earl of Worcester, the prior of St. John's, and the Master of the Rolls (Tunstal). On reaching Calais he found the imperial deputies waiting his arrival. To them he gave the first audience, apparently the day after. The French ambassadors entered the town on the 4th, and were honorably received at the entrance of the English pale by the English marshal. On the 5th they were admitted to an audience. In conversation with the French deputies, the Cardinal enlarged on the determination of the Emperor to prosecute the war with alacrity, and his own anxiety to procure an advantageous truce for their master; with the imperial deputies he urged the paramount importance of the good will and alliance of England. But his greatest ingenuity and skill were bent on securing for his royal master the most advantageous terms at the proposed marriage of the Princess and the Emperor. He insisted on complete indemnity for all losses which England would sustain by its rupture with France. With Mary's hand the Emperor demanded a million ducats. Wolsey reduced the sum to 80,000*l*. The imperialists insisted that the Princess should be delivered into their hands "as soon as she should be seven years " of age;" they also objected to the indemnity, for that, said they, was to buy friendship when they had a right to demand it; and whilst Henry wished to be left wholly at liberty, he tied the Emperor to hard conditions. The conditions were disputed with great obstinacy on both sides, the imperialists fearing to make the least concession, lest, if the Cardinal gained in one advantage, he

should expect to gain in all. His courage, his perseverance, his indomitable resolution triumphed over every difficulty. Neither threats nor flattery could induce him to yield a single point, or wring from him the slightest concession. On his first arrival at Calais, the Emperor, then at Ghent, had gone to Bruges. From Bruges he wrote to Wolsey the most pressing invitations; determined, as he assured him, to be guided entirely by his counsel. "You and I," he said, "will do more in a day than my ambassadors will do in a month."* "You have always told me that you would apprise me of certain things that no man should know except the King, you and me; and for my part, I have assured you that I will show you the bottom of my heart:"—true or false, an unusual demonstration of frankness on his part. Two days after he wrote again in terms no less pressing and confiding. On one occasion Wolsey had gone so far as to send out his harbingers, and order his carriages for Bruges; but finding that the imperial ambassadors were inclined to dally with their engagements he countermanded his equipage until "a more towardly answer" should be received from the Emperor.† Whatever else may be denied him, he was certainly not wanting in political courage. Once resolved, nothing could shake him. Keen, sagacious, precise, a rigid adherent to the strict letter of agreements, as in his person so in his policy he was the type and model of an English statesman. And, like most Englishmen, he set a high value on the *litera scripta* as the best security from misinterpretation and cavil. To memory and generosity he trusted nothing.

Such strict and vulgar habits of business were as gall

* 7 Aug.; no. 1475.

† No. 1479.

and wormwood to the imperious Spaniards, whose formal gravity was offended by Wolsey's abruptness and precision. To have their words taken down in writing they considered a reflection upon their honor. They despised such precision as an impediment to business, and ridiculed the genius of the man who was so minutely practical, so scrupulously exact. "Sir (writes Wolsey to Henry VIII.) if such difficulties, arguments and persuasions as have been used by the Emperor's council from day to day were to your Grace known, and the reasons by me set forth to the confutation of the same, some time with sharp words and some time in pleasant manner, with the labors, business and study that I have taken therein, whereby for lack of sleep I have been inquieted with sundry disorders, your Grace should evidently perceive that I have omitted, according to my most bounden duty, as far as my poor wit will extend, nothing that might redound to the advancement of your honor and surety."*

It is not my intention to carry my readers through the details of the conference at Calais. Three distinct accounts of it, by each of the parties engaged in it, have been preserved.† It was not intended from the first—probably, by any party—that it should lead to any definite results, much less determine the disputes between the Emperor and the French king. Of the parties engaged in it, each had purposes of his own to serve. It was the object of England to give the Emperor an advantage over his opponent; to gain for him, under the disguise of Wolsey's arbitration, what he could

* No. 1502.

† The English in Wolsey's own letters; the imperial by Gattinara (no. 1816); the French by du Prat's secretary (no. 1817) To these may be added the letters from both sides, extending from nos. 1458 to 1818.

not have gained in his own person by open hostility. A sharp and a short war would have been most conducive to the interests of Francis. He had raised a formidable army; he had taken foreign troops into pay; his successes in Navarre had inspired his officers with confidence; restless spirits, like De la Mark, Fleuranges, Bayard, De Foix and others, were abroad, anxious to signalize their courage by a campaign against the Emperor. Charles, on the other hand, was in want of money and ammunition; Spain was still disquieted by rebellion; the troops under Nassau had been decimated by sickness; England was not only unprepared, but, in prospect of a war with Scotland, must have left its imperial ally to fight singlehanded, or make the best terms he could with his formidable rival. To Francis delay was little better than destruction. It impoverished his finances, ruined his best provinces, dispirited his army, discouraged his friends. Yet he clung with a peevish tenacity to the hope of the neutrality, if not of the friendship, of England. More than half convinced of their fallaciousness, he was willing to be deceived by the Cardinal's promises; and he allowed the congress to drag its slow length along through four most important months, from July to the end of November. More strangely still, he was content to see its proceedings entirely suspended for nearly three weeks in August, whilst Wolsey was closeted with the Emperor at Bruges. Day after day brought him in reality no nearer to the great object of his wishes. The Emperor, unfettered and fully aware of Wolsey's intentions, continued to act on the offensive, as if no mediation had been thought of. In Champagne and in Italy, Francis was daily losing important advantages; his reputation was suffering from the superior activity and success of his rival. Yet he still presumed on the friendship of Wolsey,

and believed, or at least professed to believe, in his good offices.

More outspoken or more sagacious, his celebrated sister Marguerite could not forbear expressing her anger at so transparent a deception. After the taking of Arde by Charles, where many Englishmen had joined the imperialists, she said one day to Fitzwilliam, still ambassador at the French court,* “The King (Francis) is now
“ departed towards his journey, and I doubt not by God’s
“ help but he shall have good speed, for he goeth upon
“ a good quarrel, and dealeth justly with every prince,
“ and yet *all princes* go about to deceive him.” Fitzwilliam fired up at the insinuation,—for, like other ambassadors, he was kept in the dark as to the King or the Cardinal’s secret intentions,—and he answered abruptly,
“ My master is in the number of *all princes*, but I trust
“ you think that *he* goeth not about to deceive him.” Marguerite, not to be daunted by his brusquerie, answered abruptly, “See ye not how the Cardinal is ever treating
“ of peace, almost to the day of battle? Our enemies
“ come still upon us; and Arde, which the King forbore
“ to fortify, at your master’s request, Englishmen now
“ have been present at the winning thereof, and helped
“ to raze it. What say ye to that? And as for trust,
“ that is past. The King will make himself strong, and
“ trust in God.” Fitzwilliam replied, “As for the treaty
“ my lord Cardinal hath gone about in the name of my
“ master, Madam, I made request to the King your
“ brother for the same, in the King my master’s behalf,
“ afore any war was begun. And at that time the Emperor was content, and the King your brother would
“ not be contented.” “And as for the long time of the
“ making of this peace,” continued the ambassador,

* 15 Sept. ; no. 1581.

growing every moment more hot and more impatient,—(for, as he says of himself “he was a young man in years, “and choleric of complexion”)—oblivious also for the time that he was talking to a lady—“there is no man “that shall say and prove it, that either my master’s or “my lord Cardinal’s grace drives it on so long, to do the “King your brother any displeasure, but only for the “good will they have to the tranquillity of all Christendom. And if ye shall speak of any particular person, “I think they have taken this pain more for your brother’s sake than for any man living; and if there be “any man that will say the contrary, I shall prove it as “a gentleman, he sayeth untruly. . As for Arde, I cannot “say whether there were any Englishmen at the razing “thereof or not; but I dare say this,—that it was not by “the consent nor knowledge of the King’s highness nor “your grace” (*sc.* Wolsey, to whom he was writing). Then glancing at the encouragement shown by Francis to Albany, De la Pole, and other English exiles, Fitzwilliam continued, “But there be Englishmen in Flanders as be “in France; some banished for murder, some for felony, “and some unthrifths that seek * and if any “were there, I reckon they were such.” “And I assured “her,” he tells the Cardinal, “that the King my master “was no dissembler; for there was no man, no, not her “brother, nor no other prince living, but and he bare “him hardly in hand, that he would be afraid to show “it.” The candor and honest warmth of Fitzwilliam,—for he spoke in perfect simplicity and good faith,—produced their effect. Marguerite was pacified, and declared her resolution to repose confidence in the King until she

* The passage is unhappily mutilated, like others in the letter.

saw reason for the contrary, "which once seen she would " never trust man after."

This explosion of loyal indignation is amusing. It was owing in some part to the ambassador's suspicion that Marguerite had in this instance been instigated by Louise of Savoy, the profoundest politician and dissembler in the court of her son; "for she stood so nigh she might hear " every word." Yet I cannot help thinking that it indicates an uneasy feeling in the mind of the ambassador himself, that after all there might be some truth in the insinuation so derogatory, as he rightly considered, to his master's and the Cardinal's honor. For though Machiavellism,—or rather those practices and those principles which Machiavelli, finding predominant in his own age, embodied into a system,—infected all the courts of Europe, England not excepted, the sense of honor and good faith among individual men happily remained as yet untainted. It was, however, a dangerous ordeal to which the men of this sixteenth century were exposed;—an abyss which few could enter without being scathed and scarred by its impure atmosphere. The poisonous after-growth of a defective morality, too ready to justify the means for the sake of the end, political finesse, like pious frauds, sprung from that root of an evil principle which too often dwarfed and choked the otherwise noble deeds and noble purposes of grand and courageous natures in the Middle Ages. It was the more dangerous because men yielded to its temptation, in the persuasion that they were thereby serving their country or the cause of God, and not themselves. Happily, we have purged the political horizon. No statesman would nowadays condescend to duplicity to please his sovereign; no ambassador would be deceived without resentment into pledging

his honor to a falsehood. But it follows not that we are better than they. The practice of some men is better than their theories—God be praised!—and of others it is much worse.

But such practices draw their own Nemesis after them, and so they did in Wolsey's case. How far this deception, successfully practised on the French, contributed afterwards to his fall,—how far it might tend to shake men's confidence in him, their's even who were most to profit by his policy,—I will not stay to inquire. Three months were fast waning; November was at hand, with its stormy weather, ominous of a rough sea and a disagreeable passage. The Cardinal's health, never strong, had suffered at Calais, from the climate, from anxiety, from incessant labor. He was anxious to return; but it was important before he left that he should patch up a truce between the two contending parties. The preparations of Francis alarmed him;* the Emperor's troops and means were insufficient, and disaster would be attended with serious consequences. He was scarcely less afraid of the Emperor's successes than his reverses, for with success he might prove refractory, and refuse England its share of the spoils.† He pressed on Charles the necessity of an armistice; he pressed it on Francis. To the former it was indispensable: the troubles in Spain and Flanders, the sickness of his army, the necessity of making seasonable preparations for a united campaign the next summer‡ were urgent. To Francis he magnified the losses he had already sustained; the uncertainty of success; the resolution of the Emperor. Both turned a deaf ear to his intreaties. To the French a truce was of no

* See no. 1488.

† See nos. 1612, 1613, 1616, 1617, 1694.

‡ See no. 1694. Compare nos. 1612, 1613, 1616, 1617, 1736.

advantage except as a condition of lasting peace. That, of course, neither England nor the Emperor wanted. If Francis would accept a truce for the present, Wolsey offered to lay his head that peace would follow in six months, on whatever conditions he chose to impose.* More cautious and clear-sighted than his master, Du Prat urged him to refuse. He had already begun to suspect the sincerity of "M. le Médiateur," as he termed Wolsey.† Charles, whose interests had been studied by Wolsey throughout, was not only less compliant, but even hinted to his own ambassador that the Cardinal intended to betray him.‡ At last, worn out with fruitless opposition, the Cardinal wrote to Worcester and others,§ "I have been here for my part as sore tempest in mind by the untowardness of the chancellor and orators, on every side, putting so many difficulties and obstacles to condescend to any reasonable conditions of truce and abstinence of war, that night nor day I could have no quietness ne rest, so that almost mine appetite and sleep are sequestrate from me."

Finding all further stay useless, he returned on the 28th of November, and reached Dover in a sailing vessel,|| after a stormy passage of fifteen hours.

Whatever might be Wolsey's own disappointment or dissatisfaction at the results of his negociation, he experienced no diminution in the favor of his royal master. The King was delighted. It was enough that Francis had been deceived. The former frank interchange of

* No. 1556.

† Nos. 1743, 1746.

‡ No. 1663. He does not say so openly; but this seems to me the natural interpretation of his words when compared with the despatches of Don Manuel.

§ No. 1728.

|| No. 1810.

courtesies between himself and his rival was entirely forgotten. Esteem, if that word be not too emphatic, had been succeeded by personal animosity, not to say antipathy. The change appears so sudden, so unaccountable, that late writers have attributed it to disappointed vanity, and trace it as far back as the interview at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Fleuranges, who was present on that occasion, has preserved an anecdote, which some have deemed sufficient to account for Henry's bitterness. One day, after the jousts were ended, the wrestlers of France and England advanced to the front, and displayed their skill before the King and the ladies;—a beautiful pastime, he remarks, for there were many strong wrestlers present;* and because the king of France had not brought any wrestlers from Brittany, the English carried off the prize. They next proceeded to drawing the bow, in which the king of England took part, for he was a marvellous good archer and a strong; and it was very pleasant to see him. These amusements ended, the kings of France and England retired to their tent, where they drank together. This done, the king of England took the king of France by the collar, saying, "Come, my brother, let us try a fall." After one or two feints, the king of France, who was an expert wrestler, tripped up the heels of his brother of England, and gave him a marvellous somerset. Henry on rising would have tried another round; but was interrupted, and all were summoned to supper.†

If the tale be true—though Fleuranges is not a trustworthy authority—such defeats as this must have been far too common in those frequent displays of personal

* My readers will remember the use made by Shakspeare of this species of entertainment in "As you like it."

† *Memoires*, ch. 67.

prowess, to which that age was addicted, to entail disgrace, or to cause such a lasting resentment. The rivalry of the two monarchs sprung from more natural and more adequate causes. There never had been any real cordiality between them, not even at the interview; and every circumstance since then had tended to augment his dislike of the French monarch, and strengthen his determination of recovering what, in common with most of his subjects, he regarded as his ancient patrimony and "righteous inheritance."* He had consequently gone heart and hand with Wolsey in all that he had done at the late conference. Every stroke of policy, purchased as it might be, at the cost of sincerity and honorable dealing, was regarded by him as a just advantage. It was not merely that Wolsey by his great ability and successful intrigues had secured an imperial son-in-law for the hand of the princess Mary,—had concluded the match at the smallest possible cost,—had exacted an indemnity against all pecuniary losses incurred by a rupture with France:—

* Thus Pace writes to Wolsey: "And now I signify unto your Grace that though the commonalty of this realm, of every sort, had no knowledge of such secret matters as your Grace hath treated and concluded with the Emperor, yet they do deem by conjecture that the cause of your going to the said Emperor was for to establish good and perfect amity betwixt the King and him, and to knit an indissoluble knot of love betwixt them; *which thing is to their inestimable contentation, rejoice and comfort*, and redoundeth to your Grace's great honor and surety, as it evidently appeareth by the common voice. And the sending forth of the King's letters for the preparation of the 6,000 archers doth somewhat increase this matter; *for every man judgeth thereby that we shall have war against France, whereof they be most desirous; though peradventure they will shortly desire to come home again, when they be there.* 4 Sept." This last sentence is worth remarking; for it shows what was Pace's opinion of the clamors of the people for a war with France. Nor would he have dared to write in this style to the Cardinal, had he not been very well assured that Wolsey shared the same sentiments.

more than all, he had paved the way for the conquest of France itself, and already in his imagination the King beheld himself entering the gates of Paris at the head of a victorious army. He commanded Pace to express to Wolsey how much the King was satisfied with his conduct. He had, he said, shown as great regard to his honor and surety as he himself could have by any manner of study devised. "He thanked God," he added, "that he had such a chaplain, by whose wisdom, fidelity, and labor he could obtain greater acquisitions than all his progenitors were able to accomplish with all their numerous wars and battles." * A few days after he commanded Pace to write again, and convey to the Cardinal the King's "most hearty thanks for the great pains and labors sustained (by him) in the bringing of his said affairs to such conclusion and end, as most redoundeth to his honor and surety, saying that everything in effect is finished according to his own desire." †

During Wolsey's absence at Calais the rich abbey of St. Alban's had fallen vacant by the death of abbot Ramrige,—a personage only known to history as having stood sponsor to the eldest daughter of the duke of Suffolk and of Mary the French queen.‡ Although one of the most ancient and opulent of the religious foundations in England, the abbey had fallen into great decay, partly in consequence of the civil wars of the last century, partly from the age and infirmities of the last abbot, whose investiture carries us back to 1492. When the monks appeared before the King at Windsor, on the 12th of

* 29 Aug. 1521, in the heat of the Calais conference.

† No. 1539, 3rd September. See also no. 1543.

‡ Calendar II., 3487, 3489.

November, to request his letters patent for a new election, he made them a speech, the substance of which, for "its princely and godly motion," Pace, who was present, thought it worth while to repeat to the Cardinal next day.* As he was penning his letter, he received a communication from Wolsey "touching the monastery of St. Alban's." "And," continues Pace in a postscript, "after I had perused and diligently debated with myself the contents of the same, I went straight to the King's grace with your Grace's letters to him directed in the same matter. And I found him ready to go out a shooting. And yet, that notwithstanding, his Grace received from me the said letters, and, as it chanced happily, commanded me to go down with him by his secret way into the park; whereby I had as good commodity as I could desire to advance your Grace's petition, as much as the case required. And the King read your Grace's letters himself, and made me privy to the contents of the same. And the few words that his Highness spoke to me in this cause were these: 'By God, my lord Cardinal hath sustained many charges in this his voyage, and expended 10,000*l*.' Which [I] did affirm and show his Grace of good congruence he oweth unto you some recompence. Whereunto his Grace answered, that he would rather give unto your Grace the abbey of St. Alban's than to any monk."

So Wolsey added to his other dignities and emoluments that of the most ancient mitred abbey in England.

He had not returned many days when the unexpected intelligence arrived of the death of Leo. X. "Eight days past," says Clerk, the English ambassador at Rome,

* See no. 1759.

writing to Wolsey of the occurrence,* “ what time tidings
“ came of the winning of Milan, his Holiness was
“ forth a sporting, at a place of his own, called Manlian,
“ six miles out of Rome; and the selfsame day coming
“ home to Rome took cold; and the next day fell in a
“ fever, which was his death. At his coming home
“ from Manlian, I met his Holiness, and methought I
“ never saw him more lusty.” The day before Clerk
had written to Wolsey to tell him “ the Pope’s holiness
“ hath been sick these six days, and this night passed
“ had a very sore night, insomuch that his Holiness’s
“ physicians thought he should not a’ scaped till day.
“ It is noised that his Holiness had rest this day;
“ howbeit there be not many that can tell that, for
“ there cometh very few at him. I am credibly in-
“ formed that his Holiness is in very great danger.”†
Rumor was busy, as usual, in assigning all sorts of
sinister interpretations to the rapidity of his illness and
the fatality of its termination. “ He had eaten or drunk
“ something he should not,” said the Spanish ambas-
sador; more familiar with poisons than the homely
Englishman. The Italians, expert manipulators of deadly

* 2nd Dec. : see no. 1825. Sir Henry Ellis, who has printed this letter (Third Series, i. 280), exemplifies the danger of a misplaced colon, and the fatal mistakes into which historians are sometimes apt to fall. He reads the passage thus : “ This morning the cardinal Campegius did
“ send me word that the Pope’s holiness was departed out of this
“ present life, God rest his soul, viii. days past : what time tidings came
“ of the winning,” &c. ; and then proceeds to argue on the important
correction the passage affords of the mistake made by historians in
attributing Leo’s death to the 2nd of Dec., instead of eight days before
that date. There may be some doubt whether Leo died on the 1st or
the 2nd of December, consequent on the old Italian method of reckoning
the hours; there is none whatever as to Sir Henry’s punctuation or his-
torical correction.

† No. 1824.

potions, laid the fault, as usual, on the Pope's physicians. It was insinuated that they had flattered him with life, and either cared not to prolong it, or abridged it by their drugs. When the body was opened the heart was covered with dark, livid spots, and the spleen was wasted. His attendant, who had handed him a draught of wine at supper-time the day before he expired, was thrown into prison; for it was remembered that immediately after drinking it, the Pope had complained of its bitterness. Strong suspicions of his guilt were not wanting to the credulous:—the same man, early the next morning after the death of the Pope, had been descried by the Papal guards, going out with his hunting dogs at the gate of the Vatican. Others reported that the Pope had died of poison taken in pills of bitter aloe; a medicine he had been using during the week. Ciacconi, after duly chronicling all this “skimble-skamble stuff,” descends at last to the firm standing ground of common sense: the Pope, he observes, died of an obstinate fistula, aggravated by a sudden return from his villa to Rome, just then more than usually unhealthy, from the malaria brought up by a relaxing south-west wind from the Pontine Marshes. This was cause enough for the rapid illness and death of a Pope who was never over cautious or temperate in his diet.*

Clerk's account is probably the true one. Inclined to sensual indulgences, and subject to fits of illness, Leo had experienced one of his old attacks about the 24th of November, when the tidings reached him of the taking of Milan, and the total defeat of the French by the combined papal and imperial troops. The result of that

* This is confirmed by the contemporary account of Doctor M. Zorzi, quoted by Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, App. 7.

victory was to wrest from the hands of his mortal and most formidable enemy—"the griesliest nightmare of the "Church's dream"—Milan, Pavia, Parma, Piacenza, Cremona, "and in a manner all the duchy of Milan "except two or three strongholds."* No victory so signal, or so complete, had fallen to the lot of any Pope, since the memory of man. By it, the cause of the French and their adherents in Italy had become hopeless. For it, Leo had long been straining every nerve; he had patiently endured all sorts of indignities; he had eluded by policy what he could not control by open resistance. In addition to the regular papal forces, his treasures had been exhausted by keeping in pay a large body of Swiss mercenaries. Slowly, laboriously, his designs, liable to be scattered by any sudden blast, had grown and ripened. With feverish impatience and trembling anxiety he, the cautious pontiff, watched the long and dreary conference at Calais. At times he had firmly persuaded himself that Wolsey, proud of displaying his unlimited influence, would reconcile the French king and the Emperor; and then all the hopes which Leo had conceived of neutralizing one power by the other, or of employing the Emperor's resentment as an instrument for driving the French out of Italy, would have been scattered to the winds. He fretted under the indignities to which he had been exposed. To determine questions of heresy was the peculiar privilege of the Holy See; yet the Emperor, instead of sending Luther to Rome, had established the dangerous precedent, and been guilty of the unpardonable usurpation, of convening Luther before himself. What could be more disastrous to the best interests of the Church than that the chosen champion of Western Christendom should

* Clerk, no. 1824.

thus permit himself to be led astray, and hearken to evil counsels? It had ever been the incommunicable privilege of the Holy See to compose the dissensions of temporal potentates; to interpose in their quarrels; to rally them round the throne of St. Peter; to appoint them their several tasks as champions of the faith "once for all delivered to the Saints." But greater than popes, more imperious, more influential, more independent than any pope had been for centuries, here was a cardinal, a creature of Leo's own creation, in a remote corner of Europe, dictating, mediating, and arranging; treating crowned heads and papal nuncios with imperiousness that never faltered, paying no more regard to the Pope's wishes and opinions in these or any other matters, than if he had been a parish priest or a Dominican friar! Worse than all,—throughout the conference, Wolsey had shown no deference to that supremacy, which, more than any, he was helping to subvert. What could a pope—"a poor blind man,"—do in these fierce controversies? They were no longer to be settled by texts of Scripture or citations from the Canon law. They demanded political skill and experience; tact, to be acquired only by those who, like Wolsey, held in their own hands the strings of all state intelligence, knew to a fraction the number and strength of every army and navy in Europe, the designs of every monarch whose designs were worth knowing,—their movements, their finances, their debts, their difficulties and their temptations.

But in truth Leo, never wanting in penetration, must have felt that the Papacy was fast sinking into a conventional position most dangerous to all institutions;—that men were ceasing to regard it as the chosen guardian and representative of sacred truths essential to their welfare, and learning to tolerate it as a de-

corous and agreeable appendage to the political and social necessities of Christendom,—as a centre round which it was convenient for that system to revolve, not a pivot essential to its existence;—an emblem of respectability, good if it could be had, not by any means indispensable if it could not. So long as kings, or cardinals, or prime ministers preserved a show of respect for the Holy See, they were acquitted in their own consciences, and in those of others, of any secret insult or open violence they might offer it. Late events had contributed more than ever to eclipse the Papacy in the estimation of mankind, and Leo was powerless to prevent them.

Now, in an auspicious moment, by a sudden and unexpected turn of good fortune, his aspirations had been realized;—the expulsion of the French from the North of Italy was accomplished, and all who had espoused the French cause shared its humiliation. The result, so long delayed, so much desired, so fickle and so fugitive, was at last within his grasp. At his Manlian villa he received the intelligence of the triumphant entry of his troops into Milan. All the French—so ran the news—had either been made prisoners, or had taken to flight. In the moment of exultation he declared that he had never experienced greater joy in his life; even the news of his elevation to the papacy had not been half so welcome. He beheld in imagination his enemies prostrate at his feet; his friends enriched with the spoils distributed with his own hands. The *feux de joye* of the Swiss, the acclamations of the crowd, rent the air. Restless and excited groups hurried to and fro in the delirium of the hour. Regardless of his strength and failing health,—for he was corpulent and troubled by an obstinate internal complaint,—late into the night the Pope paced

backwards and forwards at the open windows of his apartment, heated by the tumult, kindling with the excitement of all around him. Seven days after, his schemes and his hopes had died with him. "Every man here," says Clerk, writing upon the occasion to Wolsey, "be-
" ginneth to shift for himself, because of such garboyle
" and business as out of all order is like to be committed
" here in this city until such time as we be provided of
" another Pope. I beseech Almighty God send us one to
" His pleasure." With such frosty expressions of their sorrow, men resigned themselves to their loss, and turned their thoughts towards Leo's successor.

Nothing at that moment could have been more inopportune for French influence in Italy than the loss of Milan. The Emperor was predominant at Rome. Resolved to improve the occasion, Don Manuel, the Spanish ambassador, wrote at once to Naples, ordering the Neapolitan troops to be ready for marching. Such was the way in which the freedom of election, whether of Popes or Emperors, was secured in those days. Before the news of Leo's death could be widely known, the Spaniard had taken the precaution to fill his house at Rome with soldiers. Followed by his attendants armed with swords, he visited the different cardinals. He made solemn speeches and tedious visits; he assured the cardinals that the Emperor was the natural protector of the Church and the watchful guardian of their interests. The cardinals reciprocated his courtesy: they listened respectfully to his arguments; thronged his ante-room; requested to be favored with the names of the imperial candidates. He gave them the names of a dozen—all good imperialists. For any one included in the list they might vote and welcome; travel beyond it, they must expect the Emperor's displeasure. Why say more?

In that list any one who is at all acquainted with the sentiments of Don Manuel will be quite certain that the name of Wolsey was not found.

Leo died on the 2nd of December, yet Campeggio, hitherto loudest in his professions of unalterable attachment, did not find it necessary to apprise Wolsey of the fact until thirteen days after. Then he wrote to say that there would be many candidates for the Papacy, and a full attendance of cardinals. To the chance of Wolsey being added to the number of prospective popes, Campeggio made no allusion. The list was large enough already; too large for Campeggio's hopes or wishes.* "In most cases," wrote Don Manuel to the Emperor, "two or three cardinals endeavor to obtain the election; now all aspire to it." The news must have been generally known in Western Europe within a fortnight after Leo's decease. It was certainly known to the Emperor before the 15th of December. On that day Margaret of Savoy sent the news from Oudenarde to Wolsey, adding that, if he desired it, she would gladly write to the Emperor in his behalf. She was generous enough to add that she thought she should be doing a kindness to her nephew by assisting in Wolsey's promotion.† As Charles also wrote on the same day, from the same place, it will be thought that, had she been sincere in her professions, she would have taken time by the forelock, and consulted with the Emperor at once‡ Charles, in his letter,§ avoids all allusion to

* No. 1869. Campeggio himself was a candidate, but never obtained more than seven votes.

† No. 1868.

‡ It is, I think, highly improbable that both Margaret and Charles should not have known of the Pope's death, and discussed the matter before the 15th.

§ No. 1867.

the Papacy. But the day after he wrote to the bishop of Elna, his ambassador in England, instructing him to inform the Cardinal and his royal master of Leo's decease. "You shall say," he continues, "to Mons. the Legate, that as we always keep his advancement and exaltation in our good remembrance, and retain a faithful memory of the promise we made to him at Bruges touching the Papacy, in conformity therewith and for the accomplishment of the same, we are resolved to assist him to the best of our power, both in this affair and in all others which may concern him. You shall, therefore, request him to be good enough to let us know his wishes, and what are his inclinations that way; and we will exert ourselves very willingly in his behalf, and spare no pains. However, we are of opinion that the affair will not soon be settled, and he has already a very good chance of success. Had we been much nearer Italy than we are, and as we should have liked to have been, we could then have shown him more effectually what we would have done for him." In the end he charged his ambassador to employ all his dexterity in this matter, in order to gain the Cardinal's good will; for he made no doubt that Francis would assail Wolsey with all sorts of fair offers, though it is notorious, he says, that the French king can render him no effectual assistance.

Nothing could apparently be more cordial, or more condescending; and so gracious an intimation lost nothing in its transmission through the bishop of Elna. At that conjuncture it was more than ever necessary for Charles to secure the good offices of the Cardinal. He was in great distress; he had no means to prosecute the war against France. The advantages he had lately acquired

in the North of Italy were in danger of being lost by his inability to follow up his conquests. In short, he wanted a new loan from England of 200,000 ducats, and a body of 3,000 foot,—such was the phrase; in other words, the pay of 3,000 footmen, besides the ducats already demanded. These troops were to be raised by the Emperor and the lady Margaret, and employed at their discretion.†

And what, it will be asked, were Wolsey's feelings at this event? They who have been accustomed to judge of him by popular traditions will be ready with an answer. They will entertain no doubt that as personal aggrandizement was the ruling motive of his actions, the Papacy must have offered him irresistible attractions. Happily we know the thoughts of those who had the best opportunities of observing him, and the least inclination to flatter him. They are recorded in the following extract from the Spanish ambassador's despatch to the Emperor.‡

“Most sacred Cæsarean and Catholic Majesty.

“On the 16th day of this month, after dining at Richmond, where the King and the Cardinal were present, the Cardinal informed me that he had received letters from the king of France, the originals of which he showed me; and the contents of which I will hereafter submit to your Majesty. He told us, besides, that he had received a letter from the English ambassador in France,§ informing him of the death of the Pope, and that cardinals Sion and De Medici had left the camp and gone to Rome; that the army of your Majesty and of the Pope had been broken up, and the affairs of the French in Italy had returned to their former channel. All this the said ambassador had written to him on the information of the king of France. The king of England is troubled at the news beyond measure, and is in a great state of alarm.

† See nos. 1862, 1891; and compare no. 1905.

‡ Mon. Habsb., p. 507. This interview took place on the 16th, the date of the Emperor's letter. That letter did not reach the Bishop's hands until the 24th; that is, eight days, a very long interval in coming from Ghent to England. Mon. Habsb., p. 523. On the other hand, Margaret's letter, dated the 15th, reached London on the 18th. The Emperor was in no unnecessary haste to fulfil his promises.

§ This letter from Fitzwilliam is not now to be found.

Two things, he says, must be provided for with the utmost speed : 1st, that no harm befall the kingdom of Naples * * 2ndly, that due provision be made for the election of such a Pope as is devoted to your Majesty and the king of England ; and he must be one on whom you can both rely for advancing your interests. For success in these two points the King and the Cardinal consider that the integrality of your Majesty's army in Italy is of great importance, both for the defence of the said kingdom and for securing the election.

“ As to the person to be chosen for the Papacy, the King is fully inclined and resolved in favor of the most reverend cardinal of York. He is desirous, more than I can express, that your Majesty should concur in this opinion ; and in order that it may take effect he will employ his power to the utmost, and will omit nothing that may conduce to that end. For this reason he has resolved to send a person (Pace) to Rome, with letters (the tenor of which I will explain hereafter) to induce and persuade the cardinals to give their votes to the cardinal of York, and condescend to the election of the same.

“ But as the king of England most constantly affirms that he does not intend to attempt anything without the knowledge and advice of your Majesty, with whom he is united in fortune and affection, he does not propose to send his ambassador to Rome, in the first instance, but to your Majesty, to take your advice upon his instructions, and follow your directions.”

The ambassador then proceeds to say that as in the conduct of this negociation great caution would be required, and in the event of Wolsey not being elected it would be desirable that the choice should fall on Cardinal Medici, the King had prepared two letters,—one to be used in favor of Wolsey, the other in favor of De Medici, if Wolsey's advancement proved hopeless. He had also requested the Emperor to write letters of a similar tenor, and give the necessary instructions to Don Manuel, his ambassador at Rome, to carry out their wishes. To show how much the King was bent on securing the Papacy for Wolsey, the ambassador informed his master that Henry had resolved to send his own secretary, Richard Pace, “ as if,” to use his own expression, “ he sent his very heart.” As Pace, he adds, is in great favor with the Venetians, it is thought that he will be of great use in

detaching them from the French. "The secretary," he adds, "has accepted this task, as he hopes he can be
" of service to your Majesty; and I dare assure your
" Majesty that, unless I am mistaken in the man, there
" is no better imperialist. I think, besides, that if the
" most reverend cardinal of York, by obtaining the
" Papacy, or by any other cause, should not continue
" much longer about the King's person, Pace will
" attain the highest post with his master. I wished to
" explain all this, that your Majesty might understand
" what kind of a man you have to deal with, and be
" ruled accordingly."

The ambassador then details his conversation on this occasion with Wolsey. "He assured the King (he says)
" in my presence, with the most solemn oaths and pro-
" testations, that he had no intention to accept this
" election, unless his master and your Majesty should
" consider that in so doing he could best promote the
" welfare and honor of both of you. If it appeared to
" your Majesties that he was a person who could be
" serviceable to you, and one in whom both of you might
" repose confidence, he would not shrink from any labor;
" asseverating that the chief benefit and emolument he
" expected to reap from this honor was to contribute to
" your Majesties' exaltation.—Here the King solemnly
" protested on his royal word that you might trust the
" Cardinal implicitly.*—And so (continued he) your
" Majesties, like father and son, shall dispose of that
" see, its authority and power, as if they were your own,
" and give laws to the rest of the world!"

"To tell you my own opinion," adds the ambassador in confidence, "I do not believe that the most reverend

* Either there is some slight confusion in the original, or the King suddenly breaks in with his asseveration, interrupting Wolsey's speech.

“ Cardinal has any great expectation of succeeding, although he does not entirely despair. But he evidently contemplates two results: one is, that he will be able to ascertain your Majesty’s real sentiments in this matter, how far your Majesty is to be trusted in case of need, and what faith he may repose in your promises; seeing that De la Roche and I, last year, promised him your Majesty’s support at this election; an offer he refused at the time, but now he reminds us of it. In the other case, if, with your Majesty’s active co-operation, success should prove impossible on this occasion, he will be enabled to put matters in a good train for the next opportunity. I speak this as of myself, and it is my own inference only; not but what I have said has some foundation in words he has casually dropped. I doubt not but that, if the Cardinal were fully satisfied that your Majesty would really favor him, he would use his power to the utmost with the King in furthering your Majesty’s interests, inasmuch as even now he is most zealous in fostering and encouraging his master’s affection for you, and in exciting his indignation against the French; so that whatever a Frenchman writes is considered no better than falsehood. * * * London, 19 Dec. 1521.”†

Charles was in some perplexity. The writer had warned him that if he had determined on the election of any other candidate than Wolsey, the greatest caution and dexterity would be needed to avoid the resentment and blind the suspicions of the Cardinal.‡ Had he be-

† No. 1884.

‡ “Nunc vero majestas vestra maturissime debet rem istam tractare et uti magna dexteritate, ut huic Cardinali possit satisfieri, et si alius fuerit eligendus, non perdatur.” Bp. of Elna, *ut supra*, p. 510.

lieved that his imperial master was sincere in proffering his services to Wolsey on this occasion, or that he had not in fact already decided on some other candidate, this warning and the general tenor of his despatch would have been out of place. Nor, indeed, could any one who reflected a little on the subject entertain much doubt on that head. Was it probable that, if Charles could influence the election, he would be so blind to his own interests as to raise an English cardinal to the papal throne instead of a staunch Imperialist,—or prefer an uncertain and imperious friend to a humble and responsible subject? Against such a temptation his most solemn promise was worth nothing; nor would he have permitted it to stand in the way of his own interests for a moment. To make promises and to break them as easily, to incur the most solemn obligations without any serious intent of fulfilling them, was no unusual thing with the Emperor. At that very moment, when he had bound himself by a much more sacred vow to marry the princess Mary, he was meditating a breach of it, and dictating instructions to De la Sauch, whom he was sending to the king of Portugal to explain away his obligations to the English princess. Was a promise to a Cardinal, whom he always suspected and sometimes hated, likely to be more binding on the Emperor's conscience? Neither at this nor at any other time had he any serious intention of promoting Wolsey to the Papacy. Notwithstanding all his professions of zeal and sincerity, it is questionable whether he ever wrote to his ambassador at Rome in favor of Wolsey; if he did, no notice of such a letter is to be found in Don Manuel's despatches—and they are not scanty—nor did the imperial

exciv *Charles has no intention of keeping his promises.*

ambassador exert his influence in Wolsey's behalf.* He had arranged his tactics already, and had given the Emperor due notice of his movements.

On the 24th the bishop of Elna wrote again to the Emperor, describing a second interview he had had with the Cardinal. The Bishop had assured Wolsey that his master would employ all his influence to promote his election, and could only have wished to have been nearer Italy for the welfare of the Cardinal and the good of Christendom. "He heard all I had to say," continues the Bishop, "attentively, and received it gratefully; " and he thanked your Majesty with such professions of " humility as if he had been elected Pope already through " your instrumentality. Perceiving that your Majesty " had not forgotten your promise at Bruges, he was " in great hopes of success, and began to repeat to me " Pace's commission, of which I wrote to you by the " last post, adding one thing at which I was greatly " astonished; and, however strange it may seem, I will " repeat it to your Majesty. He said that, to secure the " election, which he desired for no earthly reason except " for the King's exaltation and yours, it would be very " important that your Majesty's army now in Italy " should advance to Rome; and then, if, after liberal " monition and offers, the cardinals continued refractory, " they should be compelled to elect him by force, in " order that the French faction might be excluded, and " Naples and Sicily be saved." He added, that if 100,000 ducats were required to accomplish this object, Wolsey had told him they would be forthcoming,—

* Charles wrote on 28 Dec. to the King and the Cardinal, professing to send them the copy of a letter which he had written to Don Manuel; but whether the letter was ever sent, or sent in time to be of use, is the question.

that the king of France reckoned on having twenty-two cardinals at his disposal ;—"from which I inferred," says the Bishop, "that the king of France had made him an offer of his votes and his assistance."

Whether Wolsey was serious in this extraordinary proposal, so much at variance with the popular notions of the freedom of papal elections, or whether he urged it as a touchstone of the Emperor's sincerity, my readers must decide for themselves. If he spoke seriously, the reckless sincerity with which he expressed his disregard for the conclave, and his total disbelief in its independence, are remarkable. The Pope as a temporal sovereign had ceased, in Wolsey's estimation, to be more than an instrument for securing certain political advantages. But, as the Head of the Church, his authority was still paramount in spiritual matters. He would have been shocked, as much as any of his contemporaries, at the propagation of opinions derogatory to the Pope's ecclesiastical supremacy, had such acts of insubordination been prominently brought before his notice. But he had seldom been accustomed to regard the Papacy in that light. Immersed in politics, and engrossed by diplomacy, it was only the political side of the papal orbit which presented itself to Wolsey's vision. To him the Pope was little better than a temporal ruler,—a unit, by no means the most important, in those combinations of which the chief factors were the King, the Emperor and their formidable rival. The temporal co-operation of the Pope was to be secured like that of any other temporal power; freely, if possible,—if not, by force. Doubtless Wolsey would have made little scruple of handling his cardinal brothers as roughly and unceremoniously as he proposed. How could he re-

spect those of whose venality he had such overwhelming evidence? Was dictation backed by arms more culpable than intrigues supported by bribery? And though the bishop of Elna professed to be shocked at his disregard of the conventional independence of the conclave, he forgot that only a minute before he had expressed his master's regret for being no nearer Italy, that he might have personally interposed his authority with the cardinals, and have coerced the electors according to his wishes. He was ignorant, perhaps, at the date of his astonishment, that the Neapolitan army had already received orders to march, if the conclave proved refractory, and that Civita Vecchia was filled with armed Neapolitan galleys watching the course of the election. Though Wolsey was not the only person who thought that cardinals could be bribed or intimidated, he was the only person who had the honesty and the boldness to avow it.

The cardinals should have entered the conclave on the 18th of December, but the time was delayed until the cardinal of Ivrea, who had been taken prisoner on his journey from Savoy, had regained his liberty. In the interval Rome became the prey of every intriguer. By the death of the Pope not only the Church lost its spiritual head, but the States of the Church their temporal ruler. The conclave was divided into two factions, headed by cardinal Colonna and cardinal De Medici. So obstinate was the strife, the parties so equally balanced, that there seemed little probability of any accommodation between them. Out of forty-nine or fifty cardinals De Medici counted on fifteen* votes; with the rest he was ex-

* Don Manuel says 18; then, in a despatch of a subsequent date, he says 15; thus confirming the accuracy of the English ambassador, Clerk.

tremely unpopular, for his power was dreaded, and his unlimited influence over the late Pope was remembered with some resentment. Next to the Colonnas, the Soderini, of whom the cardinal of Volterra was both the most eminent and the most acrimonious, signalized themselves by their animosity against De Medici. "This " Cardinal," says Clerk, speaking of Volterra, "is a " stout man and a wise, and a well spoken, and a man " of good authority and reputation here in this court ; " and now at his coming, perceiving a great number of " these cardinals sore bent to make the cardinal De " Medici Pope, first did severally solicit each of them to " the contrary, declaring against the said Cardinal that " if he should be Pope, that should mar their reckoning " to have no new Pope, for he had been Pope now a " long season ; and how that-they have had good ex- " perience what manner a man he is ; with many evil " words of the Cardinal's bastardy, tyranny, and how " that he had already undone the Church."*

De Medici, it was clear, could not succeed. It was equally clear that no other candidate could be elected without his consent. This gave Clerk, the English ambassador at Rome, on one side, and Don Manuel on the other, an opportunity of interesting De Medici in behalf of their respective candidates ; but either Don Manuel was the better diplomatist, or the offers he made were more tempting. Clerk did his best to insinuate the great merits of Wolsey, and obtain from De Medici some hint of encouragement and support. But the wily Italian pretended not to understand, and turned a deaf ear to his intimations. He tried his hand with Colonna. "Sir," said Clerk,† "I do perceive that you be thus right well

* p. 805.

† p. 807.

“ minded towards cardinal De Medici, that at the least
“ wise you would be contented to do for any friend of
“ his, so that the person had qualities thereafter. May
“ I be so bold as to axe of you what friend of the
“ cardinal De Medici’s, being qualified, is there in this
“ college upon whom you may find in your heart to
“ bestow your favour?” “ He answered me,” says Clerk,
“ that there were divers aged men, and each of them
“ were very meet for the room;” and he concluded by
saying that he would so endeavor to control the election
“ that he might come to this feast and marriage once
“ again;” whereas, if they were to elect a young man,
the Pope might survive them all.

To discover his intentions Clerk proposed cardinal Campeggio. Colonna made no open objection, but bade him consult with De Medici. Returning to De Medici, Clerk exhorted him not to be too precise in standing out for one of his own nominees, as Colonna was resolved to oppose him; “ seeing that I knew right well that
“ there were other persons right well qualified, in whom
“ he might as well trust as in any man;”—of course meaning Wolsey. Campeggio’s name was only a stalking-horse;—no one was more distasteful to De Medici.

The disorders rapidly increased in the States of the Church, and the election could be delayed no longer. On Friday, St. John’s Day, the 27th of December, the cardinals entered the conclave. Some little difficulty was raised at first as to the place and its guardianship. Volterra complained that armed gallies of the Imperialists had filled the harbor of Civita Vecchia, and that 500 of the late Pope’s Swiss guard had been stationed in the Palace where De Medici lodged, eager to advance his claims out of love to their late master.* The danger apprehended

* See Hadriani Annal., p. 146.

from the Swiss was neutralized by raising a thousand foot, and committing the custody of the conclave to the combined troops. The cardinals assembled in the forenoon at the Basilica of St. Peter, in the chapel of Sixtus IV. Mass was sung by Colonna; after a Latin sermon they proceeded, thirty-nine in number, to the conclave, singing in procession *Veni Creator*. Here each took possession of his cell. These cells, sixteen feet long by ten feet broad, were arranged in a chapel in the Pope's palace. This done, each went to dinner where his fancy led him. Two hours before nightfall, the whole body met again in a chapel within the conclave, and after the bull of pope Julius against simoniacal practices had been read, every cardinal, in the presence of the foreign ambassadors, took his corporal oath upon the Holy Evangelists to observe the bull to the best of his abilities. The ambassadors and others were then summoned to their posts. Of the wards, which were three in number, the outmost was held by the Roman lords and nobility; the second or middle ward, by the ambassadors; the third, nearest the assembled cardinals, was committed to the charge of certain prelates, who had likewise in their keeping the keys of the conclave.

Of the number of the ambassadors thus engaged, and who took up their residence for the time in the palace, were those of Hungary,¹ Portugal and England; among them Clerk, to whom we are indebted for these curious particulars. Don Manuel, the Spanish ambassador, was not present. Clerk assigns advanced age as a reason for his absence. A better excuse is extant under his own hand. He had already caused offence by personally canvassing the electors, and was therefore given to understand that his presence would be construed into an infraction of the freedom of the conclave. Besides, his

market was already made, and he was not solicitous to avail himself of a privilege more onerous than useful. Ascanio Colonna, the bishop of Algieri, and Enkenvoert, zealous imperialists, were his active and efficient substitutes.

Outside the walls of the conclave all was restlessness and intense anxiety to catch, if possible, the faintest hint of the proceedings within. Every plausible rumor, however false, was eagerly caught up, and spread like wild-fire through an excited populace, whose sole occupation from daybreak to night was to assemble about the doors of the palace, and speculate on the chances of the election. Friends, partizans and relatives of expectant popes,—now elated, now dejected, as their hopes rose and fell by some vain report,—pressed to the gates or scanned the windows, watching for some sign from those within of the coming decision. Not less interested, but for very different motives, idle multitudes stood on tip-toe to catch the name of the favorite cardinal, that, according to usage, they might anticipate their fellows in plundering his house and ransacking his property,—an offence tolerated and overlooked in the general joy and licence of the election. The crowd swayed hither and thither. The creaking of a door on its hinges, or the opening of a window, shot through the mass like a spark of electricity. A large body of troops stationed in front of the palace protected the conclave and kept the excited multitude at bay, which otherwise would have stormed the palace, and dispersed the affrighted cardinals.

Within all was silence. No noise of their proceedings could pierce the triple fold of prelates, ambassadors, “lords and barons,” who kept guard in the three wards with jealous ears and watchful eyes. No letters or

tokens were allowed to pass; meats, pots and platters,—all things, in short, by which intelligence could either be conveyed or indicated,—were diligently scrutinized. By an ingenious contrivance, the food of the assembled cardinals was delivered “at a round turning wheel” made in the wall,” preventing all personal intercourse with those outside. The very offals—happily it was winter—were placed under the same rigid interdict. Once passed the gates, the broken fragments remained, or had to be disposed of by those within, as best they could. To add to their discomfort,—for without some pressure the reluctance of the cardinals to arrive at any decision, where one only could enjoy the prize, would never have been terminated,—their dishes after a few days were restricted to one kind of meat, with the prospect of further diminution if they failed to agree within a reasonable time. To some of the cardinals who were sickly, to others who were advanced in years, such privations were intolerable; to all the strict confinement was a severe trial, from which they were glad to escape, even at the chance of sacrificing their ambition. None but the stoutest and most resolute could endure so rigid a restraint without discomfort. From day to day the conclave met to go through, without success, the same round of intrigues, the same disputes, combinations, opposition, voting and revoting, weariness at last producing that unanimity which reason and persuasion failed to effect. Of this one cardinal at least was well aware, and had taken his measures accordingly.

The first ~~was~~ night passed in comparative quiet. Next day, in spite of all precautions, rumors were afloat that watchwords and tokens had passed from those within, indicating that cardinal De Medici had no chance of the election. On the third day three cardinals requested, in

the name of the College, to have the doors of the conclave opened, "that they might avoid such filthiness as they had " there within of the fragments of meat and drink; the " savor whereof, they said, was so great that they could " not abide it."* The ambassadors and others in charge called a meeting to consider this important proposal; but concluded on refusing it, leaving the cardinals to find their own remedy. On Thursday the 2d of January,† and the sixth day of the conclave, their food was diminished, and every one had to make his choice whether he would henceforth have boiled meat or roast; "after " which," says Clerk, "they shall get no more." Two days before, cardinal Grimani, who had come post from Venice to take part in the election, was carried out almost dead from the conclave. One of cardinal Farnese's servants, in the bustle, took the opportunity of calling to "one of his company, and said to him that he should " bring a bigger pot of his master's wine in the morn- " ing, for the cardinals liked much that wine everich of " them."

The words were caught up immediately, and interpreted as a secret watchword between Farnese and his friends, of his success at the election. Farnese was a Roman, of ancient descent and noble connexions. He was, besides, one of the most wealthy and influential of the cardinals, and before entering the conclave was considered by all parties as not unlikely to succeed to the papal chair. But though a man of great learning, and no inconsiderable abilities, he was haughty and choleric, and inclined to covetousness. Unfortunately also for his advancement, he had formerly espoused the cause of the

* p. 828.

† See *Annal. Hadr.*, p. 148. As Clerk was present at the time, I have generally followed his account of the election.

French; and though he had now abandoned their interests, and professed neutrality, his professions were not considered sincere. His name was inserted last on the list arranged by Don Manuel and cardinal De Medici. The former had even gone so far as to exact a promise from Farnese, that, in the event of his becoming Pope, he should give security for his good and faithful behavior to the Emperor, by sending one of his sons as a hostage to Naples.

When Farnese had twelve votes cardinal St. Quatuor, his adherent, cried aloud, *Papam habemus*. He was joined by De Medici, Campeggio and five imperialists; others followed their example. But the quick eye of his enemy Colonna, casting a rapid glance over his supporters, detected the manœuvre. Seeing his partizans remain firm, he told his opponents with a loud voice that they were bad arithmeticians, and had made a false reckoning. His assertion was confirmed on a scrutiny; Farnese was baulked of his chance; from that day his fortunes declined, and he never again obtained the same number of voices. But Farnese had to pay dearly for this momentary vision of a papal tiara; for upon the bruit of his election his house was ransacked by the populace. He was famous for his architectural taste, and his magnificent palace in Rome would have shared the same fate had it not been defended by a body of troops and seven or eight great pieces of artillery.

Hitherto Farnese, Fiesco, and the bishop of Ostia, a Spaniard, had been the favorites. At no time had De Medici obtained more than six votes. Now Colonna was put into nomination. The battle raged between the two rivals with undiminished violence and obstinacy. The Romans grew impatient; doubts were entertained whether the conclave would ever come to any determination.

Their food was then further diminished with prospect of greater severities.

Up to this time little notice had been taken of absent cardinals. On one occasion only had the cardinal of Tortosa been proposed, and received eight votes; and about the same time seven votes were given to Wolsey. Too clever a diplomatist to waste his efforts, De Medici reserved his strength whilst the contention was raging at the highest. According to Clerk,*—whose testimony is of great weight whenever he speaks from personal observation,—after the defeat of Farnese, Wolsey was proposed, and had in the first scrutiny nine, in the second twelve, in the third nineteen votes. But if the ordinary accounts of the conclave are to be trusted, Wolsey was put forward on one occasion only, and then received only seven votes. And this is more probable; for Campeggio, who had no object in depreciating his own services, tells Wolsey, in a letter written when the election was over,† amidst the confusion of people bursting into the conclave, that he had concerted measures with De Medici in his favor; and he adds that Wolsey had as many as eight or nine votes at every scrutiny. In another letter,‡ written the day before, he assures Wolsey that he was often proposed and was readily supported; but that the cardinals feared Wolsey's youth, in spite of Campeggio's assertion that he was nearer sixty than fifty. It was not reasonable to expect more; nor is it probable that Campeggio or De Medici, both candidates for the papal throne, would have heartily supported the claims of Wolsey. Wolsey himself could not have anticipated success. We have Clerk's assurance that he would have stirred earlier, and with greater effect,

* No. 1960.

† No. 1952.

‡ No. 1945.

had the King and the Cardinal's pleasure been made known to him sooner; "but at my departing" (he says) "your Grace showed me precisely that ye would never meddle therewith." Too cautious to express all that he thought, he knew well the real cause of his failure; and that was, in his own words, that Wolsey "favored not all the best the Emperor."

But if Clerk exaggerated the number of votes obtained by Wolsey in the conclave, he was confirmed in his mistake by that great adept in dissimulation, cardinal Medici, afterwards Clement VII. De Medici assured Pace, on his arrival at Florence,* that in every scrutiny in the conclave he gave his vote for Wolsey, and caused seventeen or eighteen of his friends to do the same. The statement agrees with Clerk's assertion, but, like his, is inconsistent with Campeggio's letters, and the official accounts.† The facts of the case are now for the first time clearly ascertained, and the additional evidence lately discovered helps us to dissipate the obscurity which has hitherto hung over these events, and divided the opinions of historians. On the 24th of December, three days before the conclave assembled, Don Manuel had informed the Emperor that he had made an arrangement with De Medici that in the event of his election proving unsuccessful, he should give his own vote and the votes of his supporters to the candidate to be nominated by the Spaniard. Four days after he wrote again to the Emperor to say, that, in the event of the choice not

* No. 19.

† It is remarkable with what pertinacity this story was repeated. Cardinal Sienna, another imperialist, and earnest supporter of De Medici, told Pace that Wolsey had divers voices in the late conclave, by means of De Medici, his own among the number; but they could never succeed in their object, the cardinals alleging that Wolsey was *nimis potens*. No. 1990.

falling on De Medici or any other cardinal present in the conclave, he had proposed Tortosa as the imperial candidate. Tortosa was named by the friends of De Medici, and had fifteen votes; afterwards twenty-two; on the eleventh scrutiny twenty-six; and then, by the concurrence of both parties, the requisite number, to the astonishment of all, and the disappointment of many.

The election had lasted fourteen days, and was concluded on the 9th of January 1522. According to Campeggio's assertion, in his letter to Wolsey,† the cardinals had been entirely influenced in their choice by Tortosa's integrity, for few had ever seen him. Others affirmed that the result could only have been brought about by the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The Roman populace were less pious and less complaisant. On leaving the conclave, the cardinals were greeted with screams, whistling, and shouts of derision; their pretensions were ridiculed, their persons in danger. What could induce them to elect a stranger, an old man, the Emperor's schoolmaster, and pass over so many able, noble and wealthy Romans?

The reader can now judge for himself how far Charles V. fulfilled his promise to Henry VIII. and to Wolsey, and furthered the Cardinal's election. He can also judge what degree of credit is due to the Emperor's solemn asseveration that Don Manuel had no sort of commission to favor the election of De Medici or of any other candidate, with the exception of Wolsey, in whose behalf he had written to his ambassador. But he added hypocrisy to insincerity when he stated, "It is not probable that the said Don John made interest for De Medici in particular, judging from the result. On the contrary,

* Letter to Wolsey, Jan. 9.

“ the election fell on a party never contemplated, and
“ appears to have been rather the work of God than of
“ man !”*

He gained nothing, however, by this stroke of policy. If he expected to find in Adrian VI. a zealous partizan or a convenient instrument, he found himself egregiously deceived. Unlike his predecessor, the new Pope was a man of strict, reserved and ascetical habits. Leo X. had spent his time gaily,—surrounded by poets, by artists and musicians. He delighted in hunting, hawking and fishing. A hundred lackeys lounged in his apartments; half a score of cardinals lent splendor to his ante-rooms. If the patronage of the fine arts, if the cultivation of polite learning, if the love of architecture, statuary, antiquities, the most costly marbles, the most refined paintings, could have reformed the age or repressed heresy, Leo might have gone down to posterity embalmed in the odour of sanctity. His successor had no taste for these things. A Flemish monk, of poor parentage, habituated to the frugality and discipline of the cloister, he retained to the last much of its asceticism, and something of its narrowness. For the arts which entranced Leo he showed little or no indulgence; and poetry was his abhorrence. As a student at Louvain, he had trodden the old and thorny round of scholastic philosophy, with the phlegmatic perseverance of his race, and the regularity of a temperament never bewildered by unruly passions. He rose at a fixed hour, he prayed at a fixed hour; he had fixed hours for his meals and his repose; and he regulated his affections and his intercourse with his friends by the same excellent and unvarying rule. His speech was slow, his voice placid and equable, his manners grave; no irregular enthusiasm flushed his sedate

and dignified countenance, or disturbed the lustre of his small gray eyes.* Qualities such as these were inestimable for success in life, especially in the court of Charles V.

From a regular and respectable dean of a college he rose to be tutor to Charles, then a boy of seven years old. To the day of his death Charles V. could never translate an ordinary letter written in simple Latin, or master the elements of that language in which all public documents were composed, and all princes at that time corresponded. Yet, though Adrian had never succeeded in furnishing the heart of his imperial disciple with the rudiments of learning,—though Charles knew no Latin, and not much French,—Adrian contrived to impress his imperial pupil with a sense of the worth of outward decorum,—a virtue for which Charles was always remarkable. At the diet at Worms, in 1521, the young Emperor overheard—what was by no means uncommon—one of the German princes spluttering out horrible German oaths, in more than German profusion. Turning to one of his attendants, Charles is reported to have said, “What would Adrian have thought had he heard us “cursing and swearing after this fashion!” Sent into Spain, appointed a member of that council of which the great Ximenes was the soul and the dictator, Adrian was honest, plodding and industrious. But his modest intellect was crushed by the capacious genius of the grand Cardinal, and found no room, no opportunity, for expansion. It was eclipsed a second time, as it had been before by the great minister Chièvres, his associate in the education of Charles V. Now created Cardinal, and appointed to the government of Spain whilst Charles was away for

* See Moring. Hadriani Vit. ch. 5.

his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, it was Adrian's misfortune to have the task of quelling an insurrection of the *Communeros*,—a task to which he was wholly unequal. But though he had no influence with the mass in restraining their excesses, such was the respectability of his character that they undertook to bear him harmless, provided he did not interfere with them.*

With such merits and such services, backed by the intrigues of Don Manuel and the still greater recommendation of advanced years,—for he was then sixty-four,—Adrian was advanced to the Papacy. The official announcement of his election reached him at Vittoria, on the 9th of February; but six months elapsed before he made his appearance at Rome. From the despatches of the English ambassadors in this volume we gather many particulars of his personal history and proceedings, hitherto unknown; for he was attended from Vittoria to Rome by John Hannibal, afterwards Master of the Rolls. On the state of the great city during the protracted absence of the Pope, the factions among the cardinals, the spoil of Leo's jewels and plate, amounting by report to 300,000 ducats,† the horrible ravages of the plague by which the city was devastated during Adrian's absence, I forbear to enlarge: all these details will be found in the letters of Clerk and Pace. The sea was swarming with Saracens; the Turk gathering up his strength for a final struggle with the unhappy Rhodians; disaffection was spreading rapidly through the states of the Church. "The cardinals," said Don Manuel, not without some appearance of justice, "had with them at the election " the Holy Ghost, but since they have come out of

* See no. 976.

† Nos. 2046, 2105.

“ the conclave they have the devil.”* Still Adrian came not; and at Rome rumors prevailed that he was dead, or would never come, or would transfer the seat of the Papacy to Spain. He was apparently in no hurry to set out. Leo had bequeathed to his successor a debt of 800,000 ducats. In his anxiety to drive the French out of Italy, he had impoverished his finances by hiring Swiss mercenaries, and fettered himself with pecuniary engagements he was not able to fulfil. Charles expected that Adrian would walk in the steps of his predecessor. But the new Pope entertained no such intentions. He had either taken it into his head, or had been persuaded by the opposite faction, that Don Manuel had endeavored to hinder his election. The suspicion ripened into fixed aversion, as it will do in men of Adrian’s temperament, and extended from the minister to his master. Resenting this suspicion, the haughty Spaniard treated both Pope and cardinals with undisguised and unmeasured contempt. Nor were matters improved when Charles, seeing the inexpediency of retaining at Rome a minister so unpalatable to the Sovereign Pontiff, superseded Don Manuel by the duke of Sessa. Unhappily for the projects and future conquests of Charles, Adrian from the first had conceived the idea of re-establishing peace, and of turning the united armies of Christendom against the Turk. The project was chimerical, but it was not the less obstinately cherished on that account; and Adrian was encouraged in it by the archbishop of Bari, one of the few cardinals to whom, in his inexperience, he lent a ready ear. The Archbishop, though a Spaniard, belonged to a party, still numerous, who regarded with dislike the English al-

* No. 2046.

liance, and were anxious to establish peace between France and the Emperor.*

Nor were their hopes without foundation. Charles, unable to follow up his late successes in Italy from want of funds, seemed not unwilling to temporise. His English allies hung back, obstinately bent on extorting the hardest conditions; and the offers of Francis were tempting. More than once he was inclined to recede. Probably, could a complete view be had of the Emperor's policy from the imperial despatches, his professions of attachment to his "good uncle" and "good father," the king of England, would be found to be as sincere as most of his other professions. But French influence was now on the wane in the councils of Charles V., in consequence of the death of Chièvres. Though fettered with many conditions agreeable neither to his pride nor his penury, an alliance with England offered him the best chance of obtaining that which he needed most, and made no scruple to ask,—a loan of some thousands of ducats, munitions of war, and the aid of the Swiss to be subsidized by Henry. Besides, whilst Charles was away pacifying his Spanish subjects, the defence of the Low Countries might be safely entrusted to his future father-in-law. Troops of Spaniards and Burgundians to fight his battles on the border territory of the Netherlands,—an English invasion of Picardy,—a partnership, in short, of which the advantages should be his, and the burthens his ally's—these were the conditions he hoped to exact. If he experienced some difficulty in realising so pleasant a

* Much curious information for these times will be found in M. Gachard's "*Correspondance de Charles V. et d'Adrien VI.*" The numerous abstracts made from the letters of Don Manuel, the duke of Sessa and others, in the archives at Simancas, by M. Gachard, have been of great service. Since then Mr. Bergenroth's Calendar has appeared, and added to our information.

vision, it arose not from the modesty of Charles, but the obstinate punctiliousness of Wolsey, as the Spaniards called it.

To carry his project into execution, it was necessary for him to obtain from Henry an open declaration of war in his favor. Such a declaration had been hitherto delayed under various pretexts; chiefly, that the English shipping would be endangered by untimely hostilities with France, and the instalments due for Tournay, now some months behindhand, would be lost. Suspecting the intentions of England, yet unwilling to hazard a rupture, Francis had delayed these payments from time to time. Repeatedly pressed by the English ambassador to make good his engagements, he had as frequently excused himself, until at length both parties, weary of dissimulation, threw off the mask, and openly prepared for war. The event long foreseen was precipitated by disputes between the ships of the two countries. Satisfaction was demanded and refused. Nothing remained but defiance, and that defiance was delivered by Clarendieux Herald to the French king at Lyons, with the usual formalities, on the 29th of May.* It was flung back in the herald's teeth with the proud assurance that if any man said the French king had failed to keep his word, he would give his maligner the lie; and if Henry took the field he was ready meet him.

Charles was in England at the time. He had been received there with unbounded demonstrations of delight. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of May he landed at Dover,† accompanied by the duke d'Alva, the prince of Orange, the count of Nassau, the marquis of Brandenburg, and a numerous retinue of Spanish and German nobility. As he touched the shore

* No. 2292.

† No. 2306.

he was received by the Cardinal on the sands, attended by 300 lords, knights and gentlemen. Taking the Cardinal's arm, he passed on to Dover Castle. Here he was visited, on Wednesday the 28th, by the King, who had arrived at Canterbury the day before. The next day was spent in religious solemnities; Friday on board the *Great Harry*, then lying with the rest of the fleet at Dover. The same afternoon both monarchs started for Canterbury; and were met at the city gates by the mayor and aldermen with the usual speeches. Passing on between two rows of the clergy and religious bodies which lined both sides of the street as far as Christ Church, they were received by the Archbishop and twelve mitred prelates, and made their offerings at the minster. Next day (Saturday) they lodged at Sittingbourne; the Sunday at Rochester, where they were entertained by the Bishop and his convent. Arriving at Gravesend on Monday, they found a fleet of barges gaily decked, ready to convey them to Greenwich. By six the same afternoon they reached Greenwich amidst salutes of ordnance planted on both sides of the river. As Katharine and her daughter Mary stood at the great gates of the Palace to welcome the Emperor, Charles dropped on his knee in the Spanish fashion, and craved his aunt's blessing. Wednesday and Thursday, the 4th and 5th of June, were spent in masks and revelry.

On Friday the whole company set forward to London, in "great triumph," as the Emperor wrote to his favorite La Chaulx, "not only like brothers of one mind, but in the "same attire." They were met on the road by John Milborne, the Mayor and the City Companies, Sir Thomas More making the oration.

The procession advanced to Southwark. As it passed the Marshalsea and the King's Bench the Emperor re-

requested free pardon for the prisoners. Amidst pageants and devices strangely blended, intermixed with Biblical allusions, stories of the Round Table, the classics, and ancient mythologies,—amidst fantastic decorations of flowers, fish and indescribable animals, amidst fair ladies representing the cardinal virtues,—galleries filled with men, women, and children singing and playing or reciting verses in honor of the auspicious event,—the procession threaded its way to the conduit at Gracechurch Street, thence to Leadenhall, next to Cornhill, through the Poultry to the great conduit in Cheapside. At St. Paul's the royal party dismounted, and made their offerings at the high altar; that done, the Emperor retired to his lodgings in Black Friars. After high mass at St. Paul's on Whit Sunday the King and the Emperor went by water to Westminster Abbey. Here “the sanctuary men” cried ‘Mercy and pardon.’ They were so hasty, and “pressed so near, that the serjeants-at-arms could scarce keep them from touching the Emperor and the King.”*

On Monday the 9th both monarchs dined and hunted with the duke of Suffolk in Southwark. Next day to Hampton Court; Thursday to Windsor; Friday and Saturday were given up to hunting; Sunday night to a play in the great hall, of which the French king formed the burthen. An unruly horse was introduced upon the stage. *Amity* (Henry and the Emperor) sent out their messengers *Prudence* and *Policy*, and when they had tamed the horse (France) *Force* bridled him and reined in his head.†

Enough of pageants and feastings; more, perhaps, than was palatable to the Emperor, who counted the expense, and thought it would have been better bestowed

* Hall, p. 640.

† Hall, p. 641.

in the shape of a loan to himself, or of wages to his soldiers.

On Monday the 16th, and the following days, the articles of alliance, the marriage with Mary, the invasion of France,* and the partition of its dominions between the expectant conquerors, were arranged, in secret conclave, by the King, the Emperor and Wolsey. On Friday the afternoon of the 20th Charles left Windsor for Winchester, and on Sunday the 6th of July embarked for St. Ander at two o'clock in the afternoon.

Before his departure the princess Mary, then seven years old, was brought to Windsor to take leave of her affianced husband. The Spaniards said that she promised to grow up a handsome lady. What the Emperor thought of her he was wise enough to keep to himself. He had not visited England to think about ladies; and in all the vicissitudes of his policy he remained constant to one idea—the union of Spain and Portugal. When the battle of life was nearly over, weary of the cares of government, and a martyr to ennui and the gout,—when he had nothing to gain, and nothing to hope for,—he offered his hand to Mary, then queen of England, whom he had slighted as a girl of seven years old. But he had other projects in view when he took his last leave of her at Windsor in July 1522.

Yet tardy as England had been in drifting into war, and firmly as Wolsey had resolved not to precipitate the final and fatal stroke at the importunities of the Emperor or of the lady Margaret, when the blow fell at last the nation was not prepared for hostilities. A moderate navy had been got ready for sea under the command of the earl of Surrey, son of the victor of Flodden, and his vice-admiral Sir William Fitzwilliam, the late ambassador

* See nos. 2322, 2333. War was proclaimed on the 16th.

at the French court. So long as the commerce of the country was restricted, so long as no crops were raised beyond what was necessary for average consumption, adequate provision for a navy, still more for an army, with the indispensable requisites of bread, biscuit, beef, fish, and beer,—for other supplies were out of the question,—was a matter of considerable difficulty.* Bread, beef, fish, and beer, in the national economics of that time, involved a multitude of intricate arrangements, not to be grasped at once by the genius of a consummate statesman, or mastered offhand by the most indefatigable industry. If the barley could be collected with no small labor and cost in different counties, it had to be malted; like the wheat, it could only be ground in small quantities in windmills, or at best in water-mills. Wind and water were sometimes as perverse as the French, and far less submissive than they to the meagre mechanics of the age. It was now Midsummer, and the heat was excessive. Salt beef (without which no English sailor could be made amenable to discipline) could not be hastily procured, or, if procured, transported by the slow conveyance of those times to the parts required. There was a hue and cry in all directions for hoops, casks, and barrels. The energies and resources of the nation were taxed to the utmost for hoops, for beer, for fish and beef barrels. Men burning with ardor to fight the French,—such was their confidence,—admirals, officers great and small, saw their advantages lost, and felt their energies grow cold, owing to that perverse and invincible obstacle—lack of victuals.

Thus, on the 23rd June (when the summer was rapidly advancing) Surrey writes to the King bitterly:† “The

* A gallon of beer was the daily allowance to every soldier and sailor.

† No. 2337, abridged.

“ whole complement for 5,000 men, the beer from
“ Portsmouth and the rest from Southampton, was pro-
“ mised by the last of May, and by this date we have
“ with much difficulty been provided with flesh, fish, and
“ biscuit for two months from Hampton, and we can
“ get no more than one month’s beer from Portsmouth.
“ The Vice-admiral was promised his whole comple-
“ ment before today ; but few of his ships are victualled
“ for more than three weeks, some only for eight days,
“ and most of them for a fortnight. The victuallers
“ say they have been hindered about the beer for want
“ of casks, but are as far behind-hand with flesh, fish
“ and biscuit as with beer. We cannot do what we
“ intend unless we are better furnished ; and it would
“ be a pity to spend so much without doing some great
“ displeasure to the enemy, which we see good likelihood
“ of doing if wind and victual serve, *doubting much*
“ *more of the victual than the wind.*”

In Calais, the general rendezvous for the English forces, matters were no better. It was impossible to keep the troops at sea, and equally impossible to disembark them, for at Calais there was no accommodation, and no provisions. “ There is great scarcity here,” writes Sir Richard Wingfield ;* “ there has been no wind for grinding wheat
“ and malt, and there is a deficiency of wood for the
“ bake-houses and the brew-houses.” And in another letter, “ The country is ill provided both with malt and
“ water to brew, by reason of the great drought ; but
“ there will be no lack of Rhenish wine and other
“ victuals.” But that “ small creature,” “ Rhenish wine
“ and other victuals,” could ill supply the place of English beef and beer. English yeomen with greatest

* 20 Aug., nos. 2454, 2456, abridged.

appetites for the fight had accustomed those appetites to the strong and staple diet of the country. On English beef, salt fish and beer, they ploughed, they sowed, they reaped, they wrestled, pitched the bar, drew the bow, went to bed and rose at four in the morning, with quiet consciences and contented stomachs. Two or three weeks of salt water, with nothing but "Rhenish wine and other victuals," was too severe a trial for any admiral to face, and hope in that interval to keep an efficient crew together.

Such practical and ignoble difficulties produced, however, one good effect: naval warfare exclusively, and military armaments in a great degree, were necessarily restricted to brief manœuvres. The fleets could rarely keep the sea beyond a few days' duration. They scoured the Channel at brief intervals, making hurried descents on some defenceless port or maritime town, and the rest of the time was spent in harbor. An army, on the other hand, though furnished originally with scanty stores, was able to maintain itself in the enemy's country, until, by its own wasting, fire and destruction, it was compelled to decamp, and either return home, or find some new scene for its destructive energies. The horrors of war cannot be exaggerated; yet a few men only, like Sir Thomas More or Erasmus, seemed sensible of the magnitude of the evil, or had the boldness and the wisdom to denounce it. Famine and desolation followed the course of the invaders, whose object was, not rapid and decisive victory,—that is, war in its most merciful form,—but repeated acts of plunder and devastation, until the enemy, bleeding at every pore, succumbed through sheer exhaustion. Barns, corn fields, churches, villages and castles were indiscriminately given to the flames. What became of the inoffensive villagers, whose

houses were thus burned over their heads, and their whole means of livelihood destroyed, was deemed a matter of no moment; such considerations never troubled the thoughts of the invader. Here is a specimen of a military bulletin, sent to the King of England from Surrey, then commanding the English forces in France:*

“The Boulonnois (all the country round Boulogne) is so burnt and pillaged that the French have good reason to be angry. Vendôme, the French king’s lieutenant, has seen his town and castle of Huchclere burnt, he being at Montreuil, seven miles off. All the country we have passed through has been burnt; and all the strong places, whether castles or fortified churches, have been thrown down. I have agreed with the Emperor’s council to go tomorrow towards Dorlance (Dourlens), where we hope to be in four or five days, doing meanwhile great displeasure to the French. When we have burnt Dorlance, Corby, Ancre, Bray and the neighbouring country, which I think will be in about three weeks, I cannot see that we can do much more.” Four days after, he wrote again to say that he had already, since his last, thrown down and burned “the goodly castle of Frewges,” and intended to do the same with the castle of Fresyn tomorrow. “Today we lay siege to Hesdin; the French have abandoned the town, where the pestilence is raging. The Emperor’s council are willing it shall be burned, which shall be done within three hours.” And he adds, it must be thought very needlessly, “there is universal poverty here, and great fear of this army. I trust the King’s grace and you (Wolsey) will be content with our services here.”†

* No. 2540, abridged.

† No. 2549, abridged.

Wars carried on in this spirit could have no other effect than that of brutalizing equally invader and invaded. The extravagance of Francis I., the methods employed by him for maintaining his numerous armies, his oppressive exactions, his insensibility to the calamities thus inflicted, had alienated from him, in a great degree, the patient and enduring loyalty of his subjects. Churches, consecrated plate and jewels, even relics, could plead no exemption from the hand of the spoiler. Apostles were consigned to the melting pot, chalices to the furnace; until, as a writer of the time expresses it, "his people" were eaten up to the bones, and the Church cried "for vengeance upon him."* In this state of things the unhappy population were comparatively indifferent whether they suffered under the rule of a native prince or of a foreigner, and they offered less resistance than otherwise they would have done to the advance of the English troops. But if Henry had employed all his study in devising means for alienating their affections, or making English domination as odious and detestable as possible, he could not have hit upon a more effectual method than war conducted on Surrey's principles, and sanctioned by himself. If the French languished under the legalized oppression of a native sovereign, they had much worse to fear from the cruelty and injustice of a stranger. The spoliations of their own kings faded into nothing when compared with the sullen barbarity of English troops, who spared neither church nor house, rick nor barn. Thirst for retaliation, as well as the

* No. 2707. "In the base, exile, and poor estate," says Wolsey, of the French king, he has "molten the garnishing of St. Martin's corpse, "and founded (melted) the twelve apostles, with other jewels and sacred "ornaments of the churches."—p. 1091. There is a touch of grand irony in these expressions.

necessity of defence, braced up the sufferers to exertions which could never have been extracted from their loyalty. In such wars every step adds to the danger and the difficulty of the invader; — a solitude of his own creation all around him, a barren and smoking country at his back, in front stern resistance growing every day more desperate, enemies increasing every day in numbers and exasperation. Cruelty gives birth to superstitious terror,—a Nemesis from which invading armies are rarely exempt. Their fears mirror for themselves the terrible earnestness of an implacable foe watching his opportunities for vengeance with fierce eyes and panting heart. Happily the approach of winter suspended hostilities, and gave the English commander an excuse for returning. He had been tardily supported by the imperialists, who did not want to see France in the power of their ally. Each of the two contracting powers had different objects and conflicting interests.

Meanwhile an event had taken place which was destined to alter the whole complexion of the war.

Charles duke of Bourbon, by blood, by marriage, by alliance, by feudal rights and territories, by position, by military rank, and personal influence, the most formidable subject, and scarce a subject, of Francis I., had taken affront at the conduct of his sovereign. The invasion of France by the Emperor and the king of England appeared to offer him an opportunity for revenge. What might be his ulterior hopes he did not live long enough to develop; nor, if he had lived, would he have had sufficient influence to accomplish. French historians have assigned various reasons for his discontent:—his ambition, his disputes with Louise of Savoy, her jealousy and her greed. Others have sought a reason for Bourbon's disaffection in the affront offered him by the King,

when the command of the vanguard was assigned to the duke of Alençon, and the rear to himself and Vendôme.*

Unconscious or careless of the Duke's displeasure, Francis had sent him in January 1522 into Languedoc, near the imperial frontiers, with orders to place that part of his dominions in a state of defence.† How long he remained there—how his time was occupied—no records remain to tell. But if at this early period, far removed from surveillance, in close proximity with the Emperor's officers, Bourbon already entertained treasonable intentions, he had excellent opportunities for carrying out designs so disastrous to his thoughtless and precipitate sovereign. It is certain that long before the end of that year he had been negotiating with the Emperor the terms of his disaffection. For on the 8th of September Charles wrote to his ambassadors in England,‡ informing them that the charge of the French army intended for Italy had been offered by the King to Bourbon, and refused by the latter; that Francis and the Queen-mother had eagerly sought for a reconciliation with Bourbon, but without effect. "Francis," he adds, "spends his time in the chase with the cardinal of Lorraine, and leaves all business to his mother, the admiral (Bonnivet) and the chancellor (Du Prat)." The resentment of Bourbon and his smothered indignation were aggravated by this preference of his rivals and antagonists. In what negotiations he was occupied

* The Constable, in his own statement to Beaurain, justified his revolt by the following reasons: 1st, that after his services in Italy he had been deprived of his pension by Francis; 2ndly, in the last war in Champagne the van had been entrusted to the duke of Alençon in preference to himself; and, 3rdly, by the King's command sentence had been given against him in the matters of Burgundy.—See no. 3392; cf. p. 779, and no. 2817.

† See no. 1971.

‡ No. 2522.

during the next few months, we are not informed; but before the close of September 1522, the Emperor had improved his opportunity so well that the terms of Bourbon's treason were already arranged, and were known to Wolsey.* They must already have been some time under discussion, for Boleyn and Sampson were instructed to tell the Emperor that the King was informed "by such advertisements as were lately given to the King's admiral (Surrey) by M. Beaurain, that Bourbon, not being contented with the inordinate and sensual governance that is used by the French king, is much inclined, and in manner determined, to reform and redress the insolent demeanors of the said King, and such other indiscreet and light counsellors as have induced him to this great folly and danger that he now standeth in." They are further informed that the Duke is minded to have in marriage one of the Emperor's sisters; and that the King had been given to understand that this offer, often made before, had lately been renewed by De Cares (D'Escars),† cousin german to Bourbon. Moreover the Duke, it is

* See p. 1091 and no. 2450, which should be placed under the same date. The instructions from which the facts mentioned in the text are taken reached Boleyn and Sampson, then in Valladolid, on the 16th of December (cf. no. 2772). They had been long under consideration, and were first intended for Spinelly; but on the news of his death, which happened in Spain, 31st August, the names of Boleyn and Sampson were substituted in Spinelly's place. The paper must have been drawn up in September or October.

† In order to communicate with Beaurain without exciting suspicion, D'Escars had arranged with him that a servant of the latter should advance so far beyond the lines as to be taken prisoner, and brought to Beaurain. It appears that Suffolk was in the camp at the time, to whom Beaurain communicated this important information. Months had elapsed, and yet Charles had never breathed a whisper of this negotiation to the King or to Wolsey. It is scarcely possible that he was not aware of it. This, I think, is the hidden meaning of the circumstantial and expansive candor displayed in the King's communication. It is evident from the whole tenor of it that Wolsey suspected the Emperor of foul play; not without reason,

added, was unwilling at first that his proposal should be made known to the king of England; but now, in consideration of his union with the Emperor and his title to France, Bourbon had consented to join with 500 men-at-arms and 10,000 foot. The King further proposes that the Emperor should send Beaurain in disguise to negotiate with Bourbon; for, if this affair succeeded, he thought that most part of the nobles of France would follow the example.

The English ambassadors found the Emperor at first little inclined to be communicative. He made excuses; complained of poverty; declined to raise more than the ordinary number of men; said that half the expenses of the Duke ought to be borne by the King; that as to giving Bourbon the hand of one of his sisters, he must deliberate, for one of them (Catharine) had been promised already to the duke of Saxony with 200,000 florins. Therefore, he proposed to compound with Bourbon, and offer him in lieu 100,000 florins, of which he thought it reasonable the King should pay half. But though Catharine might be engaged, his other sister, Eleanor, now a widow by the death of her husband, Emanuel of Portugal, in 1521, was at the Emperor's disposal. But here again the indifference of Charles to all other considerations except those of his own political advancement was conspicuously shown. Eleanor's widowhood exposed her to the importunities of her step-son John III. Her residence in the court of Portugal was too advantageous to be lightly dispensed with. "The queen of Portugal," say the same ambassadors, "is not coming," that is to Spain; "the king of Portugal (John III.) is in love" with her, and will not suffer her. She has a daughter " (Maria) by the King's father, and therefore refuses

“ him ! ” On the same day* the ambassadors wrote again to say that, notwithstanding the desire expressed by the Emperor “ speedily to set forth the matter of the duke of Bourbon, whom he calls his kinsman, he has delayed it from the 17th December to this day.” The delay, they thought, arose from his want of money.

Meanwhile Bourbon had returned to Paris. Upon his entering the court at dinner time, he was invited by the Queen, with whom he was a favorite, to join her table, for she dined apart from the King that day. “ Francis hearing of his being there, the more shortly ended his dinner, and came to the Queen’s chamber. The Duke, seeing the King, was rising to do his duty. The King commanded him to sit, and not to rise from his dinner; and then saluted him with these words: ‘ Senyor, it is showed us that you be or shall be married. Is it truth?’ The Duke said it was not true. The King said that he knew that it was so; moreover saying that he would remember it, and that he knew his traffic with the Emperor; eftsoons repeating, that he would remember it. The Duke answered and said, ‘ Sir, then you menace and threaten me; I have deserved no such cause;’ and so departed. And after dinner the Duke went to his lodging, and all the noblemen of the court with him.” The next day he left Paris abruptly. Such was the account of the rupture which the English ambassadors took down from the Emperor’s lips, and transmitted to Wolsey. †

Never was more culpable weakness shown by a sovereign than at this interview of Francis with his powerful subject. His upbraidings were altogether untimely. Too late, if he had evidence of Bourbon’s treason; too early, if he had not. But, like the obstinacy of the weak, the

* 14th Jan. 1523; no. 2773.

† No. 2879.

indecision of the rash is often more fatal than their rashness. Treason, "like the word of a lie," is the hardest stone a sovereign can throw at a subject; and, therefore, should be the last. If his suspicions were strong enough to justify so odious a charge, they were strong enough to justify and demand the apprehension of Bourbon.

It was not thus that Henry VIII. would have acted. No reckless generosity, no chivalrous disinclination to take an unfair advantage, would have prevented him from at once securing the person of his enemy under such circumstances. He would not have presumed on the innocence of the man he had once openly accused of guilt. The culprit must have produced satisfactory evidence to substantiate his innocence, or have suffered if he could not.

Boleyn and Sampson expressed their astonishment at Bourbon's escape; and well they might. Perhaps they were thinking of the fate of Buckingham.

At the urgent request of the English ambassadors, the Emperor consented, on the 14th of January 1523, that Beaurain should be sent with letters to the Duke; within a few days he altered his mind, and Beaurain was despatched to England.* "Since the coming of

* Beaurain did not return to Valladolid until the 12th of March 1523. On the 8th of that month, Charles wrote to his ambassadors from Valladolid, that if Beaurain had left England without succeeding in his charge, his despatches must be returned to the Emperor. The affair (he said) had already been so badly managed that it had come to the ears of the French king; Bourbon had retired from court. As, therefore, it would be dangerous to continue the negotiations, the Emperor thought it advisable that Henry and himself should manage their affairs apart, each by his own ambassadors.

This is a sufficient answer to M. Mignet and others, who tax Henry with caprice in first desiring that Beaurain should be sent to Bourbon, and then authorizing his own ambassadors to undertake the task.

“De la Sauch,” wrote Boleyn and Sampson to Wolsey. “we have perceived no small change in the Emperor.” They were at a loss for the reason. Perhaps it is not so difficult to divine. In the spring of 1523 De la Sauch (*La Chaux*) was despatched with secret instructions to the court of Portugal. To avoid suspicion he was ordered to take England on his way;—to communicate to the King and Wolsey the ostensible purpose of his mission; that is, to take their advice about the marriage of the new king of Portugal with one of the Emperor’s sisters. But there was a secret article in *La Chaux*’s instructions, which he was not to communicate to any one,—not even to the most intimate of his English friends. It was of so delicate a nature that, if the king of Portugal enquired about the proposed marriage of the Emperor with the English princess, *La Chaux* was to tell him that the Emperor reserved it for himself alone to explain this mystery. Yet, in spite of the Emperor’s dissimulation, his secret became known to Wolsey. Strangely enough, he had received a hint of it from the Emperor’s aunt, Margaret of Savoy. Why Margaret should have betrayed it, I do not understand. As a Fleming, was she jealous of Spanish influence? Did she regard the Portugese alliance with aversion?

“There was now of late,” says Wolsey, writing to Boleyn and Sampson, “a matter of right weighty importance disclosed by the lady Margaret to Sir Robert Wingfield in great secresy, to be notified unto the King’s highness, which in effect was this: that the king of Portugal had not only determined to send a great

That was the Emperor’s own arrangement. “*La mobilité soudaine*,” in his plans and his alliances, with which this able historian charges the English monarch, was forced upon him by the versatile policy of his ally.—Nos. 2773, 2799.

“ man, being in most authority about him, to the
“ Emperor, but also the Queen of Portugal,* with the
“ King’s sister, who is named a marvellous fair lady,
“ to accompany her to his presence. And forasmuch
“ as it is doubtful, what hath been treated in Portugal by
“ M. de la Shawe (Chaux), and that the sight of so fair
“ a lady being of mature age, with the dote of 800,000
“ ducats, and the inclination of the nobles of Spain,
“ might be a great temptation to the Emperor, he
“ being also in his flourishing youth; therefore she
“ thinketh right expedient that the King should take
“ a right vigilant eye thereunto, in avoiding the altera-
“ tion of purpose, by blindness of love, which oftentimes
“ not only breaks the laws of man, but also the laws
“ of God.” †

It is refreshing to find in the barren sands of diplomacy even so small a tribute to nature as this;—a tiny green leaf pushing out, as it were, its verdure in some unexpected and repulsive nook. It is pleasant to see grave statesmen admitting that there is a touch of nature stronger than green wax and inky parchment. On one side was Isabella of Portugal, “a marvellous fair lady,” with 800,000 ducats; on the other, a princess young but not fair, an exacting father-in-law, an imperious Cardinal, obligations more convenient to assume than to keep. Charles had not fulfilled any one of his promises. In the late war the English troops had been feebly supported; they had been left to bear the brunt of the invasion. The pay of the Spanish troops had been allowed to fall in arrears, and they were ready to mutiny. At the moment when their presence was most necessary they had been suddenly withdrawn. In addition to these

* The Emperor’s sister Eleanor.

† p. 1091.

well-founded causes of complaint, the Emperor had not refunded a single ducat of the indemnity he had promised to the King and Wolsey;* and there was little prospect of his doing so. Recriminations followed. Wolsey, irritated and impatient, reproached the Emperor with breaking his promises; Charles retorted by asserting that he had failed in nothing except in deferring the indemnity, which Wolsey told him at Bruges was insisted on merely as a form to satisfy the Council. He proposed, with consummate coolness and effrontery, that the King should borrow the money, and he would engage to repay it, principal and interest, within a year. Such a proposal was little better than an insult.

Charles wavered. Could he have retracted with dignity, or consistently with his own interests, he would, even at that late hour, have broken all his engagements, and made peace with France. As early as the middle of February the same year, in violation of his arrangements with England, he had taken some steps in this direction. He had sent ample powers to the Pope to conclude a treaty with his formidable rival.† Through the archbishop of Bari, tempting proposals had been made to him at the same time by Francis I.; who was willing to deliver Fontarabia, and resign all his claims on Novara and Naples, on the sole condition of retaining Milan. That one condition disconcerted the project. Sore pressed as he was on all sides, Francis refused to abandon his Italian confederates. But for this, Charles would have accepted the treaty, and have left his Eng-

* He had engaged by the treaty of Windsor to pay 150,000 g. c. advanced by Henry VIII. as indemnity for the pensions hitherto received from France. See pp. 989, 990.

† This is confirmed by Mr. Bergenroth's recently published volume. The Emperor was scarcely ashamed to avow his perfidy.

lish ally to shift for himself.* By the obstinacy of Francis the treason of Bourbon was crowned with success. Thus the way was paved to the ruin of France and the captivity of its King.†

Shut out from this hope, Charles consented at last to enter seriously into negotiations with Bourbon; but on one condition, that the king of England should contribute half the expenses. That meant, in effect, as it always did mean, that Henry should pay whatever was necessary for maintaining the war against France, and preserving the integrity of the Emperor's dominions. Strange as it may appear, the finances of the empire were exhausted. Notwithstanding the vastness of his dominions and the treasures of the New World, it was only by incredible exertions and capacious promises, never doomed to be fulfilled, that Charles contrived at this period of his reign to keep an army on foot. The despatches of his ambassadors are filled with reiterated complaints of poverty. Spanish troops, Neapolitan troops, Swiss mercenaries, German lanzknechts, are in a chronic state of insubordination, for lack of wages. At one time Francis of Sickingen, the friend of Hutten and Luther, the most efficient and unscrupulous supporter of imperial claims, is on the point of throwing off his alle-

* No. 3031.

† It is stated by Mr. Bergenroth (Pref. p. clxxvi.) that Henry and Wolsey, instead of availing themselves of the treason of Bourbon, "tried *to dissuade the Emperor* from espousing the cause of the rebel;" and that long negotiations were required to prove to them "that they were *utterly mistaken in Bourbon's intentions.*" He insists upon the necessity of this, in order that the correspondence may not be misinterpreted. This assertion of Mr. Bergenroth's is the reverse of the facts, as may be seen by the correspondence of the English ambassadors with the Emperor. But then, in Mr. Bergenroth's volume, documents relating to Bourbon are comparatively rare; and he had not consulted our English archives for this and other hypotheses put forth in his preface.

giance, and recovering arrears by pouncing on Luxemburg; at another, Margaret of Savoy falls into despair at the obstinacy of the Flemings, who refuse to contribute so much as a beggarly denier. English money advanced for the Spanish navy and the confederate cause disappears in an unaccountable manner. What has become of it? Wolsey cannot tell. "I have in good manner," he writes to the King, "showed unto the Emperor's "ambassadors the lack of wages as well for his army "in Picardy, as also the like lack of wages and victuals "for his army by the sea.—As for Lastano (the "Spanish admiral), since the provision of money for "his victualling, by my means, I never heard word "from him, neither of the going of his ships north- "ward, ne of the division of the same, to my no little "marvel."* "The right moment is come," writes the abbot of Najara, treasurer to the Emperor,† "to ask "for 200,000 ducats from the king of England for the "Italian army. He can easily spare them by reducing "his armaments in England, which are greater than is "necessary." Harsh as the imputation may seem, it was the Emperor's purpose to make the most of his rich ally; to fight his battles at the cost of England; to keep the French king sufficiently occupied at the least possible sacrifice to himself; and thus secure Navarre, Naples and the North of Italy. The conquest of France he never seriously intended; least of all, to share it with England. Not he.

But the obstinacy of Francis, and his unwillingness to relinquish the duchy of Milan as his rightful inheritance, compelled the Emperor to digest, much against

* State Papers, i. 104.

† March 23. See Bergenroth's Calendar.

his will, the stinging reproaches of Wolsey, and hasten forward the arrangements with Bourbon. On the 29th of May, Beaurain was sent a second time to England, charged with a commission for opening negociations with the Constable. What private instructions he might have carried besides, we are not informed. If any, due care was taken that they should not be communicated to the English court, for Charles insisted that each power should treat independently of the other. Provided that England would engage to contribute 500 men-at-arms, and 10,000 foot, not omitting its share in the support of the Duke, Beaurain was empowered to enlist the Duke in the cause of the confederates; to treat with him for a marriage with one of the Emperor's sisters; to arrange the amount of her dowry, taking care to make "as small concession" as might be on the part of the Emperor. In what way his services could be most efficiently employed, was to be left to his own discretion.*

Beaurain had no sooner started on his mission than a despatch was forwarded by Wolsey to Knight, then resident in the court of the lady Margaret, with orders to follow him without delay. At this juncture Bourbon was at Burgus (Bourg en Bresse), whilst the French king with his Queen and his mother the Regent were idling away their time in Paris, little aware of what was passing. The precious hours were spent in visiting St. Denis, and performing a round of devotions. After a splendid and solemn mass, the King made his confession to the prior of the Celestines at Paris, in the presence of the court and nobility. Next day, Friday the 24th of July, he left his lodgings at the Tournelles, early in the morning, and proceeded, "à grande devotion," to Ste. Chapelle du

* See no. 3055.

Palais, to visit the holy place and the relics. This done, he returned to dinner ; after dinner he started from Paris on his way to the frontier, accompanied by the Queen, the Regent, and all the nobility. Two days before his departure he visited the Hotel de Ville, to take a solemn leave of the city. Thanking the provost, the *échevins* and the citizens for the aid they had afforded him, he recommended to their loyal protection his affairs and his kingdom, the persons of his Queen and his mother, whom he left regent during his absence.* In the midst of these leavetakings and affecting solemnities Beaurain and Bourbon were hatching rebellion.

It was late in the evening of the 17th of July 1523 when Beaurain arrived at Bourg. Restless, suspicious, dreading discovery, Bourbon, under pretence of a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Puy,† had left Bourg, and withdrawn into the more mountainous and inaccessible parts of his estates, establishing himself at Montbrison. Informed of Beaurain's arrival, he despatched two of his retinue to bring the imperial agent to his presence. Here for two days Beaurain was not permitted to leave his apartment openly, stealing out of his chamber by night, for fear of detection, to visit the Duke.

Among the articles stipulated, it was arranged that the Duke should espouse either the queen of Portugal or her sister Katharine, with a dowry of 200,000 crowns. A simultaneous invasion of France by the three powers was arranged at the same time. An attack on Narbonne by the Constable, and on Picardy by England, was to be supported by a rising in the interior, as soon as Francis should have turned his back upon Lyons. He was ex-

* Journal de Paris, 139.

† Mignet, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for 15 Feb. 1860, p. 887; from the depositions of witnesses examined on the trial.

pected to reach Italy about the end of August. The day after Beaurain departed, and despatched on the road his secretary Chasteau to acquaint Henry with the result of his mission.

Knight, who had been ordered to act in concert with Beaurain, never contrived to reach his destination. To escape observation he had taken the road to Basle, under color of a mission to the Swiss. From Basle he proceeded to Geneva; crossed over the Jura, and arrived within ten leagues of Bourg on the 13th July, hesitating to push on, through fear of the plague. His movements had been anticipated. Beaurain, after his interview with the Duke, had started already on the 13th, reached Pomiere, a castle in Bresse, and left the next day for Genoa, intending to take ship and return to the Emperor.*

The failure of Knight's mission was unfortunate. If England was to contribute half the expenses for the services of Bourbon, it was necessary to know their precise nature, and not leave them to be adjusted entirely at the Emperor's option. It did not promise well for his sincerity and fair dealing, that in a matter of such intimate concern to both parties he had insisted that each of them should make their arrangements with Bourbon apart. The English court was not satisfied. It could place no reliance on the Emperor's words, or the promises of his ambassadors. Convinced that it was the sole object of Charles to secure his own interests, Wolsey refused to listen to excuses or explanation. Resolved to judge for himself, when Knight's mission failed, he despatched Sir John Russell on the 2nd of August,

* These dates, it will be seen, are not reconcilable with the authorities quoted by M. Mignet; but as the information is furnished by Knight, who spoke only from hearsay, he may have been misinformed.

in disguise, with orders to discover the Duke's real intentions.

It was the main purport of his mission to obtain from Bourbon a recognition of the King's title to the throne of France,—a project which Beaurain, of course, was little interested in urging. Further, Russell was to insist, if possible, on the suspension of warlike operations for the present year.* Motives for this delay were pressing. To create a diversion in favor of France, Albany had for some time been preparing to pass into Scotland, supported by French troops and assisted by French pay. The energies of England, already severely taxed by loans to the Emperor, by his failure and incompetence to keep an efficient army on foot unless backed by continual aid from England, were now to be further tested by a subsidy to Bourbon of 100,000 crowns, and the transport of an army into Picardy. The summer was rapidly waning. Long before their united preparations could be ready, the time for warlike operations would have passed away. In those days an autumnal or winter campaign was out of the question. Two wars at the same time,—one with France, the other with Scotland,—the one of choice, the other of necessity,—were

* Mr. Bergenroth condemns the Cardinal for vacillating between two courses; now advocating the war, and at another time denouncing it, according to the caprice of the moment or the dictates of his avarice; whilst Henry, he says, "a vain and self-indulgent prince," was victimized by his minister, and sacrificed to his selfish manœuvres. Mr. Bergenroth quotes, in support of his assertion, documents as contemporaneous, which were, in fact, written at widely different intervals, and referred to different stages of the negociation. Thus, at p. cxxiv. of his preface, in proof of Wolsey's duplicity, he quotes a letter of Du Prat, dated 20 Jan. 1522, as if it referred to 1522; and yet he has elsewhere quoted the same letter, rightly enough, under 1523. The changes in Wolsey's policy were necessitated, partly by the change of circumstances, partly by the uncertainty of the Emperor's proceedings.

an insupportable burthen. Therefore, Wolsey proposed to settle one before he entered on the other. The propriety of such a course could not be doubted. Of Bourbon's artifices to elude the vigilance of Francis I., of the incredible hesitation of the latter in taking the necessary and extreme measures for securing his powerful and traitorous subject, of the escape of Bourbon in the disguise of a merchant, and his final arrival at Genoa, I forbear to speak. The events connected with his treason and escape have been described with great ability by M. Mignet in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, to which I refer my readers.*

For England to carry on a war of such magnitude with its ordinary resources was impossible. Therefore, once more, after an interval of eight years,† the King thought right to summon a Parliament. There was no wish on the part of the nation to throw obstacles in the King's way. Not only was Henry popular with his subjects, but if his popularity had been on the wane, no more effectual means of restoring it could have been devised than the prospect of a war with France. In addition to the strong feelings of aversion created by national rivalry and antipathy, popular animosity had been stimulated by the bickerings and disputes between the commanders of English and French merchant ships, and their incessant conflicts in the Channel. Old claims for reparation of injuries had stood over for the last five years without any satisfactory adjustment. The English merchant fleet, accustomed to trade with Bordeaux for most of the wine then consumed in England, had been either stopped

* For 15 Feb. 1860. The documents in this volume referring to the subject, besides those already mentioned, are 3254, 3297, 3307, 3308, 3399, 3546, 3601, 3652.

† In round numbers ; viz., Dec. 1515 to April 1523.

in the passage or seized in the port. Wine was not to be had at any cost; the gentry and nobility of England were reduced for the present to their native beer, or to the small quantity of sweet wines imported from the Levant in the Venetian galleys. And, as if these wrongs had not constituted provocations enough, there was the damning fact that Francis I. was aiding the Scots to invade England, and was attempting to set up a rival claimant to the throne in the person of the exiled De la Pole. That was an offence no Englishman would or could forgive or forget. So the Parliament met in great good humor.

Its history is more than usually interesting. It brought together for the first time, and into personal contact, three of the most remarkable men of the reign, —Wolsey, Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell. It is the first, I believe, in our parliamentary annals, of which something beyond the regular official report has been preserved in the correspondence of the times. As will be seen in the sequel, the personal views, the genius, the character of its more prominent members, now rise into a significance of clearness such as is not visible in the meagre accounts of earlier parliaments.

The Commons assembled in London,* in the great chamber at Blackfriars, on the 15th of April; and on Saturday the 18th Sir Thomas More was presented to the King as their speaker. It is probable that their choice fell upon More as much out of deference to the King's wishes as respect for More's abilities and unblemished independence. He stood high in the King's favor. To the infinite regret of Erasmus, he had forsaken the primrose path of classical literature for

* No. 2956.

law and diplomacy ; he had wilfully turned his back on the tempting prospect of becoming the first Ciceronian of his day. But there is no reason for supposing that at this period of his life More regretted the change. His old literary associates looked upon his advancement with feelings not wholly exempt from envy, and wondered at the elevation of his fortunes. But no man grudged More his promotion or emoluments. He still retained his affection for literature, was still the loving friend and correspondent of Erasmus. To no other did men more readily or more frequently defer as arbiter in disputes, too common at that age, among rival scholars and theologians ; and his never-failing wit, his kindness, his integrity, his strict impartiality, undiminished and unimpaired by his high position, gave weight to his opinions and decisions. No one, perhaps, ever wore his honors with less haughtiness than More ; no one was less dazzled by the favors of a King. He was now under-treasurer of the Exchequer ; was either employed in negotiations abroad, or attended on the King as his secretary, especially during Pace's absence. "For the pleasure the King took in his company," says Roper, "would his grace suddenly sometimes come home " to his house at Chelsea to be merry with him ; whither on a time unlooked for he came to dinner ; and " after dinner, in a fair garden of his, walked with him " by the space of an hour, holding his arm about his " neck."*

Such condescension was not peculiar, was not improbable. Unlike his father, Henry, in the earlier period of his reign, treated his nobles and his ministers with an easy confidence, wholly at variance with

* p. 21, Singer's edition, 1822.

modern notions of court etiquette. Though he tolerated no diminution of services and respect, was harsh and severe at the least omission of duty and observance, he would at times descend from his dignity, and play the equal with men of his own choice, such as More and Pace, and even Wolsey. But if careless observers imagined from such instances of familiarity that Henry bated his dignity or surrendered his judgment to his favorites, none knew better than those favorites how little they dared presume on this condescension.

But Roper has preserved an anecdote of More's conduct as speaker, generally repeated in our English histories, which cannot easily be reconciled with authentic documents. After reporting the apology made by More on his presentation to the King, Roper proceeds to tell his readers how Wolsey felt aggrieved that nothing was done or spoken in the House "but that it was immediately "blown abroad in every alehouse." To express his dissatisfaction, adds Roper, the Cardinal ventured on the liberty of soundly rating the members for their lightness of tongue, and declared his determination to be present at their debates: "Before whose coming, after long debating "there, whether it were better with a few of his lords, "as the most opinion of the House was, or with his "whole train, royally to receive him there amongst them, "'Masters,' quoth Sir Thomas More, 'forasmuch as my "lord Cardinal lately ye wot well laid to our charge the "lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this "house, it shall not in my mind be amiss to receive him "with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, his pole- "axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; to the "intent that if he find the like fault with us hereafter, "we may be the bolder from ourselves to lay blame on "those that his Grace bringeth hither with him.'"

The Cardinal made his appearance; was received as More had proposed; and after a long oration in which he advocated the necessity of the subsidy, he proceeded to ask the opinion of various members of the House, all of whom, by a plan preconcerted with More, had agreed to return no answer. "Masters," quoth the Cardinal, "unless it be the manner of your house, as of likelihood it is, by the mouth of your speaker, whom you have chosen for trusty and wise—(as indeed he is),—in such cases to utter your minds, here is without doubt a marvellous obstinate silence;" and thereupon he required answer of Master Speaker. Then More, "reverently on his knees," excused the silence of the House, as abashed by the sublimity of the Cardinal's presence among them, and showed him that it was neither expedient nor agreeable with their ancient privileges to comply with the Cardinal's demands. "Whereupon," adds Roper, "the Cardinal, displeased with Sir Thomas More that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed."*

To conclude Roper's narrative. After the close of the Parliament, Wolsey, meeting accidentally with More in his gallery at Whitehall, expressed his displeasure at More's conduct in the chair, exclaiming, "Would to God you had been at Rome, master More, when I made you speaker!" "Your Grace not offended, so would I too, my Lord," quoth Sir Thomas. Then artfully turning the Cardinal's thoughts in another direction, More contrived to mitigate for a time Wolsey's displeasure; but Wolsey took his revenge by assiduously urging the King to send Mr. Speaker on a distant embassy to Spain.

* Roper's *Life of More*, p. 18.

The story is so characteristic of the two men, the dry humor of the reply so like More's wit, that I feel more than usually reluctant to challenge its authenticity. And yet there are grave reasons for suspecting its accuracy. Allowing that at a time when the functions and privileges of the House of Commons were not so well understood as now, the Cardinal, not accustomed to respect too scrupulously the rights of others, might take upon himself to lecture the assembled Commons, he had certainly no cause for animosity against More. Far from it. More, as will be seen hereafter, supported the measures of the court throughout, and entitled himself, for his services on that occasion, to the gratitude of the King and Wolsey. It was no other than the Cardinal who recommended the King to grant More the ordinary fee of 100*l.* for his conduct as speaker, and a reward of 100*l.* for the better maintenance of his household: and he rests his recommendation on More's activity in promoting the measures of the court. "The faithful diligence of
" the said Sir Thomas More in all your causes treated
" in this your late parliament, as well for your subsidy
" right honorably passed, as otherwise considered, no
" man could better deserve the same than he hath done." And he adds weight to this recommendation by saying,
" I am the rather moved to put your highness in remembrance thereof, because he is not the most ready to
" speak and solicit his own cause;"—words as honorable to More as they are to the writer, but wholly irreconcilable with Roper's account of the Cardinal's displeasure.*

From the following scattered notices we now possess of this memorable parliament, a more accurate judgment may be formed of More's and of Wolsey's conduct on this momentous occasion.

* See no. 3267; and More's acknowledgment, 3270.

The House commenced its sittings on the 15th of April, when the mass of *Spiritus Sanctus* was sung, at which all the Lords attended in their robes. Entering the parliament chamber the King took his seat on the throne. The cardinal of York and the archbishop of Canterbury sat at his feet on the right side; Tunstal, then bishop of London, took his station at a railing behind, and made the usual oration. After some general remarks on the duties of kings, and the reasons which had moved his Majesty to summon the Parliament, the Bishop reviewed, at some length and more labor, the evils of the time which called for redress. The oration ended, the Commons departed to their own house to elect a speaker. On his presentation to the King, More, according to the old usage, "disabled himself," — to use Hall's words, from whom these particulars are taken,—"both in wit, learning and discretion, to speak before the King, and brought in for his purpose how one Phormio desired Hannibal to come to his reading, which thereto assented; and when Hannibal was come he began to read *de re militari*. When Hannibal perceived him he called him arrogant fool, because he would presume to teach him, which was master of chivalry, in the feats of war."* His excuses, of which this specimen is sufficient, were of course set aside. Wolsey, as Chancellor, replied, "that the King knew his wit, learning and discretion by long experience in his service," and thought that the Commons had chosen him as "meetest of all." More proffered his thanks in the customary phrases, and requested the usual liberty of speech, in the manner reported by Roper.

* It is curious that Roper should have stated that this speech of More's was "not now extant" (p. 13). And yet that More did speak to the effect stated in the text will appear by the sequel.

On the 29th of April, the Cardinal, attended by "divers" "Lords, as well of the spirituality as of the temporality," entered the Commons House; and, after insisting upon the causes of the war, and the difficulty of maintaining it without great sums of money, proposed a subsidy, which he thought should not fall short of 800,000*l.*, to be raised by a tax of four shillings in the pound on all men's goods and lands. This done, he left the house.

Next day the Commons met, when Sir Thomas More took up, and reinforced with more than usual energy, the Cardinal's arguments, urging that it was the duty of every man to make the required concession;—conduct in a Speaker not the least extraordinary in this extraordinary parliament.

More's arguments were not acceptable to the House. The majority were of opinion that so large a grant of ready money would not only burthen the whole currency of the country, but "that there was not so much money, "*out of the King's hands*, in all the realm,"—a mode of reasoning which throws a new light on the economic and political history of the times. For here was a new source of power. The Tudor monarchs were the national bankers, as well as the national kings; and their numerous loans to their nobility, of which frequent examples will be found in these volumes, were not only a tie on the loyalty of their subjects, but a mode of replenishing their own exchequer. Debasement of the coinage was an easy method of doubling their property.

The Commons also further objected that as certain loans had been already granted to the King, among others four shillings in the pound by the spirituality, the demand was utterly impossible, and would reduce the nation to beggary.

It was answered, on behalf of the court, that the money

demande ought not to be considered as lost, but transferred to other hands; just as in markets, “though the “ money change masters, yet every one is accommodated;” and further, that no man ought to refuse to support those who fought for the honor and safety of their country. If the soldiers, it was urged, stayed at home in idleness, they would still have to be fed; and they asked no more now, when they were giving the utmost proofs of their patriotism. It might be objected, said the orator, that it would be the tendency of this measure to drain the coin from the poorer classes. Then let the rich, he exclaimed, go themselves, for the King will not refuse them this honor. But if they desire to be exempted, if they seek to impose these burdens upon others, it is not reasonable in them to grudge at paying so small an amount of wages, which even their servants at home would scarcely accept to stand bareheaded before them. If it be objected that the money will be carried out of England, and left in France, will it not carry with it the men also? And thus the expense of their support, be it at home or abroad, remains the same. But in truth, he proceeded to argue, there is no force in such an objection; for if “the French had invaded us, would “ the money they brought over, think you, enrich our “ country? Should any of us be the better for it? The “ worst then that can happen to you will be to eat your “ beef and mutton here, and wear your country cloth, “ while others are fighting for your liberty and security.” In conclusion (urged the orator) “you need not fear “ the scarceness of money; for the intercourse of things “ being so established throughout the world, there always “ will be a perpetual circulation of all that is necessary. Let us, therefore, do what becomes us, and for “ the rest entertain so good an opinion, that the war,

“ instead of impoverishing our country, will add new provinces to it.” *

In the end a committee was appointed to represent to the Cardinal the sense of the House. But Wolsey remained inexorable, as might have been expected. The committee meekly requested him to move the King to accept a lower sum. He replied he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his head with red-hot pincers than induce the King to take less than he demanded.

The debate was resumed, with little apparent hope of unanimity. Then took place the scene upon which Roper's anecdote is founded. The Cardinal entered the House of Commons, and desired to debate the matter with the assembled members ; but he was told that “ the fashion of the nether house was to hear, and not to reason but amongst themselves.”

Foiled in his purpose, the Cardinal endeavored to remove the objections urged by the committee, insisting, by a reference to the augmentation of the customs, the increase of dress, plate, servants, and luxuries of all kinds, that the riches of the kingdom were greater than they had been represented. His conclusions, warranted by facts, were very unpalatable, as might be imagined, to the audience whom he wished to conciliate.†

* Mr. Hallam, who refers to this debate in his *Constitutional History of England*, is inclined to think that we are indebted to lord Herbert's imagination for these speeches ; and he accuses the noble historian of taking similar liberties on other occasions. The speech has certainly a modern air ; but though I know not on what evidence this particular passage of lord Herbert's history rests, I have generally found that he had good authority for his statements. It is not always easy to trace his sources of information. He was often indebted to documents, the originals of which have since been lost ; and the abstracts alone are preserved in a volume of his collections, kindly lent to me by the society of Jesus College, Oxford.

† Hall's comment on this speech is highly curious. He is not struck any more than others of his contemporaries with the unconstitutional pro-

At last, after an obstinate debate, it was proposed to grant the King two shillings in the pound from incomes of 20*l.* and upwards; from incomes under that amount, but above 40*s.*, one shilling in the pound; and from incomes under 40*s.*, where the possessor was sixteen years old and upwards, four pence in the pound; the whole to be paid in two years. The proposal was creditable to the discernment and liberality of the House of Commons. Not so thought Wolsey. "The grant," says Hall, whose accuracy is remarkable on this subject, "was reported " to the Cardinal, which therewith was sore discontent, " and said that the lords had granted 4*s.* in the pound; " which was proved untrue, for indeed they had granted " nothing, but burdened all upon the Commons."*

It will appear strange to those who have taken their views of the functions of the House of Commons from modern practice, or the claims put forth by the House in its controversies with the Stuart kings, that not only this grant should have been objected to by the Cardinal, in his capacity of Lord Chancellor, but that his veto should have been deemed sufficient to invalidate a money grant of the House of Commons. More than this; whatever the practice or the theory be at present, however ancient the date of its privilege, in the reign of Henry VIII. the concurrence of the House of Lords in a vote of supplies was something more than a mere

ceeding of the Cardinal in entering the House of Commons, but with the arguments employed by him, which would now be considered as strictly parliamentary. When the Cardinal "was departed out of the House," he adds (p. 656) "it was proved that honest apparel of the commodities of " this realm (*i. e.* home manufactures), abundance of plate, and honest " viands, were profitable to the realm, and not prodigal." So the old sophism which puzzled the moralists of the 18th and the political economists of the 19th century, is somewhat older than has been generally imagined.

* p. 657.

formality. It may be objected, that the reign of Henry VIII. was of too exceptional a character to be drawn into a precedent. Without examining the ground on which this objection is founded, it is enough for me to observe, that this House, of which More was the Speaker, was by no means ignorant of its peculiar privileges. The most violent opposers of the court measures never insisted on the unconstitutional nature of the proceedings. In fact, whatever the authors of the Petition of Rights might afterwards allege against the arbitrary acts of the crown under Charles I. as contrary to "law and custom," they could not have justified their assertion by appealing to the reign of Henry VIII. By the practice of the 16th century, it would not have been difficult to show that every one of the measures denounced by the Parliament of 1628 were in ordinary use among the Tudors. But that age was more antiquarian than historical.

To return. Whether any attempts were made by Wolsey to form a party in the house, as was common enough in after times, I have not been able to discover. Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir Wm. Sandys, Sir Maurice Berkeley, all of whom had been frequently employed by the crown, and most of whom still held offices under it, were summoned as peers to the Upper House.* We must add to their number Sir Henry Marney, created baron Marney, and Sir Arthur Platenet, created viscount Lisle, of whom more will be heard hereafter. In the Lower House, a party con-

* No. 2982. This is remarkable, for more reasons than one, as bearing on the claim, lately revived by the descendants of the Berkeleys, to sit as barons by tenure. The information is found in a letter of Sir Richard Lyster, the solicitor general, to lord Darcy. At that date (28 April) no Acts had as yet passed the Lords and Commons.

sisting chiefly of those who were knights of the shire, and in the King's service, made a resolute stand for the measures of the court. Sir John Hussey, of Lincolnshire, (afterwards executed for the part he took in the Lincolnshire rebellion,) then master of the King's Wards, appealed to the country party: "Let us gentlemen (he said) of 50*l.* land and upwards,"—the expression "us gentlemen" is worth noting,—“give to the King, of our lands 1*s.* in the pound, to be paid in three years.”* When the question was put, ten or twelve gentlemen said Yea; and when the Nay was put, “the Commons,” that is the members for the boroughs, declined to vote upon the question, leaving the gentlemen to tax themselves if they pleased; “and so by ten or twelve persons the gentlemen were burthened with 1*s.* more than others; for the which grant Sir John Hussey had much evil will.”† This motion was carried on the 21st of May.

Whilst the question was still under discussion, the following account of the debates was sent on the 14th of May to lord Surrey, then commanding the English forces against the Scotch.

“Please it your good lordship to understand, that sithens the beginning of the parliament there hath been the greatest and sorest hold in the Lower House, for payment of two shillings of the pound, that ever was seen, I think, in any parliament. This matter hath been debated and beaten fifteen or sixteen days togiddir; the highest necessity alleged on the King's behalf to us, that ever was heard of; and of the contrary, the highest poverty confessed, as well by knights, squires and gentlemen of every quarter, as by the commoners, citizens and burgesses. There hath been such hold that the house was like to have been dissevered; that is to say, the knights being of the King's counsel, the King's servants and gentlemen of the one part, which in so long time were spoken with and made to say Yea;—it may fortune contrary to their heart, will, and conscience.

* As I understand it, “for three years.”

† A letter from this Sir John Hussey, referring to the proceedings of Parliament, will be found in this volume: no. 3164.

“ Thus hanging this matter, yesterday the more part, being the King’s servants [and] gentlemen, were there assembled; and so, they being the more part, willed and gave to the King two shillings of the pound of goods or lands; the best to be taken for the King; all lands to pay two shillings of the pound from the lowest to the highest; the goods to pay two shillings of the pound from twenty pounds upwards; and from forty shillings of goods to twenty pounds to pay 16*d.* of the pound; and under forty shillings every person to pay 8*d.*; this to be paid in two years. I have heard no man in my life that can remember that ever there was given to any one of the King’s ancestors half so much at one grant, nor I think there was never such a precedent seen before this time. I beseech Almighty God it may be well and peaceably levied, and surely paid unto the King’s grace without grudge, and specially without losing the good wills and true hearts of his subjects, which I reckon a far greater treasure for a king than gold or silver; and the gentlemen which must take pain to levy this money amongst the King’s subjects, I think, shall have no little business about the same.

“ My lord Cardinal hath promised on his faith that the ii. s. of the pound loan money shall be paid with a good w[ill] and with thank; but no day is appointed thereof.

“ I think now that this matter is so far passed that the parliament will soon be ended.

“ Also the Convocation amongst the priests, the first day of their appearance, as soon as mass of the Holy Ghost at Paul’s was done, my lord Cardinal accited all them to appear before him in his Convocation at Westminster; which so did. And there was another mass of the Holy Ghost, and within six or seven days the priests proved that all that my lord Cardinal’s Convocation should do, it should be void, because that the summons was to appear before my lord of Canterbury; which thing so espied my lord Cardinal hath addres[sed] out of new citations into every country, commanding the priests to appear before him eight days after the Ascension, and then I think they shall have the third mass of the Holy Ghost. I pray God the Holy Ghost be amongst them and us both.

“ I do tremble to remember the end of all these high and new enterprises, for oftentimes it hath been seen that to a new enterprise there followeth a new manner and strange sequel. God of His mercy send his Grace of such fashion that it may be all for the best.

“ I ascertain you of the king of Denmark’s being in Flaunders with xvii. ships with his wife and children. Me seemeth I should not write it unto you, because I think ye be advertised thereof by post.

“ How this two shillings of the pound shall be levied, of what manner or at what days it shall be paid, in good faith I know not as yet.

“ Out of Spain, we have news that there is a truce or abstinence of war

taken between the Emperor and them of France, and I think now that this money is granted so shall it be with us.

“Under your good favor mesemeth, and if ye think it best, it were a gracious deed for you to be mean unto the King’s highness that ten or twelve thousand pounds of this money might be bestowed on the building up again of the piles and castles of our English borders, specially now that they of Scotland be prostrate by your good and high policy.

“As other news or affairs shall chance, so shall I be glad with diligence t’advertise you of from time to time.

“My lord Privy Seal (Ruthal), my lord Vaux, and Sir Thos. Lovell be all three right sick at this present day ; and as it is said, lord Vaux in great danger.

“Written at London on Ascension Day, by him that during his life shall be glad to be at your commandments with his service.”*

This letter, evidently written by one who was strongly opposed to the grant, and clearly no friend to the Cardinal, is curious in many respects. The author of it would never have ventured to speak with so little reserve, nor have addressed such a communication to Surrey, had he not been aware that the Earl in his secret heart bore no great good will to the Chancellor. From the whole tone and tenor of the letter, from its sarcastic notice of the priests and the Convocation, it may be justly inferred that the writer did not belong to the court or the clerical party. A feeling of discontent was then springing up, destined afterwards to display itself with much greater animosity, against the higher clergy and Wolsey in particular. In fact, the high hand with which the Cardinal had carried his measures, both in Parliament and Convocation, influenced solely by a wish to please the King, tended more than any other cause to increase his unpopularity with all classes. In his zeal for the King’s service he had shown too little consideration for the feelings of the nation, too little regard to the remonstrances of the House of Com-

* See no. 3024.

mons. It was natural that, when their opportunity came, they should resent such arbitrary conduct, and involve in the passion of the moment the whole order of which Wolsey was the most eminent member. Alone and unsupported, the Cardinal had reached a dangerous eminence; how long he should maintain his position depended exclusively on the gratitude of a master who never suffered too strong a partiality for his servants to stand in the way of his policy.

Parliament was prorogued to the 10th of June. The nation was in a ferment, and the spirit of discontent was the more to be dreaded as nine-tenths of the population, not understanding the questions under discussion, assured themselves that nothing less was intended than a general confiscation of their property. I subjoin a specimen of the popular rumors sent up to the Privy Council from the distant county of Norfolk, by Sir Roger Townsend and others, in the month of May.

On Tuesday "before the Cross days last," Peter Wylkynson, in the vicarage of Geyton, in the presence of Sir Wm. Pygote, vicar, Sir John Worme, parish priest, and Agnes, wife of Wm. Whitmore, said he heard it reported that every man of the value of 40*s.* should pay 20*s.* to the King; and every man of 20*s.* should pay 10*s.*; and every man of 10*s.*, 5*s.*; and that if every man would do as he would, he would take him by the head and pull him down. The vicar asked him whom would he pull down; and Wylkynson answered, "Harry with the crown." When he was cautioned against using such language, Agnes Whitmore remarked, "And I had spoken any such words, I were worthy to have been brent."

According to the deposition of the said Agnes, Wylkynson further said, "And if it be as my master

“ say, we must have three more taxes, and every man
“ will have to pay half what he is worth. But, and
“ every man would do as I would, we should get him
“ by the head, and bring him down.”*

Such rumors, greedily reported, and evidently received, as in this case, with the lively sympathy and secret concurrence of the hearers, even when compelled to turn King's evidence, show how unsettled was the temper of the times, and how dangerous the ground on which the Cardinal was treading. A volcano was smouldering at his feet, ready to burst forth at any moment, and at the touch of any accident to break forth with uncontrollable fury. In London, as the borough members emerged from the House, they were greeted with signs of disapprobation they had certainly done little to deserve. “We hear say, my masters,” exclaimed the angry crowd with ironical cheers and shouts of derision, “that you will grant four shillings in the
“ pound. Do so and go home, we advise you.”† In the temper of the nation and the House of Commons at the time, the first dawnings of that spirit of independence may be discovered which afterwards manifested itself more clearly in the Parliament of 1530. But I cannot agree with the statements of certain modern historians that such increased vigor and independence of the Commons was exclusively due to the novel circumstances in which the nation found itself after the death of Wolsey; or that freedom of discussion, and the right of members to originate measures, unfettered by the Crown, were then for the first time acknowledged and allowed. In 1530 new ideas undoubtedly came with the discussion of new and graver questions;

* No. 3082.

† Hall, p. 657.

—questions more profound and more important than any that had ever been submitted to the discussion of the House; — but it was essentially the same Commons of England, whether discussing war, peace and subsidies in 1523, or the Royal supremacy, and the relations of Church and State, ten years afterwards.

When the House re-assembled after the recess, the knights and gentlemen who, by the short-sighted and selfish policy of the borough members, had been allowed to tax themselves, and impose a shilling in the pound upon land assessed at 50*l.* and upwards, resolved to take their opponents at disadvantage, and moved that a similar rate should be levied from goods of the same amount, in the fourth year. The motion was obstinately resisted by their opponents; an angry debate ensued; fierce recriminations passed from one side to the other. The advocates of the motion were taunted with being the enemies of their country. The house divided: the knights of the shire voted to a man in favor of the question; the burgesses with equal unanimity against it. The dispute was carried on with so much passion and vehemence, that one half of the house was prepared to impeach the other half, and drive measures to extremity. At last, by the persuasion and management of Sir Thomas More, peace was restored, and the measure passed.

In its complete and final shape the whole Act stood as follows: For the first and the second year a rate of 5 per cent. was imposed on all lands and goods of the value of 20*l.* and upwards; 2½ per cent. on goods between 20*l.* and 2*l.*; and 1⅔ per cent. on goods of 40*s.*, or on yearly wages averaging 20*s.* In the third year 5 per cent. on all land of 50*l.* and upwards; and in the fourth or the last year, 5 per cent. on personal property of 50*l.* and upwards. These rates were doubled in cases

of aliens. The Act was not to extend to Ireland, Wales, Calais, to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, to Chester, to the bishopric of Durham, or to Brighton in Sussex.

It was with no small feeling of satisfaction that Wolsey announced the result of the measure to the King. He had been watching for some time, with no small anxiety, its slow and precarious progress through the House, aware that any hitch or failure could scarcely fail of being most perilous to himself. "Sir," he says, "though it was
" thought by the speaker (More) and others of the
" Commons' House that the book (bill) for the grant
" now to be passed should have been perfected and
" brought unto me as yesterday, yet nevertheless the
" same cannot come till tomorrow at the hithermost.
" And forasmuch as after the [introduction of the bill]
" into the Upper House, it will require a good tract [of
" time to] oversee and groundly digest the same to your
" most profit, and that it [will not be expedient] after
" the repair of your Highness unto Bridewell to remain
" long, the [extremity] of sickness reigning somewhat
" thereabouts considered, it may therefore please your
" Grace to give commandment for ordering of your pro-
" visions the certain time of your coming to
" Bridewell, till such season as [your Grace be informed
" of the] exhibition of the said book."*

But though this debate upon the subsidy excited, as might be expected, the greatest passion, and was contested with the utmost vehemence, it was not the only subject, nor for modern readers the most interesting, on which the House was occupied. In a speech delivered by a member of no less eminence than Cromwell,—for to no one else can it well be attributed,—the whole policy of the

* State Papers, I. 116, mutilated.

Government was carefully reviewed. For what borough he sate I have not been able to discover. The accounts of his early career, hitherto accepted, without examination, on the authority of Foxe the martyrologist, cannot easily be reconciled with the authentic information now furnished by this volume.* His employment as a military adventurer under the duke of Bourbon, his presence at the siege of Rome, his subsequent travels as a commercial agent to a Venetian merchant, are either wholly fictitious, or so much perverted as to be no better than fictions.† One part only of this biographical romance, in which he is represented as beginning life as a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp, carries with it some appearance of probability; and yet even that is far from certain. That he traded with Antwerp and Middelburgh is clear; but this he might have done without ever leaving England. The statement of cardinal Pole, who was evidently well acquainted with Cromwell and hated him, is perhaps not far from the truth. He reports that Cromwell was born of poor parents in a small village near London (Putney), where his father carried on the business of a cloth-

* Foxe's notions of chronology are not the least extraordinary feature in his work.

† His knowledge of Italian, intimated by the anecdote of his conversation with cardinal Pole on the writings of Macchiavelli, might seem to countenance this supposition. But Italian was probably not so rare as French in those days among Englishmen; partly owing to the constant intercourse with Rome and Italian prelates, partly to our commercial relations with Venice. With the classical languages Cromwell appears to have had very little acquaintance. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, alludes to this with a sneer, in his letter to the protector Somerset. Giving an account of a conference with the King, at which he was challenged by Cromwell, he intimates that Cromwell affected a scholarship he did not possess. "As the lord Cromwell was very stout, 'Come on, my lord of Winchester,' quoth he; for that conceit he had [that] whatsoever he talked with me he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latin, and all." Foxe's Martyr. ii. p. 3 (ed. 1640).

shearer,* an employment in which he was certainly succeeded by his son.

The earliest authentic notice that I can find of him is as a servant in the family of the marquis of Dorset (Grey). Cecily, the dowager marchioness,† daughter of Edward IV., writes to him to send in haste her trussing bed, and deliver the tents and pavilions in his custody to her son Leonard Gray.‡ The exact date of this letter is uncertain, but it was certainly written some years before 1522. - In 1518 he was certainly residing in London. In 1522 he is addressed as "Mr. Thomas Cromwell, dwelling by Fenchurch in London;"§ sometimes with the honorable addition of "worshipful" or "right worshipful." || At this period of his life (1522) he combined the employments of merchant, cloth-dyer, and scrivener; lending money at interest in the last capacity, and acting as an attorney.¶ In the year 1523 he sate as burgess in parliament, and in the December of that year he served on the inquest of the wardmote,

* The rest of Pole's story I subjoin, as being probably the foundation of most of the misrepresentations already noticed. "*I have heard,*" says Pole, "that Cromwell was a common soldier in Italy, that he was even a merchant, but made no further progress in the business than to be a merchant's clerk, and keep his master's ledger; and I know a merchant very well, a Venetian, to whom he was servant. Tired at length of this life he returned home, and took up the business of a lawyer." In which occupation, adds Pole, his foreign employments were of great advantage by rendering him more acute and subtle than ordinary Englishmen. Apolog. § 28.

† Widow of Thomas fourth marquis of Dorset.

‡ No. 2437.

§ Nos. 1963, 2461, 2577.

|| Nos. 2394, 2441, 3081.

¶ It appears from his accounts at the Record Office, that he was in the habit of lending money as early as 1518; but these were small sums. In 1523 there is an entry of money due to him from P. Deornanter, a Hanse merchant and a spy, to the amount of 80*l.*; in 1526, from Charles Knyvett, of 40*s.*; and in 1527, from the Lord Henry Percy, Ann Boleyn's supposed suitor, of 40*l.* See also nos. 2447 and 2754.

in the ward of Bread Street.* In 1524 he came into Wolsey's service. He had a wife and mother-in-law, named Prior, living at this time.† Of his sister's family we shall hear afterwards. Among his acquaintances I find the names of the great Italian merchant and banker Antonio Bonvixi, and of Richard Pynson, the celebrated printer, but no mention of Frescobald. Even at this early period of his life, Cromwell was remarkable for the fascination of his manners and the attractiveness of his conversation, as appears by the following letter addressed to him by an English factor named Creke, who followed the Emperor Charles V. into Spain when he left England in the summer of 1522. After addressing Cromwell as "*Carissimo quanto homo in questo mondo*," the writer continues, "My love toward you resteth in
" no less vigor than it did at our last being together.
" My heart mourneth for your company and Mr. Woodal's
" as ever it did for men. As I am [a] true Christian
" man, I never had so faithful affection to men of so
" short acquaintance in my life; the which affection
" increaseth as fire daily. God knoweth what pain I
" receive[d] in departing. When I consider our ghostly
" walking in your garden, it make[s] me desperate to
" contemplate. I would write longer, [but] my heart
" will not let me."‡

* No. 3657. The presentments are extremely curious.

† Nos. 1963, 2394, 3015. His wife's name was Eliz. Wykys. See no. 3502. His family consisted of one son, Gregory, and two daughters, Anne and Grace. He had two sisters, Elizabeth and Katharine, the former of whom married William Wellyfed. John Williamson or Williams married his wife's sister Joan, and afterwards assumed the name of Cromwell.

‡ No. 2394.

In his speech* in Parliament, after touching upon the topics insisted on, "as well by the mouth and report of " my lord Legate's good grace, as by the recapitulation " of the right worshipful, best assured and discreet " Speaker," he expresses a hope that the preparations for war will be prosecuted with vigor, and that their debates will be made known to the King by their "dis- " creet and excellently lettered Speaker." Then, after apologizing for addressing an "audience of so many " sage and notable persons," he proceeds to detail the advantages already gained by the confederate arms, and the successes of that "fortunate and sage captain, the " earl of Surrey, who remained in the French dominions " with a small number of men for six or seven weeks, " when all the power of France durst not give him " battle. I trust (he says) the same valiant captain will " subdue the Scots, whom the French have so custuously " entertained against us."†

* No. 2958.

† The successes of Surrey against France seem to have produced something of the same effect on the popular imagination as did the wars of Marlborough at a later period. They are thus referred to by Skelton, in his satire against Wolsey, "Why come ye not to Court?"

"Yet the good earl of Surray,
The French men he doth fray,
And vexeth them day by day,
With all the power he may.
The French men he hath fainted,
And made their hearts attainted;
Of Chivalry he is the flower,
Our Lord be his succour!
The French men he hath so mated,
And their courage abated,
That they are but half men.
Like foxes in their den," &c.—Ver. 150, *sq.*

And then the poet insinuates, as a partizan of the Howards, who were

He then proceeds with great earnestness to deprecate the proposal of the King to conduct the war in person, of which the Cardinal had informed the House. "I am sure (he argues) that there is no good Englishman which can be merry the day when he happeneth to think that his Grace might perchance be dis-tempered of his health; so that, albeit I say, for my part, I stomach as a sorry subject may do the high injuries done by the said François (the king of France) unto his most dear sovereign, yet, rather than the King should go so forth, I could, for my part, be contented to forget [them] altogether."

Then enlarging on the dangers to the army, and the nation in general, if any mischance should befall the King, he insists on this part of his subject in a strain of loyalty, which in any other period of our history would be deemed fantastical. But, in justification of the earnestness of the orator on this head, it must be remembered that he probably spoke the feelings of most of his countrymen at that time. Personal attachment to the King was one ingredient in the general loyalty; for, in spite of his many failings, it cannot be denied that Henry was popular with his subjects. The remembrance of a past century of civil war, and the dread of an uncertain succession if the King were cut off or his life were in jeopardy, justified any extremities, as afterwards in the reign of Elizabeth, not in arguments only, but in actions. The King *de facto* was a state necessity; a law indispensable to all laws. As the speaker urged

evidently leading the opposition to the great minister, that these successes would have been greater had it not been for the bribes received by Wolsey from the French.

on this occasion: "How needful is it for us (considering
 " in what case we be) to entreat our sovereign, for our
 " sakes and his daughter's, upon whose wealth and cir-
 " cumspect bestowing, next his noble person, *dependeth*
 " *all our wealths*, to restrain his high courage!"

Then, applying to himself More's illustration of Hannibal and the sophist, the speaker proceeded to discuss the ways and means for war, and more especially that most difficult of all problems, the commissariat; insinuating that the harm which could be done by the army in France would not be so great as the expense incurred at home by its support. His arguments on that head are curious. He assumes that before three summers were past the necessities of the army would exhaust all the coin and bullion in the realm, which, according to his conjectures, could not much exceed one million; for if (he continues) the value of the whole realm exceed not four millions, as my lord Cardinal has told us plainly, of which the possessions (the goods and chattels) are to be reckoned at one million, there can be no doubt that the corn, cattle, commodities, apparel of men and women, which were never so sumptuous as now, added to the native productions and imports, which are more abundant than in any past period of our history, amount to two millions more. So, he argues, we should be reduced to coin leather, "as once we did." And if the King were made prisoner, such money would not be taken for his ransom. "If they will nought for their
 " wines but gold, they would think great scorn to take
 " leather for our prince."

After conjuring up this imaginary danger, he proceeds to discuss with great caution the hazards of a French campaign in all its aspects. To march upon

Paris, he argues, would expose the army to the danger of being cut off in detail, and to the greater peril of leaving strong garrisons in its rear. An invasion of Normandy, Brittany and the neighboring provinces would involve the necessity of diminishing the main army by placing troops in the conquered towns; and the difficulty of victualling them while they remained there must not be overlooked. Past experience, he told the House, furnished a very useful lesson of the danger and expense attending such warfare, of which the King himself had too good experience in the winning of Terouenne, which “cost him more than twenty such ungracious dog-holes “could be worth.”

Throughout the course of his argument the speaker insinuated that little real help could be expected from the Emperor or his council, who were either in the pay of France or devoted to French interests. “Even my “lord of Chièvres, who was most bound to the Emperor, “I heard my lord Cardinal say, was corrupted by “their policy and gifts; and since his majesty’s return “to Spain, the governors of his archdukedom have “granted safeconducts to French and Scotch merchants; “which is a marvellous hindrance; for if our com- “modities had been as well kept from them as theirs “from us, many a thousand French artificers, who have “no living but by working our wools, would have been “compelled to cry to the King for peace.”

When the speaker had thus, with great ingenuity and little appearance of opposition to the King’s wishes, demonstrated the unadvisableness of a foreign war with France, he proceeded to enunciate his own policy. He proposed that the King should devote all his efforts to the subjugation of Scotland; for if Scotland were once con-

quered, then both kingdoms would be brought under one obeisance, law and policy for ever. This, he said, would procure for his Majesty higher honor than had ever yet been attained by any of his predecessors, and prove "the " greatest abashment" of France. And though, he continued, it be a common saying that in Scotland there is nothing to win but strokes, there is another saying, " Who that intendeth France to win, with Scotland " let him begin." It is, he urged, mere folly to think of keeping possessions in France, severed so far from us by the sea, while we allow Scotland, belonging to our island, to recognise another and an independent prince. Let it be once united to England, and all other possessions will be easily retained.

Making allowance for occasional extravagance and over-refinement, pardonable in an orator, the speech is remarkable for the vigor of its style, the breadth of its view, and the general soundness of its policy. In all these qualities, in the accurate knowledge it displays of contemporary and past history, it rises far above the general oratory of the times. It gave evidence, moreover, of more than ordinary foresight; for the anticipations of the speaker were justified by the events of this war, and of many wars in centuries to come. It clearly bodied forth the policy pursued by the Tudors towards Scotland, and furnished its only justification. But what he is here satisfied with slightly enunciating as a passing caution, became with the Elizabethan statesmen a fixed idea—an undoubted maxim: It is folly for England to aim at political aggrandisement abroad, and suffer Scotland—in effect, a part of England—to pay homage and allegiance to an independent prince. So, if Mary had been a saint,—if she had esta-

blished her innocence ever so triumphantly—a consummation English statesmen never could have sincerely desired or sincerely endeavored to aid,—the result would have been the same. It was the policy of Henry VIII. to intercept all communication between France and Scotland; to bring his nephew to England; to detain him in honorable captivity—foreshadowing in this the perpetual incarceration of his daughter Mary.* But James, more cautious than his daughter, or more popular with his subjects, gave no such opportunity as Mary did for admitting English interference. Consolidated under Roman Catholic rule, the Scotch sacrificed their nationality to Knox and presbyterianism, furthered the designs of English statesmen, which their fathers had triumphantly defied, and lost their independence.

If this speech is rightly attributed to Cromwell,—and I know of no one else to whom it can be assigned with greater probability,—it would justify him, as a burgess, in voting with his party against a measure fatal, in their estimation, to the prosperity of the country. Yet the moderation of its tone, the loyalty of its sentiments, the deference paid throughout both to the Cardinal and the Speaker, must have gone far to disarm any resentment that might otherwise have been felt at an opposition so vigorous and so skilful. In

* Abundant evidence for this assertion will be found in this volume. But it was, in fact, so notorious as to be openly advocated by Skelton:—

“What say ye of the Scottish king?”

That is another thing.

He is but a youngling,

A stalworthy stripling.

There is a whispering and a whifling

He should be hither brought;

But and it were well sought, (If it be not well managed,)

I trow all will be nought.”—*Why come ye not, &c.*, ver. 343.

heart, also, Wolsey must have acknowledged the force and accuracy of the speaker's reasoning. No one knew better than he the difficulties of the design in which he was engaged, or the hazard of trusting to any earnest aid or hearty co-operation on the part of the Emperor. In violence to his best convictions, he had departed from the policy he had formerly pursued in 1517 and 1518. He had been compelled to give way before a powerful combination, — to relinquish a peaceful alliance with France for an offensive league with the Emperor; a step from which no possible advantage to his honor or interest could be derived. The opposition had been humbled by the death of the duke of Buckingham; but the ambition of Henry VIII. remained, stimulated by Pace, by Suffolk, by Surrey, and, not the least, by Katharine; in short, by every one who enjoyed the King's favor, and wished to usurp his confidence. In this perplexity the Cardinal was compelled to give way, or perish. He chose the former;—a more circuitous, but equally certain, road to destruction. For not only the death of the duke of Buckingham and the imperial alliance, but the exaction of the loans and subsidies required by the war, and the part taken by Wolsey in this parliament, laid the foundation of that unpopularity which, fomented by nobles and by satirists, eventually prepared the way for his fall.*

* There is an obscure allusion to this in Skelton's contemporary poem, whose satire in its bitterest form dates from the year of this parliament:—

“ But there is some traverse
Between some and some,
That makes our lyre (Wolsey) so glum.
It is somewhat wrong
That his beard is so long;
He mourneth in black clothing.”—*Why come ye not, &c.*, ver. 384.

In the speech delivered by Wolsey, as Chancellor, to the two Houses, at the prorogation of parliament, after expressing his Majesty's satisfaction for the manner in which they had taken into consideration the propositions submitted to them in his behalf, the Cardinal thus proceeded: "Whereas for the furniture of the said
 " war, both defensive and offensive, ye have, after long
 " pain, study, travel, great charges and costs, devised,
 " made and offered an honorable and right large subsidy,
 " which ye now have presented, in the name and behalf
 " of all the subjects of this his realm, unto his majesty,
 " his Grace doth not only right acceptably and thank-
 " fully receive, admit and take the same, but also therefor
 " giveth unto you his most hearty thanks; assuring the
 " same that his Grace shall in such wise employ the said
 " subsidy and loving contribution as shall be to the
 " defence of his realm and of you his subjects, and the
 " persecution and pressing of his enemy; for the attaining
 " of good peace, recovering of his rights, and redress of
 " such injuries as hath been done to you, his loving sub-
 " jects, in time past. And semblably, my Lords, both
 " spiritual and temporal, the King's highness giveth unto
 " you his most cordial thanks, as well for that ye have
 " agreed and given your assents to the said subsidy,*
 " as also by taking long pain, travel, study, costs and
 " charges in devising such statutes, acts and good ordi-
 " nances as be for the common weal of this his realm."†

The words are remarkable; for though formally the

* So, in the parliament of 1510, the Commons, *with consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, grant a supply of two 10ths and two 15ths; and in that case also the Chancellor returns thanks, and dissolves it, in the King's name. See Parry's "Parliaments of England," p. 198.

† No. 2957.

proceedings of the crown might appear in many respects irreconcilable with modern notions of the independence of the House of Commons, and fatal to its control over the public expenditure, this explicit assurance that the money they had granted should be employed only for constitutional purposes, that the King's cause was the cause of the nation, and the injuries to be redressed as much theirs as his, was in effect a distinct acknowledgment of the great principle on which all the rights and privileges of the House are founded. That the sovereign was as much a part and representative of the nation as the Lords or the Commons themselves, — that the Commons, therefore, “as the express image” and concrete expression of the feelings and principles of the nation as a whole, should reflect the wants, opinions, and feelings of the whole, and not of a mere part, however large,—was a juster view of its functions and constitution than is to be found in the speeches of many modern politicians. Nor would there ever have been any necessity to have fenced and guarded its just rights with so many ordinances had this truth been always as clearly recognized and acted on as it was on this occasion.*

In a brief and lively letter to his friend Creke, Cromwell thus sums up the history of this parliamentary session.†

“Supposing ye desire to know the news current in

* It is stated by Mr. Parry, that when the King was informed of the opposition made by one of the members to the vote of supply, he threatened to take off his head. “On the next day,” says Mr. Parry, “the bill passes.” *Parl. of Eng.*, p. 201. I can find no authority whatever for this statement; and it seems to me quite irreconcilable with what is known of the debate.

† No. 3249, 17 Aug.

“ these parts, for it is said that news refresheth the spirit
“ of life ; wherefore ye shall understand that by long time
“ I, amongst others, have endured a parliament which
“ continued by the space of seventeen whole weeks, where
“ we communed of war, peace, strife, contention, debate,
“ murmur, grudge, riches, poverty, penury, truth, false-
“ hood, justice, equity, &c., and also how a common-
“ wealth might be edified and also continued within our
“ realm. Howbeit, in conclusion, we have done as our
“ predecessors have been wont to do ; that is to say, as
“ well as we might, and left where we began. Ye shall
“ also understand the duke of Suffolk, furnished with a
“ great army, goeth over in all goodly haste, whither I
“ know not ; when I know I shall advertise you. We
“ have in our parliament granted unto the King’s high-
“ ness a right large subsidy, the like whereof was never
“ granted in this realm.”

This, of course, is not to be interpreted strictly. Besides various private acts affecting the family of the late duke of Buckingham, Sir Wm. Compton and others, the House had been employed in regulating the sale of woollen cloths, the dressing of worsteds, the reform of the coinage, the incorporation of the physicians of London, and the privileges to be conceded to those who took part in the war.

From this detailed account of the parliament of 1523, it will be seen how far the assertion is correct, that a new spirit was infused into the House at a later period of the reign, which had no existence in Wolsey’s administration. So little jealousy, it has been urged, was entertained of the power of the crown before 1530, so distasteful was a residence in London to the burgess and the country gentleman, that they were compara-

tively indifferent to their parliamentary duties. Measures, it has been stated, were rarely submitted to discussion, but accepted unchallenged from the hands of authority; and further, that, to enforce their attendance, the expenses of the members until 1530 had to be defrayed by considerable salaries, and their presence secured by compulsory enactments.

But, in the first place, these "considerable salaries" were not confined to the reign of Henry VIII. They reach as far back as the reign of Edward I. In the time of Edward IV. they were fixed at four shillings per day for knights of the shire, and two shillings at least for burgesses, in addition to the charges of going and coming; and they continued to be made long after the whole line of the Tudors had been gathered to its rest.* Secondly, as to the statute of 6 Henry VIII., to which reference has been made as enforcing the attendance of reluctant members, the exact words of the enactment will show more clearly its true character and purport. "Forsomuch" (says the statute) "as com-
 " monly *in the end* of every parliament divers and
 " many great and weighty matters, as well touching the
 " pleasure, weal and surety of our sovereign lord the
 " King, as the common weal of this his realm and sub-
 " jects, are to be treated, communed of, and by authority
 " of parliament to be concluded; so it is that divers
 " knights of shires, citizens for cities, burgesses, &c.,

* According to Mr. Parry, Andrew Marvel, M.P. for Hull in the reign of Queen Anne, was the last person who received these wages. (Parliaments, &c., p. 200 *n*.) As they were levied by the sheriffs on the places represented, it is not likely that they would be uniformly paid. Besides, what member would enforce them if they fell into arrears?

“ long time before the end of the said parliament, of
“ *their own authority*, depart and go home into their
“ countries, whereby the said great and weighty matters
“ are many times greatly delayed ;”—be it enacted, that
from henceforth no member shall depart or absent him-
self without licence of the Speaker and the House, on
pain of losing his wages.

The object, then, of this enactment was not, as has
been represented, to bring reluctant members of distant
boroughs and counties to London, and secure their at-
tendance in parliament, but to prevent them, when
there, from departing before the session was ended, with-
out leave of the House. Before 1514 the members re-
turned to their homes before the sessions closed without
leave, as at a later period with leave. Undoubtedly then,
as now, their zeal and attendance would be quickened
when questions of the deepest and widest interest fell
under debate. Burgesses and country gentlemen who
might think that discussions about cordwainers or
“ draping of worsteds ” could very well be settled in
their absence, would require no threat of forfeiting their
wages if they refused to attend in their places when
the papal supremacy, or the impeachment of the clergy,
constituted the exciting topics of the day.

Convocation, as usual, was summoned by the Arch-
bishop concurrently with the parliament, and assembled
in St. Paul's. On the first day of its meeting, the
Cardinal, after mass, cited the clergy, by virtue of his
legatine authority, to appear before him at Westminster.*
An objection was raised against the legality of these
proceedings, on the ground that the clergy had been

* No. 3024.

previously cited to appear before the Archbishop. The objection was allowed; a new summons was issued for the 7th of May.* The convocation, consisting of the two provinces of York and Canterbury, again met at Westminster on the 2nd of June, and granted to the King a moiety of one year's revenue of all benefices in England, to be levied in five years.† Of that grant I shall speak presently.

This assertion of his legatine authority exposed the Cardinal to great obloquy.‡ Skelton, at that time the most popular poet in England, the most audacious and unsparing critic of the Cardinal's fame and conduct, expressed his own sense, and that of many others, in an epigram repeated from one end of England to the other :

“ Gentle Paul, lay down thy sword,
For Peter of Westminster hath shaven thy beard.”§

Nor did so large a grant pass without fierce opposition. It is stated on the authority of Polydore Vergil,||—and we may trust him for the facts, since, as dean of Wells, he would have taken his place in convocation,—though not for the malicious insinuations he mixes up with them,—that the grant was energetically opposed by Fox bishop of Winchester and Fisher bishop of Rochester. Rowland Phillips, the celebrated vicar of Croydon, the most eloquent preacher of his age, signalized himself at first by his determined hostility; but by the machinations of Wolsey, says Vergil, was induced to absent himself, much to the loss of his reputation.

It had been computed that the subsidy granted by the Commons would produce 800,000*l*. It would be im-

* No. 3013.

† No. 3239.

‡ See no. 3024.

§ Preserved in Hall, p. 657.

|| p. 72.

portant to discover on what data this estimate was founded ; for, whatever may be thought of its policy, this first attempt at taxation on a scientific and impartial basis is a conspicuous proof of the genius and extraordinary audacity of Wolsey. After all the studies of the economists during the last two centuries, we have reverted to the principles and almost to the practice of the great minister, who, with no complete statistics, no means, no organization, such as modern financiers can abundantly command, struck out in the necessity of the moment, under the pressure of a great war, a financial scheme, which has never yet been surpassed in the sweep and fairness of its operation, or the general correctness of its theory. That he should have stood alone,—that alone in spite of all opposition from the clergy and the laity he should have carried his project,—are indications of confidence in his powers, and in the fertility of his resources. Three measures had to be passed,—all equally difficult, in the fairness and equity of their incidence, all alike sure to provoke strong opposition, and encounter the pressure brought against them by the most influential classes in the realm. To no clamor and no combinations did Wolsey yield. That he was justified in his anticipations, although, in the strong prejudices of his opponents, the burthens imposed by him were considered fatal to England, is clear from the fact that the national prosperity was not impaired by them.

Of these measures, the subsidy granted by the House of Commons consisted of a graduated tax on real and personal property, commencing at five per cent., to be paid in four years. The tax fell much more heavily on the clergy, being no less than fifty per cent. income

tax, to be paid by instalments in five years. But besides these grants, a property tax, in the shape of a loan, had been already arranged, before Parliament met, and its execution entrusted to certain commissioners appointed under the King's sign manual.* These officers had orders to distribute themselves in different hundreds and wapentakes. Without creating alarm, or betraying their intentions, they were empowered to make a survey of every man's property, and receive declarations on oath. If such declarations were not satisfactory, they could examine the neighbors of the declarator as to the value of his possessions by common report, extending their inquiries to spiritual dignities, benefices, brotherhoods, gilds, hospitals, merchandise, implements, including property of every kind; church plate, jewels and shrines excepted. Artificers and journeymen moving from place to place were to be included in the returns. Spiritual persons were appointed to take, in the presence of one or more of the commissioners, the oath of such spiritual men as objected to take an oath before temporal men. The scruples of masters and fellows of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, bound by their statutes not to divulge their property, were duly regarded. They were exempted from the inquisitorial powers of the commissioners, and Wolsey himself determined the rate of their contributions; with what unsparing equity will be seen below.

On property of 20*l.* and reaching to 300*l.* (in modern equivalents, 200*l.* to 3,000*l.*,) the rating was fixed at 10 per cent. On property from 300*l.* to 1,000*l.*, it was 13½ per cent. On higher sums than these the rating was left

* No. 2484.

to the discretion of the commissioners. They were, besides, to urge, if possible, the immediate payment of the loan, on promise of repayment out of the grants to be made in the forthcoming Parliament.

It was calculated that the maintenance of the war in Flanders and Scotland, with the expenses for the navy, would amount in six months to 372,404*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.** The subsidy granted by the clergy was estimated to produce in one year 24,000*l.*; of the laity, if there be no mistake in the figures, 104,285*l.* 18*s.* 5½*d.*†

Many of the items of the loan thus levied on the clergy deserve the reader's attention. It is clear that Wolsey had no intention of sparing his own order. The charge upon himself amounted to 4,000*l.* (from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* in modern computation); on the Archbishop, to 1,000*l.*; on Fox, bishop of Winchester, to 2,000*l.*; on London (only lately consecrated), to 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Norwich, Ely, Lincoln, Lichfield, Exeter and Chichester, paid 1,000*l.* each; the rest smaller sums.

The abbots of Abingdon and Bury paid 1,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; Westminster, Reading, Ramsay and Glastonbury, 1,000*l.* each; St. Augustine's, Canterbury and Gloucester, 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each; the rest, sums varying from 500*l.* to 20*l.*

Each of the priories of Christ Church, Canterbury, St. Swithin's, Winchester and Ely were taxed

* That is, for the army in Flanders, consisting of 26,000 foot and 8,000 horse, 292,689*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*; for the army against Scotland, 47,460*l.*; for the navy, 27,302*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*; for the garrison at Calais, 4,953*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* See no. 2743.

† See no. 2483. The subsidy in the province of York, being the first fifth, produced 3,932*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* Supposing the same rate was observed, the clergy of the northern provinces would pay, in the course of five years, 19,664*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, in addition to the loans.

666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Lewes, 500*l.*; Leeds, Durham, Coventry, Worcester, Walsingham, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; the rest, in smaller sums.

The abbess of Shaftesbury was charged 1,000*l.*; of Wilton, Sion and Barking, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; and the rest, sums varying from 200*l.* to 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Of the cathedral chapters, Salisbury was taxed at 500*l.*; Lincoln, Exeter and St. Paul's, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; the others in smaller sums.

Of collegiate churches, St. Stephen's Westminster and Windsor paid 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; Eton and Winchester, 200*l.*

In the university of Oxford the highest sum of 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid by Magdalen and New College. All Souls was charged 200*l.*; Merton and Corpus, severally, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The rest paid sums varying from 100*l.* to 40*l.* At Cambridge, King's and King's Hall were assessed at 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; Queen's, at 200*l.*; St. John's and Christ's, at 100*l.*; Benet, at 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

On individual clergymen the burthen must have fallen with extreme severity. The archdeacons of Richmond and Lincoln, Dr. Chambre, the King's physician, and our old friend Peter Carmelianus, poet and lutanist, had to contribute severally 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; whilst Polydore Vergil, the historian, Dr. Denton, chaplain to Mary the French queen, Dr. Taylor, clerk to the Parliament, Mr. Larke — (whose connexion with Wolsey is well known)—were severally rated at 200*l.**

In judging of the magnitude of these sums it is necessary to bear in mind that they must not only be increased tenfold in order to raise them to their present equivalents, but that they had to be paid in current

coin. Whatever the scarcity of the precious metals, or the difficulty of procuring them, it does not appear that the commissioners had any power to make any change in the mode or date of payment; and as there must have been at times a scarcity in the currency, the sums paid rather exceeded than fell short of the nominal rates. There are no exact means at present for deciding on the amount contributed by the laity; but in a paper of a later date than 1522 or 1523 the following sums are set down against the names of the nobility and gentry, whether representing the whole or a part of the loans contributed by them I cannot decide. Lord Arundel, lord Dacre of the North, the duchess of Norfolk, Master Palmer, the Steelyard of London, are charged 1,000*l.* each; the Italian merchants, 2,000*l.*; Sir William Saye, lady Parr, lord Clifford, the executors of Sir Thomas Lovell, 1,000 marks each; the earl of Northumberland, 500*l.*; Sir Thomas Boleyn, lord Marny and others, 200*l.* each;* and so of many others.

Taxation so oppressive, and yet so general, argues either the greatest boldness in the minister who projected it, of which we have no parallel in history, or his well-founded belief in the prosperity and elasticity of the nation. Perhaps both. If also it be remembered that this pressure was to last five years, at a period when agriculture was less assisted by science than it is at present, and when a bad harvest entailed distress which no commerce could relieve, it will appear impossible to exaggerate the magnitude of the hazard incurred by Wolsey. Whatever might be the hardship or the temporary evils entailed by these measures, the whole weight of their responsibility fell

* No. 2483.

on his shoulders. He might urge in his own defence that he was one only of the King's advisers,—that the Council and the Parliament sanctioned and shared in those proceedings. Such a defence availed nothing; it was felt that in reality his brain alone had conceived and concerted these measures, that to his energy and to his authority they owed their existence. Whilst the King, from policy or dislike to business, was scarcely seen,—often spent whole days in the chase,* and, Tudor-like, incurred no responsibility,—he could, like a *Deus ex machina*, when the storm beat too vehemently, graciously interpose, and exclaim, in language suited to the gods of Epicurus:—

“Taxation!

Wherein? And what taxation? My lord Cardinal,
You that are blamed for it alike with us,
Know you of this taxation?”

The war with France was now resumed with great animosity and vigor. In August, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk was appointed to the command of the troops destined for the invasion. Cooler and less interested heads than Henry VIII. might have reckoned on the fall of that kingdom as imminent, and the coronation of an English sovereign at St. Denis as more real than a day-dream. In one of his most characteristic letters to Wolsey, More has touched off this settled persuasion of the King in his graphic way. When More was acting as secretary, and was soliciting the King to sign certain papers just received from the Cardinal which required expedition, “his Grace laughed, and “said, ‘Nay, by my soul, that will not be, for this

* See nos. 942, 950, 957, 1558, 2049.

“ ‘is my removing day soon at (to) Newhall. I will
 “ ‘read the remnant at night.’ ” At night, that is, six
 o’clock, after the King had dined, More again pre-
 sented himself with his portfolio. The King signified
 his readiness to sign. “Whereupon,” continues More,
 “at my parting from his Grace yesternight, I received
 “from your Grace a letter, addressed unto his, with
 “which I forthwith returned unto his Grace in the
 “Queen’s chamber, where his Grace read openly my
 “lord Admiral’s* letter to the Queen’s grace, which
 “marvellously rejoiced in the good news, and speci-
 “ally in that, that the French king should be now
 “toward a tutor, and his realm to have a governor. In
 “the communication whereof, which lasted about one
 “hour, the King’s grace said that he trusted in God
 “to be their governor himself, and that they should by
 “this means make a way for him, *as king Richard did
 “for his father.*”†

By various letters received from French correspondents
 and spies, the King had been led to believe that France
 was greatly dissatisfied with its monarch; that the old
 dynasty in Normandy and Guienne, as in the days of
 the Plantagenets, would be more palatable to the inha-
 bitants, worn down by oppressive taxation and the vio-
 lence of mercenary troops, than the rule of their native
 sovereign. Such reports appeared to be countenanced by
 the revolt of Bourbon and other noblemen of his party.
 Resisting all the offers of Francis for accommodation,

* Surrey.

† State Pap. i. 110. More’s remark is honorable to his good feelings
 and sagacity: “I pray God,” he says, “if it be good for his Grace and
 “for this realm that then it may prove so; and else in the stead thereof
 “I pray God send his Grace an honorable and profitable peace.” And
 this when the war had barely commenced.

Bourbon had persisted in his sullen resolution. Trusting either to the generosity of Francis I., or his unwillingness to proceed to extremities, Bourbon had fluttered in the rear of the King's army, now far advanced on its road to Lyons in the direction of Italy. Escape had been easy at any time, yet Bourbon did not attempt to escape. His capture was no less easy, and yet Francis made no effort to detain him. He was certainly aware of the Duke's treason. To what then must we attribute such apparent irresolution on one side, such audacious disregard to safety on the other? If conjecture may be allowed, Francis was reluctant to offer violence to one so nobly allied and so popular as Bourbon. Perhaps, also, he was yet uncertain of the full extent of his conspiracy, and how far other nobles were implicated in it. There still remained enough of the old spirit of feudalism in France to make it perilous to seize a suzerain of Bourbon's wealth and importance in the midst of his estates. Bourbon at a distance from the Bourbonnois could not so easily elude justice. Lured into the King's presence under the promise of commanding the vanguard in Italy, he would be removed from the neighbourhood where his strength was greatest, and might then be safely apprehended. On the other hand, Bourbon himself, powerful in the midst of friends and dependants, could only dictate terms to Charles V. and Henry VIII., marry the sister of one, and take the pay of the other, if he was able to set Francis at defiance, and persuade others to join in his defection. In September he threw off the mask. While Francis was staying at Grenoble, a page betrayed Bourbon and his confederates.* Francis returned instantly

* No. 3392.

to Lyons, apprehended St. Vallier and others; "and for
" the time of their being in his presence showed unto
" them good visage, as though he had nothing known;
" but before they came to their lodgings they were at-
" tached." The head and leader was still at large. One
Perrot* was despatched to apprehend the Duke, and
bring him into the King's presence. The Duke returned
for answer, "that right shortly the King should both
" hear of him and see him also." Within a few hours
after he had escaped in disguise, and the opportunity
which Francis failed to take at the flood now ebbed
away, never to return.

When the treason was known, France was in an uproar.
It was impossible to ascertain at first how far the
defection had extended. Uncertain of his movements,
distrustful of his nobles, Francis shut himself up for a
time within the gates of Lyons.† Vendôme, next in
authority and influence to Bourbon, was detained in a sort
of honorable imprisonment.‡ Lorraine was suspected.
Arrests were made from day to day. Not only the expe-
dition into Italy, on which Francis had set his heart, was
now effectually stopped; but the Duke, popular wherever
Francis was unpopular, proved a formidable accession to
the hostile combinations by which France was menaced.
It was necessary to dissemble. To win the Duke back
at any concession Francis offered Bourbon the hand of
madame Renée.§ He proposed to meet Bourbon with
six gentlemen only, and settle the terms of their agree-
ment. He promised never to trouble Bourbon in any
way, to allow him undisturbed enjoyment of all his lands

* Perrot de Warthy.

† No. 3533.

† No. 3380.

§ No. 3532.

in France, and even to let him serve the king of England or the Emperor, provided it was not against himself or his kingdom. But Bourbon remained inexorable. The King, he replied, and the Emperor, might do as they pleased; but as for himself, nothing should ever induce him to trust Francis again, or make peace with him on any terms. To put an effectual end to all further communication, he bade the envoy depart at once, with this assurance, that if any more such messengers were sent to him from the French king he would certainly hang them.*

While these difficulties and dangers sprung up Hydra-like in the court, the camp, in Paris and the provinces, the allied sovereigns had been actively and successfully employed in surrounding the perplexed monarch with a network of hostilities. The aid of the Swiss had been effectually neutralized; Venice, formerly the faithful ally and humble dependant of France, had been induced by Pace to abandon its former faith, and join the league against the Christian king.

To detach the Venetians from France was a measure of prime necessity; not so much for their mercantile importance as for the influence of their example on the rest of Italy. They had always been the warmest and most constant allies of France. They had frequently been solicited and threatened by the late and the present Emperor, but without effect. The imperial ambassadors at Venice had spent weeks in alternately menacing them with the Emperor's displeasure, or alluring them by the promise of his gratitude. In vain. The Seignory remained unmoved; it despised the one, it distrusted the other. As usual, the

* No. 3498.

imperial envoys haggled for money. They desired a loan—"a recognition," as Pace calls it—"of 500,000 ducats to be made to the Emperor." The Venetians offered 200,000 ducats, to be paid in ten years. The smallness of the sum was bad enough, the delay worse. At last they consented to abandon France, and join the confederacy against her; but not until they had extorted a promise from Pace that he would obtain a commission from the king of England to act as conservator of the peace and mediator in any difficulties that might happen to arise. They desired the English ambassador to signify to his master, that nothing had induced them to this agreement with the Emperor so much as their wish to preserve the amity of England. Let the compliment count for what it is worth; it is evident that Pace was the main instrument of the league, and without him it would never have been concluded.*

The decision of the Seignory had been probably quickened by a measure deemed justifiable in those days. By the usages of war, the limits of which were not then very strictly defined, an embargo was laid on the Venetian galleys trading to England on the security of mutual amity. They were detained under various pretences as if they had belonged to a hostile power. In vain Suriano, the Venetian ambassador, urged upon Wolsey the propriety of releasing them. The Venetian galleys (he wrote) detained day by day at Southampton are ir-

* See no. 2847. Even the imperial prothonotary Caracciolo, who cannot always conceal his vexation at the little estimation had of himself or his master by the Venetians, admits it would be "sacrilege" if he did not mention how much the Emperor was indebted for success to the "sagacity, prudence, and dexterity of Pace in bringing these negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion." See Mr. Bergenroth's *Calend.* ii. no. 579; also 566.

reparably injured. The crews have deserted the ships; some are perishing with hunger, others are compelled to beg their bread; most of the sailors are returning in the ships of the Genoese merchants, and there will not be men enough to man the galleys. The masters, he said, had spent all their money during their long detention, and their goods were spoiled by worms and moths.* His remonstrances were unavailing. If the Venetians were not friends and allies with England, they must be considered and treated as its enemies. They must then make up their minds to redeem their losses by sacrificing their friendship with France, or redouble them if they adhered to their ancient alliance. The Seignory preferred the former alternative; and its defection for a time struck a death-blow to French supremacy in Italy. "We shall soon leave the French king without a friend," wrote Pace to Wolsey in the moment of triumph; "the Gallic eagle before long will not have a single feather to fly with."† The embargo was taken off before the treaty was concluded, but not before the favorable resolution of the Seignory had been known. The final adjustment of the terms between the Emperor and the Venetians was delayed by the death of the Doge, and other causes, until the 29th of July. But long before that date Francis saw his sun sinking rapidly in the peninsula. In a letter to Pace Wolsey informs him that the King had discharged the Venetian galleys, and allowed them to depart;—a favor, he thinks, which ought to be "thankfully accepted and substantially regarded!" But with this agreeable intelligence he

* 23rd Nov. 1522. Compare also no. 2555.

† "Nulla penna qua volet Gallo relinquetur."—No. 2847.

coupled the announcement, that after the enlarging of the said galleys, as the King was fitting out a fleet at Portsmouth, which lacked certain pieces of artillery, “ I
“ of myself, without any consent of their ambassadors
“ here resident, or [of] the patrons of the galleys, will
“ ing for the love that I bore them to show a confir-
“ mation of their good minds towards the King’s grace,
“ took upon me to borrow out of the said galleys six
“ great pieces of artillery; that is to say, of every gal-
“ ley two pieces, trusting that the said Duke and Senate
“ will be contented!”* Such are the liberties and the duties of friendship.

In the face of so formidable a combination a king of less spirit or more prudence than Francis would have succumbed, and made terms with his enemies. And to terms of accommodation Charles was at all events ready to listen. He had no desire for the conquest of France, least of all to share it with his powerful ally, and his more powerful minister, who was too cautious to be deceived, too cold to be blinded, by the Emperor’s protestations.† In the hours of their most intimate alliance the Cardinal never scrupled to treat as chimerical the ample professions of the Emperor, the prodigious armies he was raising, the sums he engaged himself to pay. His ambassadors fretted, bristled up and chafed at these repeated indignities, and never scrupled to repeat them with interest to the Emperor.‡ But their anger and their explanations were alike unheeded. Wolsey was convinced that the Emperor either would not, or more probably could not, help either himself or his friends. The despatches of Sampson and Jerningham from

* No. 2863.

† No. 2881.

‡ No. 3064.

the Emperor's court left no room for doubt on that subject.*

But Francis would neither abandon his enterprise, nor bate an inch of his pretensions. Though he must have known that he was not popular, and had not deserved popularity,—though his extravagance, his reckless ambition, his disastrous government, joined to the avarice of Louise of Savoy, had alienated from him the affection of his kingdom, — he determined, in this most trying moment of his fortunes, to throw himself on the patriotism of his subjects. The magnitude of the danger was, in fact, his best security. The time was not so distant but that the memory of what France had suffered through the disaffection of its great feudal nobles, and their alliance with England, was comparatively recent;—recent, and still bitter. Communal France and feudal France still flowed on like two parallel streams, side by side, but their waters scarcely intermingled. A war with England, a dread of dismemberment, the imperilment of their own independence in the captivity of their King;—these were powerful incentives to union, irresistible arguments for consolidation, a genesis of internal strength and vigor. They carried France in comparative safety, not only through all the imprudence and excesses of such a reign as that of Francis I., but through the mad follies of Charles IX. and the devastating wars of the Huguenots. Out of the winepress of the 17th century Germany emerged weak, trembling and disorganized; England, dismembered of its national head and national church; France, as the dictator of the Old World, and, but for the senseless ambition of its rulers, little less than absolute monarch of the New.

* See Spinelly, no. 3532.

On the 24th of August* the duke of Suffolk crossed over to Calais at the head of the largest army which, as Wolsey informed Sampson and Jerningham, had been despatched from these shores for a hundred years.† He was joined in the first week of September‡ by 3,000 horse of the Low Countries, 4,000 lanceknights, wagons and limoners for transporting the troops, commanded by count de Buren. To assist in the invasion, 10,000 Almaines, under Felix count Furstemberg, marched in the direction of Bresse, on the eastern frontier; whilst the Emperor, as usual behindhand, had arranged to occupy Guienne.§ As usual also, the requisite number of horses and limoners to be provided by Margaret of Savoy were not forthcoming at the critical moment.|| Indifferent to the war, or more probably unwilling to bear any part in the burthens of it, the Flemish subjects of Charles excused themselves from furnishing the necessary contingents. Disaffected and ill paid, the Germans under count Furstemberg clamored for wages; were ready to leave their ranks and return. It had been stipulated at the outset that the Emperor should advance them their first month's pay; but it was evident that he was in no condition to fulfil his engagement. Remonstrances were useless; it was incumbent on Henry to find the money or abandon the enterprise,

* No. 3281. An account of the captains and their retinues will be found at no. 3288.

† According to no. 3288, the army which crossed under Suffolk consisted of 10,688 foot, and of ordnance 1,648; in all, 12,336. These numbers were to be augmented by 1,700 men from Guisnes and Calais, bringing up the total to 14,036. Hall estimates it at 13,100. (*Chron.*, p. 662.) To these we must add De Buren's contingent of 3,000 horse and 4,000 lanceknights.

‡ No. 3294.

§ No. 3326.

|| No. 3371; compare also 3347, and 3324, 3378.

after he had proceeded so far and incurred so much trouble and expense. He preferred the former, and transmitted the pay for 10,000 lanceknights. Again he experienced the bad faith of his confederate. After the money had been advanced, it was found that the whole available force under count Felix, instead of numbering 10,000, did not exceed 6,000. Many had deserted already, others were preparing to follow their example.* The delay, the subterfuges, the transparent apologies of lady Margaret and the Emperor's ambassadors, proved a sore trial to Wolsey's temper.

"His Grace," writes More to Wolsey, "commanded me
" to write unto your Grace, on his behalf, that it might
" like you to take the pain to devise a good round letter
" unto my lady Margaret, in your own name, to stir them
" forward in the provision of such things; as their slack-
" ness hitherto much hath hindered the common affairs.
" His Highness saith that such dealing so often used, and
" never otherwise, may well give him cause hereafter
" better to be advised ere he enter into a charge again
" for their defence, if this be not amended; and so he
" required your Grace to write unto her."†

All this time Francis was shut up in Lyons with about 25,000 foot and 2,000 men-at-arms.‡ The rest of his available forces had been despatched either into Scotland to the aid of the duke of Albany, or into Italy to recover the Milanese. With the exception of Boulogne, Therouenne, Dourlens and other places on the frontiers, which were strongly fortified, the towns in the interior were wholly unprepared for a siege. They had neither ramparts nor garrisons. An open road to Paris offered no

* No. 3490; compare also 3308, 3314, 3318, 3440.

† No. 3346. ‡ No. 3297.

obstacle to the enemy's progress. To amuse his foes,—to delay, if possible, the time (for the season was advancing), and retard their march, — Francis sent La Tremouille into Picardy. But this able and active general found the whole country utterly defenceless. To the well appointed and disciplined troops of Suffolk and De Buren he had nothing to oppose except raw and hasty levies raised from the untrained peasantry in the pressure of the hour.*

The English and imperial commanders differed as to the plan of operations. Jealous of the designs of Charles, convinced that he would employ the confederate troops for his own purposes, without regarding the general interests of the allies, Henry had resolved on besieging Boulogne. “As touching the consultation of the siege to be laid to Boulogne or abandoned,” writes More to Wolsey, “his Highness hath commanded me to write unto your Grace, that, notwithstanding the reasons of the lord Isilstein (Buren) with the mind of my lady Margaret and the Emperor too, his Grace is, for the prudent reasons mentioned in your Grace’s letter, determinately resolved to have the said siege experimented; whereof, as your Grace writeth, what may hap to fall, who but God can tell? And all the preparations purveyed for that way, to be now suddenly set aside, or converted where they cannot serve, sending his army far off into the enemy’s land, where we should trust to their provision, of whose slackness and hard handling proof hath been had ere this, and yet no proof had of the Duke’s (Bourbon’s) fastness, his Highness verily thinketh, as your Grace hath most prudently written, that there were no wisdom therein.

* See M. Mignet (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, tom. xxv. p. 907), from manuscript authorities.

“ And his Grace saith, that your Grace hit the nail on
 “ the head, where ye write that the Burgundians would
 “ be upon their own frontiers, to the end our money
 “ should be spent among them, and their frontiers de-
 “ fended, and themselves resort to their own houses.”*

The Imperialists objected that Boulogne was impregnable.† If their opinion were well founded, the truth coincided with their interests. It was the policy of Charles to conduct the war at the expense of his ally. If his troops were employed in besieging Boulogne, he must keep other garrisons in pay to protect his Flemish subjects on the French frontier. Seconding ostensibly the designs of England upon France, he was contriving to throw upon the English king the protection of his Flemish dominions. Disengaged from the necessity of their defence, he could concentrate all his strength on the South, secure Navarre, retake Pampeluna, and extend his dominions beyond the Pyrenees. So, careful of his own interests, he fluttered between Burgos and Corunna, perplexing his English allies by his apparent irresolution, and callous to their reproaches.

For reasons not clearly ascertained,—probably at the suggestion of Bourbon, from whom Sir John Russell had now returned,—certainly from no undue partiality to the Emperor’s interests, as M. Michelet erroneously surmises,—Wolsey was induced to abandon the idea of laying siege to Boulogne. His letter to the King announcing and apologising for that change has not been preserved;‡ but the tenor of it may be gathered from a

* Sept. 12.

† Nos. 3315—3320.

‡ Much of the royal correspondence, I presume, never made its way into the State Paper Office, but was kept at the different royal residences where the monarch happened to be at the time. When these residences were pulled down, what became of the papers?

letter written by More to Wolsey at the King's command. It is equally honorable to the great minister and his royal master, and will help to dissipate the misconceptions industriously circulated and lately revived to the prejudice of both. For that reason I give the more important portions of it at length :*—

“ It may like your good Grace to be advertised that
“ the King's highness, by the hands of his servant, Sir
“ John Russell, of whose well-achieved errand [to Bour-
“ bon] his Grace taketh great pleasure, hath received
“ your most prudent letter, containing your wise and
“ substantial counsel and advice concerning the siege of
“ Boulogne to be left off at the present time, and his
“ army with proclamations of liberty and forbearing to
“ burn, to proceed and march forward unto the places
“ devised by the duke of Bourbon ; which places, as your
“ Grace upon credible report from all parties is informed,
“ shall easily be taken without any resistance ; wherein
“ your Grace perceiveth great appearance of winning
“ some great part of France, or at leastwise all that is
“ on this side the water of Somme, which should be as
“ honorable and beneficial unto his Grace and also more
“ tenable than all Normandy, Gascoigne and Guienne ;
“ requiring his Highness, therefore, that your Grace
“ might with all possible diligence be advertised of his
“ mind and pleasure in the premises, to the end that ye
“ might advertise my lord of Suffolk of the same ; and
“ that it would like his Grace to take in good part your
“ foresaid advice and opinion, without arrecting (attri-
“ buting) any lightness to your Grace, though the same
“ were of another sort now than was contained in your

“ late letters addressed unto me ; forasmuch as this declaration of the duke of Bourbon, and his counsel thereupon given, with the good semblance, and grounds and considerations thereof, causeth your Grace to change your opinion.

“ The King has commanded me to write unto your Grace first concerning this point, that his Highness not only doth not arrect the change of your Grace’s opinion to any lightness, but also right well considereth that it proceedeth of a very constant and unchangeable purpose, to the furtherance and advancement of his affairs. *And as his Highness esteemeth nothing in counsel more perilous than [for] one to persever in the maintenance of his advice because he hath once given it, so thinketh he that counsellor very commendable which, though there were no change in the matter, yet forbeareth not to declare the change of his own opinion, if he either perceive, or think that he perceiveth, the contrary of his former counsel more profitable.* Wherefore, in the change of your Grace’s opinion in this matter his Highness not only seeth no manner likelihood of lightness, but also perceiveth, commendeth and most affectuously thanketh your faithful diligence and high wisdom, so deeply pondering and so substantially advertising his Highness of such considerations as (the matter so greatly changed) move your Grace to change your opinion, and to give your prudent advice to the changing of the manner and fashion of his affairs.”

For sentiments so noble and so generous, the ministers and subjects of Henry VIII. might readily forgive the occasional outbursts of a capricious and imperious temper. In the exhibition of these better qualities,

though afterwards blunted by age and indulgence, yet never wholly extinguished, we divine the true secret of that fascination which, in spite of all his faults,—and they were neither few nor trivial,—Henry VIII. exercised over those who surrounded him. To no Sovereign did ministers ever dedicate themselves, head and heart, body and soul, with more intense devotion. It mattered not whether they were reformers or anti-reformers, Catholics or Protestants; attached, like More, to ancient traditions, or, like Cromwell, identifying the prosperity of the nation and the cause of religion with the unlimited prerogatives of the crown. No fatigue, no pains, no sacrifices, were too great. There was a heroism in serving a King who, though no hero himself, understood—none better—the true temper of manhood. If he was an exacting, he was also an intelligent, master; if he expected much, he had discernment enough to appreciate services. In his general impartiality, in the coolness and strength of his judgment, except where his passions were concerned, whenever his ministers tendered advice, they were sure of receiving that most grateful of all recognitions to those who volunteer advice,—a full, patient and unbiassed attention. Consequently his praise was coveted as famishing men crave for bread, or drowning men for deliverance, and his censure was dreaded as no King's censure ever was. Men may dislike the reproofs, but no man values the praise, of a weak or a dissolute monarch. No man sacrifices his energies, his brains and his purposes to a blind and indiscriminating idol. Had Henry been the wilful, capricious and self-indulgent monarch he is sometimes represented, the intense personal devotion of such men as Wolsey, Cromwell, More, Gardiner, Fitzwilliam, so unlike each other in all respects, this one excepted, would have been the most unintel-

ligible paradox in history. Weakness is incapable of devotion; folly does not understand the meaning of sacrifice.

Fully acquitting the Cardinal of inconsistency, in the letter already referred to, the King examines the grounds on which Wolsey had changed his opinions in a minute and masterly way. He states in clear and forcible language his reasons for adhering to his former convictions. I have not room to insert them here. This difference, however, may be observed in the King's judgment and Wolsey's, Bourbon's, and De Buren's. They trusted for the success of their plan on that most uncertain and fallacious of all calculations to which military men can surrender their judgment—the blunders and inefficiency of their enemy. The King proceeded on the sounder hypothesis that the French king would not unlikely do "as his Highness would himself, if he were in (as our "Lord keep him out of) the like case;" that is, he would attack and defeat his enemies in detail before they could consolidate their powers. The one Horatius, fresh and on his own field, is more than a match for the three isolated Curiatii. Strange is it that this indisputable military axiom, the sum and generalization of military experience, should have sprung up as it were, and stood palpably bodied forth to the mind of the Roman even before his experience began. The result, at which others arrive by a long and costly process, flashed as an intuition on the clear mirror of his practical mind. And now, after 3,000 years, true and fresh as ever, it is never to be transgressed without its Nemesis!

But the King's judgment, justified by the taking of Boulogne at a later period of his reign, was not allowed on this occasion to have its way. The combined forces of the English and Imperialists, numbering rather more than

20,000, advanced from Calais, and, without experiencing any opposition, devastated the country as far as Montdidier. Montdidier was surrendered on the 27th of October. After occupying Roye and Nesle, the troops returned once more to the sea coast in the beginning of November, having accomplished nothing of substantial importance commensurate with the labor and expense of the campaign. From accident or design neither Bourbon nor the Emperor co-operated with the Duke, who returned to Calais, much to the disgust of his royal master; justifying the conviction that, whatever might be Suffolk's personal bravery, he possessed none of the qualities required in a great general.*

Paris, meantime, was in the greatest alarm, expecting daily the approach of the enemy. A post had been despatched to Francis, still at Lyons, to advertise him of the danger of his capital. On the 31st of October Chabot de Brion entered the city, followed the next day by the duke of Vendôme. They had been sent by Francis to concert measures with its inhabitants for its safety. The speech delivered by Brion to the parliament, assembled on this occasion, was exactly calculated to inspire them with the resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity. In vehement and vivid language he denounced the treason of Bourbon. The Constable, he said, was a traitor not less to his country than his King. He had combined with their national enemies to bring France into subjection, and only waited for the time when the King had crossed the mountains, to divide its native land among strangers. It had already been arranged, he told them,

* If any reader wishes to trace the movements of the army, he will find a journal of their proceedings, from the time of their starting, 19 Sept., to their return, 7 Nov., at no. 3516. Compare also 3462, 3485.

that England should have l'Ile de France, Picardy, Normandy, and Guienne; and the king of England be crowned at St. Denis; Burgundy, Champagne, Dauphiné, Languedoc and Provence were to be allotted to the Emperor; whilst the duke of Bourbon, with a pension of 50,000 crowns, and the addition to his patrimonial estates of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and the neighboring counties, should be recognized as regent by Charles and Henry, and hold his office at their discretion. Then, turning his hearer's thoughts in another direction, he insisted on the deep and undying affection which their King had always entertained for his capital. "Sooner than lose Paris," he exclaimed, "our liege lord would sacrifice his life, and all that is dear to him. He is ready to defend you. He is determined to live and die with you. As he cannot be amongst you himself, he has resolved to send his wife, his children, his mother, all that he has, as pledges of his presence; for he is convinced that if he should lose all, and save Paris,—Paris safe,—all will be saved."*

It is needless to say that this speech was received with acclamation. The citizens exerted themselves to the utmost; they imposed a tax upon themselves to provide soldiers for defence; repaired the ramparts; cleared the ditches. But Suffolk in the mean time had returned to Calais.

Whilst the thoughts of Henry and his minister were thus engrossed by the war, an event of the utmost importance had occurred nearer home:—this was the invasion of England by the Scots, under the duke of Albany. The treaty of marriage concluded between France and England in the latter end of 1518 had left

* See M. Mignet, *Rev.*, &c., 908, and the authorities there quoted by him.

Scotland at the mercy of its ancient and more powerful rival. No alternative remained except to comply with the comprehension provided for it by France in the negotiations with England.* But so long as Dacre remained warden of the Marches, such comprehension was little more than nominal. It did not prevent him from intriguing with the Scottish lords; it did not diminish those incursions on the borders, for which his own tenantry and his neighbors needed no additional incitement beyond the spur of traditional feuds and the inextinguishable desire of plunder. No man knew better than Dacre how to avail himself of the hot blood and evil passions fostered by these aggressions; none was more skilful than he in fomenting quarrels among the evil-disposed or discontented of the Scottish nobility,—“the fiddling stick,” in his own expressive language, “to hold Scotland in cumber and business.”†

Into the treaty between Henry VIII. and Francis I. a secret clause had been introduced, unknown to all parties except the principal contrahents, stipulating that Albany should not be permitted to return to Scotland during the minority of James V.‡ He was at that time residing at Paris; and although Francis could have as little right to detain him as Henry to demand his detention, it was thought, as the Duke had married a French lady, and his property was in France, still more as his influence in Scotland depended on the support and countenance he received from the French King, that it would be comparatively an easy task to hinder his return, or at least to render it ineffectual. Whether the engagement would be strictly observed, depended entirely on the good faith of Francis himself,—a slender

* No. 4564.

† Vol. ii. 4217.

‡ Vol. ii. 4471.

tie at best;—and Wolsey, in a letter to Dacre, commanded him to keep a sharp look out, without relying too much on the promise made by their new confederate.* But though Scotland was the ancient ally of France,—was not to be sacrificed at any cost, still less for want of a little duplicity,—it did not serve the interests of Francis at present to violate his promise. Nor, in the face of so much danger and uncertainty, was Albany inclined to cross the sea, at the hazard of being taken prisoner by the English fleet, and of expiating his offences in the Tower. Yet every day he remained away his influence in Scotland declined. Every year brought James V. nearer his majority; and the natural authority of his mother, supported by English money and English interest, bid fair to eclipse the little power he still retained in Scotland, and reduce him to the condition of a subject.

The annals of Scotland are, unfortunately, involved in so much obscurity that it is not easy to find a firm footing, or follow any clear or steady light, in tracing this period of its history. What intrigues were set on foot by Albany (if any) to procure or hasten his return, is unknown; but it is not probable that he would tamely permit himself to be treated as an exile, and make no effort to regain his liberty and his influence. From a note appended to the letter of the Estates of Scotland, already referred to, it appears that Albany, in conjunction with Paniter, the Scotch Secretary of State, was already employing his influence with Leo X. to induce his Holiness to interfere and urge upon the French king the importance of restoring him to Scotland. The result of this application is uncertain. But

* Vol. ii. 4547. This letter, as I have noted at p. 140 of the present volume, belongs to the year 1519; its true date is 29 June. See no. 396.

whilst they were thus attempting to gain their object by an indirect course that promised little success, an accident threw into their paths unsolicited advantages which their most dexterous policy could never have secured.

In no one respect had Margaret's expectations been realized at her return to Scotland in 1517. She was mortified at discovering that her political influence was now more feeble than ever. Disgusted at the neglect of Angus, her husband, who had attempted to grasp the reins during her absence, and was indifferent to her person as well as her pretensions,—exasperated, if popular tradition may be trusted, at the transfer of his attentions to another lady,—Margaret had resolved on a divorce. In a letter written to her brother Henry in the spring of 1519 she expatiated on her various grievances. She had been badly treated, she said, by the Scotch lords; her income ought to have been 9,000*l.* a year, and she could never obtain more than 2,000*l.*; instead of being supported by Angus, she had been much molested by him ever since her return, and her troubles were increasing daily. She complained that the bishop of Dunkeld (Gawin Douglas, the celebrated translator of Virgil), his father's brother, and others of his kinsmen, had caused Angus to deal sharply with her; that he would have compelled her to surrender her marriage settlement, and on her refusal had seized her estates at Newark, and detained her revenues. She proposed to send a servant to inform her brother of his misdeeds, which were too long to describe; adding that she and her husband had not met these six months, and she was resolved to part with him "if she might by God's law, " and with honor to herself; for he loved her not."*

* No. 166. This letter has been referred by some writers to an earlier period, but I think erroneously. For the settlement to which Margaret

The letter is curious, as showing the lax notions which prevailed among the Tudors on the subject of divorce, and still more for the naive ignorance it displays of her brother's character. For Margaret expressed a hope that he would aid her in this resolution, and "be kind to her" when it came to this point," avowing that she would never marry but where he wished, and would never part with him, whatever she might do with her husband.

The answer she received was such as all but herself would have anticipated. Henry sent her a stern message and stinging rebuke by Henry Chadworth, an Observant Friar, remonstrating with her on her intended separation from her husband, and "her reported suspicious living." Nor did Dacre or Wolsey fail to second the King's reproaches in terms more bitter than decorous. Ostensibly the friar succeeded so well in his mission that, notwithstanding the opposition of Arran and the Chancellor, to whom the Queen showed the letter, Margaret consented to be reconciled to her husband, and Angus expressed his gratitude to Henry at the result.*

But the reconciliation was neither sincere nor lasting; and as the quarrel grew wider between them, Margaret threw herself into the arms of Arran and

refers in it ("her conjunct feoffment") was arranged by Dacre, 23 Dec. 1518 (see vol. ii. 4677); and Boleyn, in a letter to Wolsey, dated 28 Feb. 1519 (no. 100), mentions this disagreement between Margaret and Angus as of recent date. Boleyn might have heard of it from Albany, who was then in the French court, familiar with the King, and frequently attended him in his masquerades in the streets of Paris and elsewhere.

* Nos. 481, 482. These events are referred by Pinkerton (*Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 174.) to 1518. But, if Leslie is to be trusted, the dispute between Arran and Angus did not break out until the autumn of 1519. (*De rebus gestis Scot.*, p. 374.) Nor is it likely that Angus would have requested Henry to write to the king of France, on behalf of his brother George, as early as Oct. 1518. It is also to be observed, that Angus dates from Dalkeith, to which place James V. had been carried by him in September, in consequence of the plague then raging in Edinburgh. (*Leslie*, *ib.* p. 374.)

the opposite party,—that is, into the arms of those who were opposed to England, and whose supremacy was bound up with the aggrandizement of Albany. Contrary, therefore, to her former policy, she was now no less anxious for Albany's return than she had formerly been anxious for his banishment. Nor was Albany backward in meeting her advances. He sent her a letter, stating that, as he was prevented from visiting Scotland, he wished that, with the consent of the Lords, she should take the reins.* Nothing could be better calculated to secure her favor and gain her confidence than such a proposal; nothing was better contrived to render Angus more unpalatable to the Queen, or her reconciliation with him more desperate. In acknowledgment of her gratitude Margaret wrote more pressing letters, soliciting his return; she expressed herself satisfied with his conduct, and was willing to entrust her own dignity, and the safety of her son, to Albany's keeping.

Such vacillation was unpalatable enough to the English court. For months had the King and the Cardinal been using their endeavors to exclude Albany from Scotland; not without hopes of success. If they prospered in their purpose, Scotland, as Dacre expressed his conviction, would go to ruin for lack of justice; the Scotch lords would never consent to be ruled by one of their peers, and their ancient feuds would be revived with greater animosity than ever.† To be frustrated of hopes, so near their accomplishment, and from a quarter so little expected, was a bitter disappointment. Dacre, than whom no one was better fitted by temper, by training, by the callousness of continual Bor-

* Nos. 482, 416, 467.

† No. 396.

der warfare, and the roughness of hand and heart begotten of such employment, to act the part of a stern and inflexible monitor, was selected to remonstrate with Margaret on her misconduct. He fulfilled his mission duly. He expressed his astonishment that, considering the suspicious circumstances attending the death of her son, and Albany's "brutal oaths and promises," she had ventured to infringe the articles stipulated in the treaty with France for keeping the Duke out of Scotland,—arrangements, as he asserted, exclusively contrived to protect her own interests. He desired her to assure him, under her own hand, for he would accept no other evidence, whether the report of her having written to Francis, desiring Albany's return, was well founded. He hoped she would be able to deny it, or give satisfactory reasons for her conduct, that he might inform her brother accordingly. If, unhappily, the facts should prove to be as they were reported, he assured her that her brother would "take less aspect" to her causes, and show himself much less cordial than he had done hitherto.*

For an English subject, of no rank or authority, to write in such a fashion to an independent Sovereign, was a presumption few princes would have tolerated. Her reply† was in a milder tone than, under the circumstances, could have been anticipated. She admitted that she had formerly desired the removal of Albany, but justified herself from the charge of inconsistency on the ground that she had done so believing that the Scottish lords would have put an end to their disputes, and have suffered her to enjoy her rights in peace according to their promise. She insisted, on the contrary,

* No. 373.

† No. 381.

that she had been treated with no consideration, and had never experienced less respect than since her last coming into Scotland. Her repeated complaints to her brother and the Cardinal, she told Dacre, had received no answer. She excused her invitation to Albany, on the plea that a letter had been indited to him in French, by his own desire and that of the lords; and when she was required to sign it she could not resist their importunity, lest she should imperil the welfare of her son and his realm. "My Lord," she continued, not "without some show of reason, I pray you remember that and you were in another realm where you should live your life, ye would do that ye might to please them, so that they should not have any mistrust of you; and so must I; for and I should refuse to have written when I was desired, the Duke and the lords would have thought that I had stopped his coming, and there-through I might get evil."

But the truth is that Margaret's alliance with Albany at this time was much more intimate than she was willing to admit, or than Dacre, with his dreaded Argus-eyes, had been able to discover. She had fully resolved already, not only to part with Angus, but if possible to obtain a divorce. To accomplish this object, Albany's friendship was indispensable. As he disposed of all the ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland, and had consequently great influence in the papal court, success would be certain, if he could be persuaded to further her suit; at all events, so long as she continued on bad terms with him, his opposition at the court of Rome would prove a formidable, if not an insurmountable, obstacle to her wishes. What steps were taken by the Duke in this matter, at what time he first lent himself to Margaret's purposes, it is impossible, in the absence of documentary

tary evidence, to state precisely. But it appears by a letter from De Giglis, the bishop of Worcester, to Wolsey, that the Duke had obtained leave from Francis to visit Rome, and was expected there in April 1520.* He was certainly there in June the same year. He must have returned to Paris a short time after the Field of the Cloth of Gold, for he was nominally put under arrest by Francis, and was already at liberty in November.† Long after he had left Rome his factor was still employed at the Roman court in soliciting Margaret's divorce;‡ for, as in the more famous case of her brother, such suits were not easily or rapidly determined.

The alliance of Albany and Margaret was a perilous gash to the authority of Angus and to English influence in Scotland. As afterwards in the days of Queen Mary, it was the policy of England to neutralize the independence of Scotland, by fomenting disputes among the nobles;—many of whom were ready to accept English gold, and sacrifice the welfare of their country to [party vengeance, or party aggrandizement. In both cases the policy of England had the same object; it aimed at rendering the sovereign hateful to the mass of the nation, at no time much inclined to respect the royal authority. But in Mary's case, English statesmen, either more keen-sighted or more favored by circumstances, cultivated the good will and courted the support of the commons; and the commons, in return, trampled on and neglected by the lords, and equally indifferent which party of the aristocracy gained the ascendancy, held steadily to the friendship of England, and saw in its predominance a better chance for their own prosperity

* See nos. 720, 880.

† No. 1044.

‡ 10 Oct. 1521; no. 1654.

and aggrandizement than in the rule of their native sovereigns, or the arbitrary conduct of their native nobility. Henry VIII. had no such advantages, or failed to perceive and secure them; and so long as Margaret was ready to be guided by his counsels, no other arts for ensuring political predominance in Scotland were sought for or desired. Supported by her zealous but interested aid, backed by Angus and the Homes, really if not nominally possessed of the young King's person, Albany banished, the Scottish communication with the continent intercepted,—the King and the Cardinal might justly consider that English influence was supreme in Scotland, and neglect all further precautions to secure it. If the Scots wished to live in peace and safety, friendship with England was indispensable. At every full moon, destructive forays carried fire and sword to their homesteads; villages, castles and monasteries were given indiscriminately to the flames; border hate and border warfare recognized no distinction of age or sex, of things sacred or profane. Devastation, followed by famine and by pestilence, and persisted in with unrelenting severity, was the never-failing scourge by which the Scots were taught to feel the consequence of English hostility. And as this age stamps out a cattle plague, so that age stamped out religious, moral, political and national plagues, or what they considered to be such, by fire and sword, by the rack or the headsman's axe. It was the rule of the strong; the justice and righteousness of which no one in those days thought of disputing.

But the quarrels between Angus and Margaret gave encouragement to the opposite party, of which Arran was the head. It was the policy of the latter to promote Albany's return. His presence was considered not only as a guarantee for the national independence of Scot-

land, but as a pledge of help from France, and a defiance to England. For these reasons various applications had been made to Francis in the Duke's favor; but without immediate success. The return of Albany would have been the signal for war with England; and Francis was already engaged too deeply in hostilities with the Emperor to augment the forces of his enemy by acceding to the wishes of Albany's partizans.* To gain time, to pacify the dissensions of the nobles, and excuse himself from complying with their requests, Francis sent two ambassadors into Scotland† in the autumn of 1520.

War at that juncture did not suit the purposes or inclinations of either nation. England was in fact not less anxious for peace than Scotland. More was to be gained by policy than by the sword. Already by indirect means Henry had contrived to make the French king the unconscious instrument of his wishes. If he could be induced to persevere in his resolution, and keep Albany in France, the Duke's interests would be effectually weakened, his party divided, and Margaret, by threats or by cajolery, might be detached from the cause she had so inconsiderately adopted.‡ So Wolsey, or rather Dacre, his representative in the North, set to work to carry out this policy strictly to the letter. Money was offered to the more needy or less scrupulous of the Scottish lords; English protection, or refuge in the English borders, was extended to those whose turbulence and disaffection made even Scotland too strict and constrained a residence for their disorderly habits; and Margaret was lectured, taunted, threatened, in a

* No. 1046.

† Nos. 1046, 1091, 1126-7.

‡ See Wolsey's two letters to Dacre, instructing him how he is to proceed in these matters: nos. 1169, 1170.

style which Tudor blood was rarely accustomed to brook with patience.

The adherents of the Duke lost neither hope nor heart. They redoubled their efforts at the court of France to procure the return of Albany. Rumors circulated, no one knew how, or from what quarter, that the Duke was to land in Scotland in company with the exile De la Pole, the White Rose. Backed by the power of France, Scotland was to give a new king to England, and trample in the dust its proud and unrelenting enemies.* The growing discontents between the courts of France and England lent plausibility to these reports. With what anxiety and jealousy the rumor was regarded by Henry VIII. and the Cardinal,—what efforts were used to throw discredit upon it,—how incessant, how strict, how eager, was the watch kept upon Albany's movements, will be seen by the letters of the English ambassadors. The Duke's familiarity with Francis, his preparations, his ships, his real or imaginary projects, his threats, promises and intentions, were all closely scrutinized, analyzed, and weighed in the sensitive balance of jealousy and suspicion. He came and went with more than feline rapidity and noiselessness. When every one felt convinced that he had started on his mission, and would be next heard of at the head of a victorious army in Scotland, suddenly, to the amazement of all, he would reappear in the French court, and falsify all anticipations. One night, about the 1st or 2nd of October 1521, he was missed: "Albany," writes Fitzwilliam to Wolsey on the 4th, in cipher and breathless haste,— "Albany has left the court; but whither I cannot tell, "nor whether he will return." Again, on the 6th, and again in cipher, as before: "As for the duke of Albany,

* No 1403.

“ I cannot learn whither he has gone : some show me
 “ he is gone to my Lady (the mother of Francis I.), but
 “ whether it be true or not, I know not.” The next
 time, that is some weeks later, he is heard of in Scot-
 land ; but how he got there, and when and where he
 landed, no one could tell.*

It was not without feelings of triumph that Margaret wrote on the 4th of December, from Edinburgh, to Dacre—(whom, with all her professions of regard, she must have cordially detested, and not the least because of the necessity of such professions),—that Albany had returned. The grammar, the handwriting, and the spelling of her letter, always very uncouth and generally unintelligible, are on this occasion more uncouth and disconnected than usual. The flurry of her spirits, her feminine delight at this opportunity of retaliating on Dacre’s superciliousness, seem to have been too strong for her logic, and to have overpowered her small grasp of syntax—feeble at the best. But the reader shall judge for himself, for here are her very words. I could not think of inflicting upon him her spelling and punctuation.†

“ My lord Dacre, I commend me to you, and wit ye that my lord duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, is come for to do service to the King my son and to the realm, and to help me to be answered and obeyed of my living, the which I have great need of ; for there was never gentlewoman of my estate so evil intreated, and my living holden from me, as I have written often times to you of before. Suppose ye erar (rather) hindered me than furthered me, which had not been your part to do : not the less, since my lord Governor is come into this realm for the good of it, and will for his part help to entertain the amity and peace betwixt

* Albany, in his letters to Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon, states that he landed in Scotland on the 18th Nov. ; but he studiously avoids saying at what port. See nos. 1851–3. According to Leslie it was at the Gareloch in Lennox. He eluded his enemies by sailing round the West of Ireland. (p. 378.)

† No. 1833.

the King's grace my brother's said realm and this; wherefore I trust it will be siklike the King my brother's mind to do the same, as I trust it has not been his mind otherwise. Suppose his servants have not done their part in the keeping of the same, but as yet I pray you my lord to do it that ye should do of reason for the King's grace my brother's and your master's honor, for he should keep it that he promised, and specially to this realm, considering the King my son is so tender to his Grace, and I never failed to him nor shall not.

"I would have thought to have had thank of the King's grace my brother, and of the realm of England, that I have kept a good part to this realm, both for his honor and mine; or else all the world might have spoken evil of me to have done the contrary to the King my son and the weal of this realm, which could not have been well guided without the duke of Albany [being] governor of this realm, for my son the King is not of age to do it himself.

"But, my Lord, I know well ye have done your part to hinder me at the King's grace my brother's hand. Why may ye not fail to me, when ye fail to the King's grace my brother? And better mend in time ne to be worse. Which an ye do not, it will be occasion to this realm and my lord Governor to do such like as ye have done; which is receiving of rebels and maintaining of them; which an ye do not mend, it will be laid to your charge hereafter by the King's grace my brother.

"My lord, I write sharply and plainly to you, for I have good cause both for the King my son's sake and mine own; for ye have fortified my lord of Angus against me, and counselled him to trouble me, in the contrary of the band that ye caused me to take of him, which ye would break again; which ye should not have done to your master's sister. And your answer, what shall be your part, that I and this world may iippen to;† and God keep you. Written at Edinburgh, 4 Dec.

"Your friend,

"MARGARET R."

What an outburst of smouldering wrath, what a torrent of indignation! But it fell upon Dacre with as much effect as the rain might have pattered against any of his own granite rocks. An iron man, too long accustomed, by his wild and irregular mode of life, to the tears of women and children, and the muttered curses of dying men, Dacre neither crumbled into dust at her disapprobation, nor quailed before her anger. More mortifying still, he showed himself not only insensible to

* i.e. rely or depend on.

her sarcasms, but careless in his own vindication, and fully prepared to repeat his offences. In the guise of a letter he read her a lecture on her own misconduct more in the style of a prince than of a subject replying to a queen. His answer is a model of consummate coolness, unflinching self-confidence, and grave rebuke. His measured tone, his stony coldness, his supreme indifference to her praise or censure, form a striking contrast to Margaret's waspish, spasmodic, and undignified attack. But under that stony coldness he contrived to convey as much contempt and anger, though couched in phrases of seeming courtesy and respect, as Dacre in his prudence dared to exhibit. Bitter throughout, the letter culminates at its close in a concentrated shower of gall and wormwood, beneath which the offended woman and imprudent Queen must have shrunk and cowered, in vain regret at her own folly and misconduct. Here it is* :—

“Madam, I recommend me unto your Grace, and have received your writing by a messenger this bearer. And whereas ye advertise me that the duke of Albany, your governor of Scotland, is come to do service to the King your son and his realm, and to help you to be answered of your living; and that I rather hindered your Grace than furthered; and that your said governor is come for peace, and will for his part entreat the unity and peace between my Sovereign your brother's realm and Scotland; and that my Sovereign's servants have not done their part in keeping of the same; and that ye pray me that I should do that I ought to do, upon reason, for the King my sovereign's honor; and that his highness should keep that he promises to that realm; and that ye never faulted to my Sovereign, nor shall not do; and that your Grace thought to have had thanks of my Sovereign and his realm that ye have kept so great a party, both for his honor and yours, or else all the world would have spoken ill of your Grace to him, doing the contrary, for the weal of your son and his realm; and that your said son should not have been well guided without the duke of Albany your governor; and that ye are informed that I have hindered you at my Sovereign's hand, and why should not I fail to you when I fail to my sovereign Lord; and better to

* Calig. B. vi. 197 b. B.M.

mend betime than to do worse, which will be occasion to the governor to do the same which I have done,—that is, receiving of rebels, and maintaining of them,—the which, if I mend not, will be laid to my charge ; and that your Grace writes plainly to me because of your son's sake and your own ; and that I have given my lord of Angus counsel against you for your trouble, in such things as I gave you counsel in to take of him, the which I would break again ; and that I should not so do to my Sovereign's sister ; and that I should give you answer what your Grace and that realm might lippen to ;—

“ Madam, to make you answer of your writing, that is to me right hard and difficult, because ye have made it by the advice of the duke of Albany, for his pleasure. And what suspicion my sovereign Lord and his realm will think that the said Duke should have the keeping of the King your son my sovereign Lord's nephew, and of his realm and subjects, in rule and governance, seeing the pretended title that the said Duke claimeth to the crown, ye being so favorably assenting to the same ; Madam, I fear me ye forget natural affection and provident reason, and is abused with sinister council and blind persuasions ; and what desire may be imprinted in the hearts of highminded men to aspire to high dignities, in the which case often times the fear of God and the shame of the world is laid apart ; and if all this suspicion come of your Grace to the King your brother and his council, how his Highness will esteem your light dealing, so little regarding your son his nephew ;—I will refer that to his high pleasure. And as unto the keeping of the peace, and receiving of rebels and maintaining of them, Madam, I have made answer thereof to the Duke, which is, that there is none receipt to my knowledge ; nor no breach nor occasion of breach of peace be of the party of England ; so I have in commandment of his highness along all his marches to do.

“ Madam, where ye say ye never faulted to my Sovereign, but deserved thanks of his Highness and his realm for keeping of his honor and yours, I pray God his Grace may take it so in form thereof. And where your Grace saith I have hindered you at my Sovereign's hand, and that I can not be true to my sovereign Lord, when I cannot be true to you ; Madam it becomes not me to make such information as ye allege. And as to my truth and duty of allegiance, I am sure of myself ; I fear not ; would God in mine opinion ye were as sure of yourself, no comparison made to a great prince's birth as your Grace is, to a poor wretch and subject as I am.

“ And whereas ye are informed that I should give counsel to my lord of Angus against your Grace in such things as I gave you counsel to take of him ; Madam, I gave him never counsel, but that it might stand with your honor according to my duty, as I am bound to do, for your Grace. And inasmuch as ye took him to be your husband, at your pleasure, without consent or counsel of your brother, my Sovereign, or any other of his natural subjects, it were your honor to resort to him, according as ye are

bound by the laws of God, or else to show the cause why, by the order of justice, for the declaration of your conscience.

“Madam, I humbly beseech your Grace to pardon me of my rude writing, for my truth leads me. If I otherwise should write, I should flatter your Grace, and not to say by mine opinion as I suppose. As our Lord knoweth, who have your Grace in keeping.

“At Norham, 8th December.”

So contemptuous a letter, so disparaging to Margaret's judgment, conduct and abilities, on which she prided herself, was ill calculated to gain her esteem or disarm her resentment in the hour of her triumph. She wrote the day after to Henry, reiterating her assertion that Albany had come into Scotland for the good of her son. Her son, she said, was young,—the realm deficient in good rule and justice; and the Duke's presence would prove the best remedy for these evils. As if to insinuate the intimate nature of that alliance which had now sprung up between herself and the Duke, the latter had written six days before to Dacre, accusing him of harboring Scotch fugitives, and threatening to disclose his misdeeds to the king of England: whilst Margaret, in a letter to her brother, complains that his subjects received “rebels “ and broken men;” and, to leave no doubt at whom this accusation was levelled, added that she had remonstrated with Dacre for neglecting his duty, and only received from him a sharp letter in reply. He ought to be commanded, she said, to keep better rule upon the Borders; his imputations on her actions proceeded from malice; whilst Albany ever since his arrival had paid her great deference, and consulted her wishes on all occasions.

Is it to be imagined that Margaret was so ignorant of her brother's temper as to suppose that her remonstrances would produce any other effect than a passing fit of irritation? Could she think that Henry would share her views, and mark his displeasure of Dacre's conduct

by disgracing him? If her letters, as it suited Dacre's purpose to insinuate, were really dictated by Albany, and not written freely by herself in the varying passions of the hour, the Duke deserved for these exhibitions of laborious spite and petty malice the contempt which was afterwards showered upon him by both nations. But this hypothesis is hardly compatible with the effect produced by Albany's presence on his own people. His reappearance restored fresh confidence to his adherents, and struck his enemies with unimaginable terrors. In their uncertainty and bewilderment they despatched Gawin Douglas, the bishop of Dunkeld, to England, with instructions to represent their danger, and desiring him to learn "what supply the King's grace would do them." Their statements, like those of violent partizans, must be read with caution; but, with the largest allowance for exaggeration and misstatement, natural on such occasions, it is clear that Margaret was now closely united with Albany, and that English influence had suddenly collapsed. The Queen, they reported, was much inclined to the Duke's pleasure; the two were always together, either forenoon or afternoon; a divorce between her and Angus was in contemplation; on his arrival the Duke had visited the Queen at Stirling, had gone in her company first to Linlithgow, and afterwards to Edinburgh, where the King was then residing. Here the Duke had, on receiving the keys of the Castle, delivered them to the Queen, who returned them to Albany. They complained that to secure her favor he had enriched her servants and promoted her favorites: he had made the bishop of Glasgow archbishop of St. Andrew's, and advanced the abbot of Holyrood to the see of Glasgow: whilst Cantley, so often mentioned in this correspondence, was enriched with the abbey of Kilwinning and two other benefices.

These assertions lost nothing of their pungency and significance in the mouth of the bishop of Dunkeld. Facts were indiscriminately marshalled with fiction, the wildest surmises with probable inferences. In his memorial against the Duke, addressed by the Bishop to those who were not likely to be exact or critical in testing the accuracy of his statements,* Albany was stigmatized as the son of a rebel, without a foot of land in Scotland or France, incapable of being the King's tutor, or of holding any office. His conduct, said his episcopal denouncer, was actuated by the sole motive of fear, and all his measures were taken accordingly. He had removed the King "of right tender age," from the castle of Stirling, where he was well at ease, "to the windy and right unpleasant castle and rock of Edinburgh." He had "stuffed" Dunbar, Dumbarton, Inchgarvy and Stirling with Frenchmen; while the royal residences and revenues were appropriated by his favorites or foreigners, "whilk are but very knaves." "The King's rich gowns of most fine cloth of gold, furred with finest sables, he has analit" (wasted), continues the Bishop, "together with the hangings and apparellings of his chambers palit of purple and velvet cramosyn, and made clothing thereof to some of his pages and servants, and has coined in placks (groats) the King's great silver stoups, double gilt, that in the whole mounts to one right great sum." To add to his offences he had sold three of the King's great ships, worth 300,000 francs, with their ordnance;† had disposed of lands, forfeitures, wardships, marriages, benefices, bishoprics, at his plea-

* No. 1898.

† In 1515 Albany sold to Francis I., with the consent of the States, the famous *St. Michael*, for 40,000 francs. Of course the Bishop's statement is not to be interpreted literally.

sure. Since his return, continues the exasperated prelate, his wrath kindling at the recital, he has imposed a tax upon Scotland of 25,000*l.* Scotch; has made Robert Barton, the pirate, controller; "and one Master John " Campbell, ane bastard briber, quhilk had not five " shillings' worth of good of his own," has been appointed treasurer. By their cunning management the King had been brought into debt 12,000*l.* Scotch; and yet he was so badly clothed that until his natural sister, the countess of Morton, took compassion upon him, he had scarcely honest hose or doublet; and when Albany and the Queen sent him cloth of silver and gold for gowns, these shameless officers had refused to furnish the lining!

Not satisfied with these grievous accusations the Bishop proceeded to charge Albany with having poisoned or starved the duke of Ross;—a statement for which there was as little foundation as for many others contained in his memorial. He compares Albany to Richard III., who paved his way to the throne by the murder of his nephews. "Gif," he concludes, "this duke of Albany's " father had died at (in) the faith and peace of his " prince, and not rebel or banished, yet then he has alive " an elder brother, Alexander Stewart, commendator of " Scone and Inchcaffray, not in holy orders, but a man " able to marry, begotten on the duke of Albany's first " wife, umquhile daughter to the earl of Orkney. All " that he does, therefore, is without authority, and in " defiance of the States of Scotland, who declared he " should not be reputed governor unless he had returned " before the 1st of August."

Whatever exaggeration or falsehood there might have been in these details, it is clear from the general purport of them that Albany had returned to Scotland resolved

to exercise plenary authority as governor, and that the Queen and the nobles had shown no desire to counteract his wishes. He deposed the officers of Angus on his arrival ; summoned a parliament ; cited the lords who had fled to appear and defend themselves ; and acted with so much apparent vigor and resolution, that Angus was obliged to seek and obtain reconciliation through Margaret's intercession. As English influence declined, a spirit of unity appeared to prevail. With Margaret devoted to Albany, Angus and his brother George in voluntary exile, the Homes unable to show themselves, the Duke was triumphant and experienced little opposition.* To the poor bishop of Dunkeld the blow was fatal. Denounced at home as a traitor, and deprived of his bishopric,† his mission to England, as the representative of the disaffected lords, seemed little better than a mockery. Confused, ill at ease, uncertain how far the disaffection of his relative Angus would be visited on himself, he wrote to the Cardinal in the following deprecatory and sorrowful terms :—

“ Please it your Grace, sin I heard the tidings and writings of yesterday, I am and have been so dolorous and full of vehement annoy that I dare not aventure [to] come in your presence, whilk causes me thus write to your noble Grace ; beseeching the same of your great goodness to have companence (compassion) of me, desolate and woeful wight. Albeit I grant I have deserved punition, and am under the King's mercy and yours, not for any fault or demerit of my own, but by reason of their untruth that caused me labor for the weal of their Prince and their security, whilk now has (have) their own confusion and perpetual shame, and has served me, as your Grace may consider, that solicited the

* No. 1976.

† The see was given by Albany to Margaret. (No. 1938.) In her instructions sent by one of her servants to Henry, she asserts very bitterly that Dunkeld was the cause of all the dissensions in Scotland, and had circulated false reports of her. “ And sin (she says) I helped to get him the benefice of Dunkeld, I shall help him as well fro the same.” A truly Tudor sentiment !

King's highness and your Grace to write and do for them so oftentimes, and so largely, in divers sorts, as well to their support and comfort ; whereof now I must needs underlie your mercy. Albeit I doubt not but your high prudence considers profoundly my part thereof, and my whole true mind all time but (without) any dissimulance, that in 'good faith am further deceived in this matter than any others, by reason whereof I am so full of sorrow and displeasure, that I am weary of my own life, and promise to God and your noble Grace, as your humble servant and a true Christian priest, that I shall never have nor take way with the duke of Albany, the unworthy earl of Angus, nor no others that assists to the said Duke, but (without) your express command and advice ; nor never shall pass into Scotland, but at your pleasure, so long as this wicked Duke is therein, or has rule thereof. And I trust my brother and other my friends will use my counsel ; albeit yon young witless fool has run upon his own mischief by continual persuasion of wily, subtle men, and for lack of good counsel ; showing to him, I doubt not, many feigned letters and wonderful terrors, that the lord Hume and others would pass in and leave him alone ; and that I would be taken and holden here ; and that Galter, the Duke's secretary, had appointed with the King's highness for his destruction, and the Duke to marry the Queen. I doubt not sich things, and mickle mair, has been said."

Then, after expressing his regret that a letter which he had sent from Hampton Court to his brother had not been despatched at an earlier opportunity, he expresses a wish—the uncharitableness of which may be forgiven in the pressure of his misery,—“ I beseech God
“ that I may see him (Angus) really punished for his
“ demerits, and promise broken made to the King's
“ highness and me his uncle, and shall be glad to solicit
“ the King's highness and your Grace to this effect at
“ all my power.”*

Henry and his ministers had been inclined in the first instance to treat Albany's arrival in Scotland with contempt. They declined to acknowledge the Duke's authority, or enter into any negociations with

* 31st Jan. 1522. No. 2007. The Bishop's wish was not gratified ; he died a few weeks after of the plague, then raging in London, and was buried in the Savoy, close to bishop Halsey. Both prelates were friends of Erasmus, and are mentioned more than once in his writings.

Scotland, so long as he was permitted to remain. In conformity with this resolution, Henry wrote to the Estates, accusing the Duke of attempting to procure a divorce for the Queen, with the intent of marrying her himself, and he urged them not to assist Albany, on pain of his displeasure.* To his sister Margaret, for whom he never entertained any strong affection, he addressed a letter, in terms of unusual bitterness: he reproached her for being so easily abused by Albany; for her familiarity with him, unbecoming a queen and a woman; and accused her of a clandestine attempt to get rid of her husband, with a view to marry the Duke. The Estates of Scotland replied in a firm and temperate letter, declining to accede to his proposals, and denying his imputations. The Duke, they asserted, was the lawful governor of their sovereign,—had been repeatedly called by them to that office,—and had never interfered with the custody of the King's person, or with any appointment in his household. They expressed their surprise that Henry should believe, that one “who had been nursed with so great honor, and had “so tender familiarity with popes and great princes,” would contrive any harm against their sovereign's person, or induce the Queen to abandon her husband. If the king of England, they added, with great tact, and perfect knowledge of the man with whom they had to deal, still insisted on the dismissal of Albany, no other alternative would be left for them, except to publish to the world, and to all Christian princes, the necessity they were under, either of depriving Albany, unjustly, of the office lawfully belonging to him, or of submitting to the peril of being invaded by England.

Margaret's reply was couched in a different strain, but

* No. 2039.

was not less resolute than theirs. Her Tudor blood was fired at the insults to which she had been exposed under the mask of advice and charity. She remonstrated with Henry for his sharp and unkind letter. In reply to his insinuations of her being so easily abused by the Duke, she taxed her brother for his credulity and weakness in trusting to false reports. He possessed but little sense, she told him, of his own dignity, in permitting slanderous reports to be circulated to her discredit, and suffering the Cardinal openly to repeat at the council-table that she loved the Governor to her dishonor. Her rumored divorce from Angus was a scandal, forged, she said, by the bishop of Dunkeld, and had never been contemplated by herself or Albany. Then, with something like a threat, she added, that when the proper season arrived she should be ready to justify her conduct; for she had retained copies of her correspondence with the king of England, and by them it would appear to the world that his threat of invasion was groundless and unjustifiable. Had Albany intended wrong to her son, she would have been the first to discover it. She had long hoped, she said, that her brother would have sheltered her from injury; but her hopes had been vain, and now she had found a better friend in Albany than in any other. She concluded by saying, that Scotland desired peace with England, if it could be had, but if peace could not be had with honor, it would never consent to banish Albany.*

If the King imagined, as he reasonably might, that these were not the genuine sentiments of the Queen and the nation, but the "abusion" of Albany, he soon found himself undeceived. Acting under this impression,

Clarencieux had been despatched to Scotland, partly at Margaret's own desire, partly, no doubt, from a wish to ascertain [more precisely Albany's influence with the Lords. The herald reached Edinburgh on Candlemas Eve, and found the Queen, not in Holyrood Palace, or in the Castle of Edinburgh (as might have been expected), but lodging in the house of a burgess. On presenting his letters, and hearing what he had to say, Margaret, to use his own expression, was marvellously abashed, saying she perceived that the King held her in great and heinous displeasure, owing to the evil reports he had received. She admitted to the English envoy that she had desired Albany's return to Scotland, confirming most of the particulars already detailed in her letters. She had been well treated, she said, ever since his arrival, her son was well kept, and neither of them had anything to fear from the Duke. This account of herself was confirmed, six days after, by the Duke, in whose presence, and in that of the herald, she repeated her expressions of gratitude to Albany.

On Sunday, being Candlemas Day,* Clarencieux delivered the King's letters to Albany, at Holyrood House. After dinner he sent for the herald to his chamber, and, prefacing what he had to say by some remarks on the bitterness of the King's letter, stated that he had come into Scotland at the invitation of the Lords. He had taken a solemn vow, he said, to return at a proper opportunity, and nothing should tempt him to violate his oath. But as the Lords had appointed him Governor, he would risk life and property in their service. Then glancing at Henry's coarse insinuation of his "damnable abusion" of the King's sister, and his

* No. 2054.

attempt to marry her, he told the herald that when he was last at Rome Margaret had requested him to obtain for her a divorce, as she was unkindly treated by Angus; but he swore by the Sacrament, which he had seen that day between the priest's hands, he never intended to marry her; and he marvelled that the King should think so ill of his sister, and that the Cardinal should have stated openly in the council chamber that the Duke treated the Queen as if she were his wife or his concubine. He expressed his desire to be on friendly terms with England, but if he were attacked he would do the best to defend himself.

The herald met with no better success at his interview with the Lords, then assembled in Parliament at the Tolbooth. On delivering his charge to the chancellor of Scotland, he desired that the King's letter might be read aloud, in the hope of creating a division among them, or eliciting some expressions of disapprobation from those who were thought unfavorable to the Duke. But in this also he was disappointed.

He was received, as he tells Wolsey, with "grim and "angry looks," both of "high and low." It requires no effort of imagination to picture the blanched and menacing features of these ancient rivals of England, exasperated to the uttermost by repeated injuries; more accustomed to war and bloodshed than counsel and debate; resembling rather a gathering of grim soldiers than a peaceful assemblage of senators. The representative of England stood before them, wearing on his tabard the insignia of that nation they most hated. He carried in his hands a letter, conceived in terms more dictatorial than any Scotchman would have tolerated from his native and lawful sovereign.

The herald was desired to withdraw; he was told, on

his return, that they had unanimously invited the Duke, and would on no account dismiss him. If, as Henry said, France had joined with himself against Albany, they felt little obliged by such conduct. But, even if England, France and the Emperor were united, they had chosen the Governor, and with the Governor they were resolved to live and die.*

It was impossible to mistake the meaning of this declaration, or to expect any diversion in the King's favor. If the King had believed Dacre's insinuation, that Albany was unpopular with the Lords, that he and his preparations might be treated with contempt, it was clear from Clarencieux's letters that Dacre had been mistaken. So Henry altered his tone, and deemed it wise to prepare for the worst. He sent the bishop of Carlisle to assist Dacre in preparing for the defence of the Borders,† expressing at the same time his intentions to despatch some nobleman into Yorkshire, as his lieutenant, and place the country north of the Trent in a state of readiness. The fortifications of Berwick were ordered to be strengthened; the Homes were apprised that they would be supported in their disaffection, and a sharp watch was kept upon the motions of Albany. Both countries prepared for war.

But in reality neither desired war. Just then the energies of England were taxed to the utmost in preparing for the invasion of France. Every day the Emperor and his ministers were calling upon England to give proof of its sincerity, by an open declaration of hostilities. The money due from France for the surrender of Tournay was not forthcoming; the treasury was exhausted; the loans, in spite of every effort to

* No. 2054.

† No. 2075.

collect them, and induce prepayment, came in slowly and reluctantly. Border raids might be made and conducted at the expense of the Border gentlemen; but they were uncertain and ineffectual instruments for retarding the advance of an army, well appointed, and led by the Scotch lords, thirsting for retaliation. On the other hand, Albany was fettered by his French engagements. He could not hope to retain his authority unless he were well supported. If the Scottish lords found the men, they looked to Albany to find the money and munitions of war. But Francis was too hardly pressed to provide either. "There are not eighteen barrels of gunpowder in all Scotland," writes Dacre to Wolsey, "and the great Lords will have no war."* And though Dacre's information was not always to be implicitly relied on, yet on this occasion his assertion was confirmed by evidence of no less an authority than Albany himself. In a letter of the 17th of April,† Albany tells his French correspondent that the Scotch parliament had been dismissed until the 12th of May; and in that time, if they did not obtain a favorable answer from the French king, they would certainly make terms with England. "The Scotch lords say that the war is merely for the advantage of France, and unless the king of France will issue a bold declaration, and send sufficient assistance, they do not care to stir, as they are weary of fighting for others."

Nor was this far from the truth. The chief object of Albany's visit to Scotland was not so much to help Scotland against its ancient enemies, to secure for himself either the Scottish crown, or the hand of Margaret, as to create a diversion, if possible, in favor of France. Francis hoped that England, hampered by a Scotch in-

* No. 2122.

† No. 2184.

vasion, would gladly listen to the dictates of peace, and in that peace France would be comprehended as the ancient ally of Scotland. Nothing shows more completely the depth of humiliation to which France was reduced at the commencement of 1522 than that its monarch, the proudest and gayest in the world, the competitor for empire, the paragon of chivalry and *haute courage*, should have condescended to purchase peace at such a price, and seek immunity from war, by the hand and instrumentality of his humble friend and Scotch dependant.* Failing of a peace, he might yet hope to divert England from its purpose of invading France, or divide its powers, by fomenting an insurrection on its northern frontier. Albany was disappointed in both designs. His proposals for a truce, in which France should be comprehended, were rejected by the King and Wolsey with the utmost disdain. The great English minister penetrated the flimsy disguise at once, and treated the Duke's overtures with unconcealed contempt. He regarded Albany's interference much in the same light as that of a cur interposing itself between "two fell-opposed opposites" with a folly equalled only by its presumption.† By short prorogations of the truce, devised by Dacre, Albany's preparations were frittered away, and he fell under the suspicions of the French king in consequence of his inaction.

In the middle of May 1522‡ the aid long expected from France arrived, but it was wholly inadequate to the emergency. That same month Francis had been defied by England, and he was no longer in a condition to provide for the safety of his humble ally. Later in the year (Aug. 13th) he was under the

* See nos. 1950, 2113.

† See no. 1950.

‡ No. 2271.

necessity of sending an ambassador to Scotland to explain the difficulties of his own position, and express his regret at his inability to render further assistance. The Scotch lords, after many delays, consented at last to an invasion of England on the 2d of September.* But their resolution was formed too late. Before the close of the month Albany and Margaret had entered into negociations for peace with Dacre and the captain of Berwick.† After some little coquetting on both sides, cessation of hostilities was agreed upon;—by Albany, with apparent sincerity, for, from some reason not well ascertained, he thought it needful to return to the continent, either to justify himself to the king of France, or to procure additional aid;—by Dacre, from policy, to win delay, foment suspicion among the Lords, create confusion in Scotland, and invade it when disunited. He was acquainted with the country better than any of his contemporaries; was less scrupulous also than others of the means he employed, whether force or fraud. But in consequence of these very qualities he was exposed to the jealousy and dislike of all who were associated with him; and his powers of annoyance were crippled in proportion.

Unknown to the lords of Scotland, the negociations between Albany and Dacre were carried on with great secrecy. Under a show of invading England, Albany advanced to the English borders,‡ in the direction of Carlisle. Had he pushed on with vigor he might have dictated his own terms; for Carlisle was defenceless; and the earl of Shrewsbury, the English commander, was still at York, unable to advance for lack of supplies.§

* No. 2428.

† Nos. 2468–70 and 2476.

‡ No. 2523.

§ Shrewsbury to Wolsey, 8th September; no. 2524.

The Borders were wholly unprepared. The earl of Westmoreland could only travel in a litter. Most of the chief captains were dead; and the plague had raged with so much severity in the North that in Durham alone 3,000 able-bodied men had been carried off by the infection. Through dread of its virulence, the harness in the infected houses was useless; for the soldiers refused to touch it. Besides, as was too common in these Border wars, no spirit of unity prevailed among the inhabitants of different localities. The East Marches preyed upon the West; the West on the East and the Middle Marches. Hosts of thieves, lured by hope of indiscriminate plunder, infested the markets, robbed the houses, and burned the mills, indifferent whether they belonged to Scotland or England;—or rather, preferring those of the latter, as the booty was richer and more easily taken.* No treaty had been signed. The English reinforcements had not yet arrived; and the English border lords hung back, declining to stir until their wages were paid. Albany moved from Dumfries to Annan. A few hours' rapid march would have brought him under the walls of Carlisle, feebly defended by crumbling ramparts and ditches, and insufficient ordnance. But Albany, deficient alike in judgment

* See no. 2531. In a letter to Wolsey, the bishop of Carlisle says, "There is more theft, more extortion here, by English thieves, than there is by all the Scots of Scotland. There is no man, which is not in a strong hold, that hath or may have any cattle or moveables in surety, throughout the bishopric (Durham); and from the bishopric till we come within eight miles of Carlisle; all Northumberland likewise. Hexhamshire, which belongeth to your Grace, worst of all; for in Hexham self, every market day, there are four score or 100 strong thieves; and the poor men and gentlemen see them which did rob them and their goods, and dare neither complain of them by name, nor say one word to them. They take all their cattle and horses; their corn as they carry it to sow, or to the mill to grind; and at their houses bid them deliver what they will have, or they shall be fired and burnt." No. 2328.

and resolution, was engrossed with the single thought of truce. He suffered himself to be insulted and deceived by Dacre. Nothing shows more early the characters of the two men than their conduct and correspondence on this occasion. Though the danger was great and imminent, Dacre bated not a jot of his haughty and imperious demeanor. Some little time before, in defiance of the law of nations, he had imprisoned Carrick, Albany's herald; and now, with a temerity characteristic of his nature, he ventured to send one of his own servants, without a safeconduct, into the midst of Albany's camp, nominally under the pretext of carrying a message, really to ascertain the condition of Albany's powers. Such acts of audacity very few commanders, even of less rank and authority than Albany, would have allowed to pass without reprisals. But Albany, after a faint remonstrance, suffered his indignation to evaporate in words, and passed over the insult only to encourage its repetition.

The 9th of September had arrived, and Dacre was under the necessity of returning an immediate answer to Albany's proposals. He was then staying at Carlisle. The distance between himself and the Duke was so short that it was difficult to find any pretext for further delay. A direct refusal of Albany's terms would have brought the Duke and his army in a few hours to the walls of Carlisle; compliance was the same as accepting Albany's demand;—besides Dacre had as yet received no communications from England. To protract the time,* he pretended to the messenger who brought the Duke's letter with a French superscription, that he did not understand that language, and sent him back to procure

* See no. 2525.

a Scotch translation of it, or bring with him a French interpreter.

Albany, with singular fatuity, allowed his opportunities to slip from his hand. On the 11th September he signed an agreement with Dacre at Solam Chapel for an abstinence of one month; thus dissipating the hopes of his own party, and allowing his enemies abundant time for preparation. His chief resources were at Edinburgh; his ships at Leith. He could only procure scanty supplies by sea from Dumbarton, or transport provisions and munitions of war by land, over the roughest ground, now rapidly becoming impassable at the approach of winter; whilst the English fleet, commanding the eastern shores from Newcastle to Berwick, and the western from Chester to Carlisle, needed only time to assemble its powers, and had war or peace at its option.

Dacre might well be proud of his victory,—for a victory it was,—gained at a small cost, in the face of great odds, solely by his own daring and skill. His own account of the matter, sent in a letter to Wolsey the day after,* displays in vivid colors the boldness and genius of the man.

“My Lord, I beseech your Grace of pardon that I have not advertised you from time to time, according to my duty; but the matters were so difficult, and of so great importance, and had so long tract of time and times, that I could not certify your Grace of anything till now of the conclusion, like as ye may perceive, as everything is passed between the queen of Scots, the duke of Albany and me, by their principal letters and mine answers again, enclosed in a packet, which your Grace shall receive herewith.

“Please it your Grace, according to my writing sent you from Norham, the duke of Albany with the main power of Scotland mustered a little from Edinburgh, the second day of this instant month of September, and so came forward, sending the earl of Arran his lieutenant with his vanward to the East Borders, who set up his tents a little from Home Castle in our sight, being within four miles of Warkes Castle; and from thence the said Lieu-

tenant removed towards these We[st] Borders, and fell in company of the Duke, at which time I was in Berwick, where I put in 250 soldiers of the King's garrisons, and also 300 of the country, and for the same made provision of victual for their sustentation; and by reason of the said victual all corns kept the old price, and rose nothing; and I, knowe[ing] of the hasty return of the said Duke, discharged the crew of the country wh[ic]h was taken in, and paid them wages for a day; and thereupon I rode from Berwick to these West Borders at post, and came hither upon Saturday last past; where, according to my said writing from Norham, there was neither gun, b[ow] or arrow in readiness, and the town assaultable, whereby there was no remedy for keeping of the same, but only strength of men; by reason whereof I was . . enforced to despoil all mine own houses of such ordnance as was in them, and brought it thither, and appointed and put in the town 1,600 men in wages, besides the inhabitants of the same, making my son captain thereof, which was to his great danger, and to me little comfort, remembering I have but one. Albeit, for the King's honor, and for surety of his castle and town, I could [no] less do, seeing I and my brother Sir Christopher might not be spared from the f[ield], my lord Lieutenant being absent, whose wages I have paid hithertowards at the King's pleasure.

"Upon Sunday the seventh day, the duke of Albany with his army and ordnance came to the castle of Milke, within 12 miles of this said city; and by such w[ords] as passed between the said Duke and me, sent unto your Grace in the foresaid p[acket], your Grace may perceive the time was tracted unto Wednesday at 11 of the clock, when as the said Duke set up his tents upon the Debateable Ground five miles of this said city, where I came unto his presence on Thursday, [having] certain hostages delivered for me into England, that is to say, the lord Max[well] and the treasurer of Scotland.

"At my going towards the said Duke, half a mile from him where he lay, two earls of Scotland met me, and conveyed me unto his hall, whereas he and all the lords were about him; and after my duty done unto him, I removed something backward, saying with an high voice, 'My Lord, what displeasure has my Sovereign done unto you, that ye with this great army are come hither to invade his realm? marvelling that all ye my lords will be aiding to the same, remembering the nighness and proximity of blood betwixt my Sovereign and yours. I come hither for no treaty, but at the instance and desire of my Lord here present.' Whereupon the Duke, with certain of the lords, went into one chamber within his said hall, and took me with them; where after long reasoning, communication, and debating, with such persuasions and sharp words as I did give them, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Arran, and others, fearing as well the King's army, as also the continuance of mortal war which would have followed upon their beginning, gave plain answer that for no love, favor, desire, or fair promise of the French king

they would in no wise attempt war against England, nor invade the same, so they might be sure to have peace of the King's highness. And so I departed, and was brought to one other tent; whereas I had good cheer made by certain lords appointed, and there fell to communication and reasoning how the matter might be best brought to pass. Whereupon indentures were drawn; whereof the one part, signed and sealed, ye shall receive in the foresaid packet.

"My lord, the army of Scotland was of so great puissance of men, above the number of 4 score thousand, and victual for the same, and so well stored of artillery, above 45 pieces of brass and 1,000 hagbushes carted upon trestles, besides handguns innumerable, that in manner, God being indifferent, it had been impossible to have withstood them; like as Thomas Musgrave, the King's servant, being there present with me, will inform the King's highness and your Grace at length, which comes up with diligence for that purpose. For I assure your Grace, our power in the time could not have been 16,000, and those that came forward came with the worse will that ever did men, and some great men there is that would not come forward, worthy punishment; and therefore, seeing the imminent danger of the castle of Warke, which William Ellerker, captain of the same, having 100 men in his retinue, after the sight of the Duke's vanward and tents set up, left waste; and so of force I was driven to suffer the Grayes of Northumberland, by the advice of my lord Warden, [to] enter in the same castle for keeping of it; and also remembering the small power that we were here, and the weakness of this city, wanting ordnance, which by all likelihood could not have been kept, afore I had seen and viewed their puissance and artillery, and over that for safeguard of this whole country of Cumberland, which all utterly had been destroyed and burnt without remedy hereafter, if the foresaid army had come in it:—therefore I condescended to the said minute of abstinence, humbly beseeching your Grace to be good solicitor and mean for me unto the King's highness, that he take no displeasure with me, being so bold to take abstinence, having none authority or commission. But inasmuch as by means thereof their army are skaled, and that they foliously have taken abstinence with me that had none authority, but only by my words, saying that I had commission, which I could not at that time come to it, it is at the King's pleasure whether he will accept it or not; and, under your correction, I think it good that this month be accepted, and upon the queen of Scots' desire, which it is thought she will make, that the King's highness condescend to the same abstinence for the space of another month, for these considerations ensuing: first, that in that time an honorable ambassade may be sent up upon the safeconduct now granted, at the request of the said queen of Scots, which shall make a great division between the Duke and the lords of Scotland, remembering their former sayings to the said Duke afore me; and further they have offered me they are glad and willing to desire peace of the King's highness and to y . . no meddling

with France, and for surety thereof to make bands or lie such hostages as reasonably shall be thought, and so the continuance of the duke of Albany in Scotland shall be neither profit nor pleasure to the French king.

“ And for the sure custody of the king of Scots, out of the suspicious keeping of the said Duke, so that he be in the keeping of Scotchmen, true Scotch lords, they can be contented, upon communication at the up coming of the ambassadors, as shall be devised.

“ And if the King's highness be not content with these ways, then his Highness m[ust] see money sent down for payment of his garrison's wages for the next month, [which] beginneth in the hinder end of this month, amounting to the sum of 600*l.*, like as it d[oth] appear in the foot of the declaration in the keeping of Sir John Darcy, knt.; a[nd if] he say that he has not the said declaration, then it is in the keeping of W[m.] Hasilwodd.

“ My Lord, inasmuch as it is determined that at the end of the next month my lord Percy for the East and Middle Marches, and I for the West Marches, shall take the charge of them, it shall be more honor to the King that the garrisons be discharged rat[her] in the time of this abstinence than when it is plain war.

“ And as for the castle of Warke, which stands in great danger, as is afore specified, and the same being furnished with men and ordnance may do more annoyance [to] the Scots than Berwick, and in mine opinion there can no gun go through the wall of it; therefore I think it good that Master Hert, who is now with the lord of Shrewsbury, be commanded to come in these quarters hastily to see and view as well Berwick, Warke, and this city of Carlisle, as also all along the marches, where I shall bear him company, to the intent that he and I may make certificate to the King's highness and your Grace now at Michaelmas term, the order, form and manner of everything at length, with our opinions on the same, what is best to be done; for 20*s.* spende in time with provision shall go as far, as well in works as in victuals, as shall 40*s.* in the time of a necessity when thing must needs be done.

“ If my lord Lieutenant had come forward, he should have been deceived of such ordnance as is in Berwick, that was appointed for the field; for when I had caused all the same ordnance to be put in areadiness, and for the expedition and receiving of the same sent mine own cart wheels to Berwick, the captain would not suffer the same ordnance to be taken out of the town, notwithstanding that I showed unto him the article in the King's instructions containing his high pleasure anenst the same, but by his writing ready to be showed he gave answer that he could depart with none, but only a slange of iron, a sacre and two falcons. And the Blessed Trinity preserve your Grace. At Carlisle, the 12th day of September, at four of the clock in the morning.

“ Yours with his service,

“ THOMAS DACRE.”

On communicating the news to the King, the Cardinal broke out into expressions of admiration foreign to his usual habits. He perceived at once the greatness of the advantages thus gained, and the total extinction of that danger which had threatened at one time to defeat the measures on which his thoughts and energies had been concentrated for the last two years. Such a signal success was nothing less than a stroke from Heaven; *operatio dextræ Excelsi*, as he termed it.* Yet the precedent was dangerous. Dacre had acted entirely on his own responsibility. Shrewsbury, when the news arrived, had disbanded his army without waiting for orders, and had retired sick and weary to his home. The fault was a noble one; fortunate in its results, but a fault still, — *felix culpa*; and as Henry, jealous of the least neglect, and severe in punishing the slightest contempt of his authority, might not regard it in a favorable light, the Cardinal, with great skill and judgment, endeavored to anticipate and disarm his resentment. After expatiating on the loss it would be to the French king, who reckoned that this invasion of Scotland would “stand him in stead
 “ of a great army,” he thus proceeds: “Albeit, Sir, this
 “ abstinence of war was suddenly taken and agreed unto
 “ without your authority or pleasure known, yet I can-
 “ not but see it is to be accounted as *felix culpa*, and
 “ that, your Grace being therewith contented, and taking
 “ respect to the state of your affairs northwards, many
 “ good effects may thereof ensue; and at the least I see
 “ no other remedy but that ye must take all that is
 “ done in good part, making virtue of necessity. How-
 “ beit, to be plain, there hath been too much boldness
 “ on your folks’ part, as well in taking truce and dis-

* No. 2537.

“ charging your army without your knowledge, as in the
“ duke of Albany great folly in dissolving so great an
“ army, so sumptuously set forth and advanced, without
“ doing any manner act or exploit, upon a bare abstinence of war, concluded without any commission or
“ authority. Nevertheless, the cause of the premises,
“ as may be conjectured, hath only been, *quia trepidaverunt timore ubi non erat timor.*”

The King appears to have adopted this sensible advice of his minister ; for, not long after, Dacre acknowledged a letter of thanks received from the King for the services he had rendered on this occasion.*

Disbanding his army, Albany repaired to Edinburgh, vainly endeavoring, in conjunction with Margaret, to have France comprehended in the truce. If at the head of a powerful army the Duke was unable to carry his point, it was not to be expected that Dacre or Wolsey would listen for a moment to a disagreeable proposal, backed simply by wishes or threats. After a few ineffectual efforts, made probably with a view of excusing his inability and mismanagement to Francis I., he abandoned the attempt. On the 23rd of October the Duke left Edinburgh for Stirling, appointing as regents certain bishops and lords devoted to his interests, and sailed for France from Dumbarton, on Monday, 27th October, promising to return before Assumption Day (Aug. 15), or resign his authority.†

Scotch historians are at a loss to discover an adequate cause for so ignoble a termination of Albany's campaign. At no time in their history, with the exception, perhaps, of the battle of Flodden, had the Scots been able to bring a more numerous or better appointed army into

* October 7th ; no. 2598.

† No. 2645.

the field ; at no time had a more favorable opportunity presented itself for striking a blow at their ancient enemies with such disastrous effect. The English were not only unprepared, but the largest body which Shrewsbury had proposed to detach from his main army to meet the Scots consisted of no more than 20,000 men. Actuated by a narrow spirit of self-interest and self-defence, unwilling to stir from their own country, and leave their homes exposed to the enemy, the Border chiefs, disunited among themselves, delayed to march to the assistance of Dacre. Yet it seems unjust to attribute exclusively to the incapacity and cowardice of Albany an inglorious truce, to which the lords of Scotland were no less a party than himself. Of disunion in their councils, we have no contemporary evidence. The only explanation probable is to be found in the want of adequate support from France.* It appears to me that Albany never intended, from the very first, to venture a battle. Under pretence of menacing the Borders, he was covering his design of negotiating with Dacre. By an assumption of warlike demonstrations he saved his credit with the majority of his adherents ; perhaps, also, the number and efficiency of his preparations were exaggerated by Dacre, from whose letters the account of them is exclusively derived. Or, after all, he might have been acting on the French maxim, *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

* This is the statement of Sir Thomas Boleyn ; but he was then at Valladolid with the Emperor, and might speak from hearsay only. See no. 2697. Perhaps Wolsey's statement is nearer the truth than any other yet offered. He tells Boleyn and Sampson, at that time ambassadors in Spain, that Albany had lately returned to Francis to show him the state of Scotland, provide money, captains and ships, and return to Scotland in the spring. He adds, that, at the Duke's instigation, the Scotch lords had failed to fulfil their engagement of sending ambassadors into England to treat for peace. No. 2764.

But, whatever might be the cause, the policy of Albany was fatal to his party and his influence. His adherents, deprived of their chief, were more liable to fall a prey to the intrigues of the English government. It was no longer difficult, by flattery and fair promises, to detach Margaret from the Duke, to inspire her with the intoxicating thought that through her influence alone England had been induced to make its late concessions to Albany, and would be guided exclusively in its conduct towards Scotland by her wishes and her instructions. It was easy for Dacre to insinuate that Albany's presence in Scotland was the only obstacle to the supremacy she coveted so long and so earnestly. His banishment, she was taught to believe, would free her from designs which, courteous in appearance, were intended in reality to deprive her of all authority, and render her dependent on a party unfavorable alike to herself and her son. The design succeeded; and from this period Margaret's letters betray, not only a change in her sentiments towards Albany, but a quivering, restless anxiety to impress upon the Scotch a due sense of that importance which she wished to possess, and always failed to achieve. It is amusing to watch her incessant efforts to invest herself with a factitious dignity in the eyes of her people, and make them believe that she was omnipotent with her powerful brother. She repeatedly urges upon him, in her correspondence, and at this time more frequently than ever, the necessity of letting it be known that his friendship or hostility to Scotland would be determined by her advice and her wishes. She aimed at being the sole mediator between the two countries. By her powerful intercession alone, the sword was to be sheathed or resumed.

But whilst Dacre and Wolsey together assiduously pursued this line of policy towards the Queen, the Car-

dinal was preparing measures for isolating Scotland completely from all hope of foreign aid, and, gathering up the undivided power of England, to launch it with full and irresistible effect against its pertinacious foe. The mistakes in the last year's campaign, fortunate as it had proved to England from the folly and incapacity of Albany, had opened Wolsey's eyes to the danger of undertaking two great wars at the same time. He had been taught the necessity of providing a more efficient force than the hasty and reluctant levies of the Borders; he had seen the folly of diminishing the efficiency of those forces by want of promptitude in the payment of their wages, or provision of arms and ammunition. In the previous year he had evidently underrated the strength, activity and importance of his adversary. He had never supposed that Albany would have advanced with an army so large and so well appointed to the very walls of Carlisle and Berwick. Wisely calculating the magnitude of the danger he had so providentially escaped, he resolved never again to run the same hazard, or trust to a similar caprice of fortune. Instead of the sickly earl of Shrewsbury, he pitched upon the earl of Surrey, who had been engaged since 1522 in scouring the Channel, and making descents on the French coasts. There could be no fitter general than Surrey to take the command of the forces against Scotland, for Surrey had seen service in various forms and in different countries. By his influence in the North, by his high rank and family connexions, he was able to exact from the turbulent gentlemen and noblemen of the Borders that obedience and respect they refused to yield to one chosen from among themselves, whatever his merits or his abilities: whilst long experience of office, unblemished reputation as a soldier, and the share he had

had in the victory at Flodden, seemed to point out Surrey as qualified above all others for so important and hazardous an employment.

In the choice of such a general Wolsey showed that he did not underrate the magnitude and importance of the struggle. It was the clearest and most convincing evidence of the valor of his opponents, and of the resistance he expected from them. Nor was this all. An enemy so resolute as the Scotch, and animated against England by the strongest national aversion, demanded his undivided energies. But how could this object be obtained? How, with a great continental war upon his hands, could he strike so effectual a blow against the power of the Scotch, that they should never trouble him again? Fortunately the vacillation of the Emperor furnished him with the desired opportunity. From weariness of the war or a desire to enhance his own importance in the eyes of his ally, Charles, at the close of 1522, had desired his ambassadors in England to communicate to Wolsey a copy of certain overtures for a truce which had been submitted to him by the king of France.*

* With the usual duplicity characteristic of his policy, the Emperor had already made some progress in this business, before he thought fit to communicate it to England. In a letter addressed by him to the duke of Sessa, on the 15th of Feb. 1523, he desired his ambassador to inform the Pope that he was neglecting no opportunity of effecting a truce with the king of France; and he had, therefore, sent very ample powers to his ambassadors at the court of Rome, for that purpose. At the same time he enjoined on the Duke the utmost secrecy, telling him that neither the ambassadors of the king of England nor those of France must be allowed to suspect the existence of any such intention on his part. Though he was even then preparing to falsify his obligations, he does not hesitate to avow that he was restricted by his treaty with England from entering upon any negotiations for peace with France without first obtaining Henry's consent; and he admits that it would not redound much to his honor, if it were known that he had been the first to solicit peace, seeing that the king of France had been the aggressor. The articles to

Without caring to ascertain how far the offer was sincere, Wolsey perceived his advantage in it. As the king of France had endeavored to extort a truce out of the supposed necessities of England, by means of the duke of Albany, might not his own policy be turned upon the inventor? Might not France be induced, in consequence of its difficulties, to purchase peace at the sacrifice of its confederate? If the negotiation succeeded, and Francis, forgetful of his honor, should consent to a truce without comprehending Scotland, then would Scotland be left to the undivided power and vengeance of England; if it failed, yet the discussion of such a proposition would create suspicion in the mind of the Scots, as if the French king valued their alliance only for his own purposes. Accordingly Wolsey instructed the English ambassadors at Valladolid to represent to the Emperor, that a "better and more politic mean" could not be imagined for avoiding superfluous charges,—especially as the Emperor found so much difficulty in making the necessary preparations,—than to condescend to a truce

which he refers were solemnly sworn before Wolsey at the treaty of Windsor in June 1522.

We are informed by the same letter that the Emperor had already sent a copy of similar powers to England, desiring they might be forwarded to Rome in the event of their proving satisfactory to Henry. Wolsey, in lieu of them, proposed a truce for one year only between the Emperor and the kings of France and England, excluding their confederates; aiming, of course, at the Scots. But the Emperor, disregarding his most solemn engagements, with that flexibility of which these papers furnish numerous examples, did not wait for the consent of his English ally, but took the initiative without it, consulting only his own interests and his own inclinations. See the letter in Mr. Bergenroth's *Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 528.

Mr. Bergenroth, in alluding to these circumstances, accuses Wolsey of dissimulation. He thinks the Cardinal blew hot or cold, as suited his own interests. He does not appear to see that the policy of Wolsey was of necessity shaped by the movements of Albany, and the vacillations of Charles V. As they shifted their ground, Wolsey was compelled to change his attitude.

with the king of France for this year; "the same to "be no other" than a mere cessation and desisting from hostility, *not comprehending the realm of Scotland*. If, however, the truce could not be had without the comprehension of Scotland, the King hoped, he said, "so "speedily to advance" his enterprises on this side, that the stroke should be struck before the treaty was concluded.

To obviate unfavorable conjectures, if it should be imagined that such a wish had emanated from the King or from the Emperor, Wolsey took the precaution of writing to the Pope; suggesting that his Holiness, who was anxious for the peace of Christendom, should, as of himself, make the necessary proposition to the three powers. To quicken the sluggish resolves of the Emperor, he was given clearly to understand that, in the event of the war being continued, he would be expected to furnish his stipulated quota of men and money; and these Wolsey well knew that Charles would be unwilling or unable to provide. He was to be further informed that he must not expect any extra aid from England, as it was now so busily occupied at home. This is the key of Wolsey's policy towards Scotland;—and this is the meaning of that desire of his for a temporary truce with France, which otherwise seems inexplicable.

It was scarcely to be expected that such an arrangement would be accepted by the Emperor or his council, indifferent to any interests except their own. It was more important, as it was more agreeable, to them, to have the war carried on by England against France, of which they should reap the fruits, than that the powers and resources of England should be expended in an expedition against Scotland, from which they had nothing to fear. In a long memorial addressed to his ambas-

sadors, the Emperor endeavored to combat this new proposal of the Cardinal's. He contended for the importance of combined and energetic operations against France now, when that kingdom was entangled in so many difficulties. He was willing, he said, to render assistance, if Henry would carry the war into Guienne, and he had collected for that purpose a million and a half of ducats. But the promises of Charles never corresponded to his performances, and Wolsey was too well aware of the value of his offers to depart from the measures he had resolved to adopt.

By Dacre's arrangement, the truce with Scotland had been prorogued from month to month only, and the last prorogation had expired. The option of extending it remained with England; the lords of Scotland desired a further prorogation; but Wolsey had other intentions. On February 26th, the earl of Surrey was appointed lieutenant-general of the army against Scotland, and commissions for musters were sent into all the northern counties.*

The earl arrived at Newcastle on the 10th of April, intending to fix his head quarters at Berwick. And now the same brutal and indiscriminate warfare was transferred to Scotland which the year before had marked the invasion of France. The country was devastated by incessant and furious inroads; Eccles, Ednam, Stichell, Kelso, and the whole track as far as Makerston, were given to the sword. At Eccles the invaders were met by a convent of nuns, who surrendered the keys of the abbey, with a promise to cast down in a few days their walls and defences; if they failed, as Dacre informed Surrey, Sir William Bulmer was prepared to burn their abbey about their ears;—so little respect was shown to the

* His appointment is in Lord Herbert's Hist. Henry VIII., 3 a.

weak, the innocent and the sacred in these terrible wars. From Home Castle to Dunse, and all along the East border, from Roxburgh and Kelso, between the Tweed and the Teviot, southward to Jedburgh, and Ferniehurst, the whole country was a smoking waste.

Should Albany arrive, wrote Wolsey on the 30th August, to the English ambassadors with the Emperor, all Teviotdale and the March have been so destroyed, “ that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, “ cattle, corn or other succor for man ; insomuch as some “ of the people which fled from the same, and afterwards “ returned, finding no sustentation, were compelled to “ come into England, begging bread, which oftentimes “ when they eat, they die incontinently for the hunger “ passed; and with no imprisonment, cutting of their ears, “ burning them in the face, or otherwise, can be kept “ away. Such is the punishment of Almighty God to “ those that be the disturbers of good peace, rest and “ quiet in Christendom.”*

The language of Dacre is not less terrible : “ If these “ raids are done well,” he exclaims, in a tone of triumph,† “ 2,000 of the garrison may be discharged, and “ 1,000 only remain on the borders.” By such solitude it was hoped that no troops would be required, and the King’s treasure spared :—whilst a desert, more impassable than the sea, more sterile than its shore, would thus be interposed between Scotland and England. But, adds Dacre, “ the captains must be told to command “ their retinues to burn, or they will not take the trouble “ to do it.” Undeterred by the horror or uncertainty of border frays, some of the more sanguine or thrifty inhabitants of the Scottish borders had protected their poor

* No. 3281.

† No. 3098

dwellings with a more durable covering than the ordinary thatch. Such precautions defied the sloth or mischief of the soldiers, and Dacre desired to be furnished with 300 sixpenny axes, for distribution among his captains, as a more effectual instrument for the work of destruction.

Meanwhile, the Scotch lords, divided among themselves, and left, by the absence of Albany, without any central authority, could form no general plan of action, nor agree upon any effectual method of resistance. The commons, stung with resentment for sufferings which they had done nothing to provoke and could do nothing to prevent, turned their anger against the French and the terrified adherents of the duke of Albany. Denounced as the authors of all these miseries, the unhappy foreigners would have fallen victims to the fury of the populace, had they not anticipated its vengeance by retreating into the castle of Dunbar with all their artillery.*

“The King has heard,” says Wolsey in a letter to Dacre, “from the Friars Observants, who have returned into Scotland, that the Scotch, perceiving how they are deluded by the French faction, are beginning to alter their minds. The French have retired to the castle of Dunbar, where they have most of their artillery, living in great dread and fear of themselves, and doubting to be served as La Batie was,”—that is, massacred. He suggests to Dacre, that if any man of note would attempt the enterprise,—that is, fall upon the French, as the Homes had cut off La Batie,—and would undertake to hang the bell about the cat’s neck, Albany’s faction might be “briefly extincted.”†

It is not needful to translate these expressions into plainer English. The Scots were enemies; they were

* No. 3114.

† Nos. 2974, 3058, 3114.

“weasels,” and were therefore to be hunted down with as little compunction as vermin. Who can doubt it? The dictates of humanity were out of the question.

Wolsey's policy was on the eve of being crowned with success. A strict and unintermittent watch at sea by the English fleet effectually prevented Albany's passage. Month after month slipped away, and nothing was heard of him. To increase the confusion, Dacre, unknown to Surrey, was negotiating with the Chancellor of Scotland, in hopes of withdrawing him from his allegiance to the Duke, and inducing him, in conjunction with Margaret, to take the reins into his own hands, supported by the power of England. Margaret, more susceptible to flattery, listened readily to a plot which seemed to promise her that influence for which she had craved and schemed so long, and so ineffectually. What effects the insinuations of Dacre had produced upon her may be seen in her letters. She determined to act independently, and form a party for herself. To arrange a peace with England without waiting for Albany's consent, to strengthen the English interests in Scotland by keeping Albany in France, and expelling his adherents,—these were the methods by which she proposed to accomplish her purpose. If peace could be secured by her mediation, and Scotland be relieved of the hostility of England, she might reasonably expect that the Scotch, out of gratitude, would acknowledge her authority ; and even if Albany, supported by foreign troops, should manage to return, he would not venture to violate a peace procured through her means, and sanctioned by the wishes and interests of the people. If she failed in this object she proposed to take her son out of the custody of the noblemen to whom he was entrusted, and escape with him over the Borders.

The protracted absence of Albany seemed to favor her designs. He was unable to keep his promise of landing in Scotland at the day appointed. One fleet in the North, another in the West, a third in the Channel, under Fitzwilliam, barred the passage. Any attempt to cross was hopeless. The Scotch lords, tired of waiting, had resolved that if he did not arrive on the last day of August, "as," says Wolsey, "I trust he shall not," they would fall from France, and make an alliance with England. But Margaret had undertaken a task beyond her powers. The Scotch lords refused to follow her bidding; their national spirit revolted from the rule of an English sovereign. Much as they might dislike the French, they were not yet prepared to sacrifice their hereditary allies to their hereditary enemies. They declined to serve under Margaret's banner;* and even the Chancellor seems to have withdrawn his support from her. August slipped away, and Albany came not. Yet irresolute, wavering between their hatred of England and their unwillingness to entrust the sovereignty of their nation to youthful and inexperienced hands, the Lords met on St. Giles's Eve (August 31st), in the Tolbooth, as the abbot of Kelso informed Daere,† "about taking forth " the young King, and making peace with England." If the same authority is to be trusted, James, then a boy of eleven years, had written with his own hand to the Queen and the Lords, desiring to be set at liberty, and urging an arrangement with England. His request was seconded by Margaret in person, and in all probability would have been granted, had not the French ambassadors assured the assembly that the Governor would be there in six days. "That," the Queen replied, insinuating

* No. 3305.

† No. 3325.

a suspicion of their statement, "was the tidings of the Canongate." But often as they had been disappointed, and improbable as the assurance seemed, the Lords determined to wait. They refused to accede to Margaret's wishes, resolving unanimously that if Albany failed to arrive within fourteen days after Michaelmas, the Prince should be left to his own disposal.

From this date Margaret's influence declined; her case, as Surrey admitted to Wolsey, was hopeless.* Even the dread of English invasion wrought no change in the decision of the Scotch lords. They had seen the worst. These continual and destructive inroads produced no other effect than, as the Lacedæmonian king told his countrymen more than two thousand years ago, such sufferings ever do produce,—callousness and indifference. When cruelty has done its worst, it defeats itself, and dies of its own sting. Nor, if it had been otherwise, were the afflictions of the common people, as Margaret admitted to Surrey, likely to influence the conduct of the Lords. They, in her emphatic language, laughed at injuries which only tended to alienate the hearts of those who were best affected to England, without terrifying the Lords, who escaped unharmed.†

A letter was produced from Albany, in the same parliament, in which Margaret had failed to obtain possession of her son, excusing his delay, and desiring that the King should be detained at Stirling as usual.‡ He attributed his own long absence to a secret design he had set on foot for the welfare of Scotland, but had not yet been able to bring to maturity; that done, his brother Richard de la Pole, as Albany called him, tarried only till he knocked at the door, to come forth with an

* No. 3349.

† No. 3341.

‡ No. 3315.

army and invade England. As a further encouragement to the Lords, it was given out by the Duke's adherents that he had already embarked at some port in Picardy, attended with 200 horse and 10,000 foot. If this were not an empty boast, and it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that it was wholly the offspring of Albany's vanity, it was evidently the intention of Francis to distract the king of England's attention by attacking him simultaneously in opposite quarters. Whilst Albany invaded the northern provinces with a powerful army, De la Pole was to effect a landing in the West. "I think," says Sir Robert Wingfield, to whom we are indebted for this information,* "that France shall have tow enough on " the rock, though they seek not for more work " and cost in Scotland or Italy." It might have been thought that the treason of Bourbon would have compelled Francis to contract his aims, and provide for his own safety and that of his subjects, without courting fresh adventures in a distant quarter. And nothing shows more clearly the resources and elasticity of France, and the indomitable spirit of its ruler, than that, threatened as he was by a general combination of all the Continental powers, he still fearlessly held up his head, and bade defiance to all his enemies.

With the duke of Bourbon "in his bosom," to use Wolsey's expressive words, pressed on all sides, by the Emperor in the South, by Suffolk and de Buren in the West, by the German troops under Count Felix in the East, reverses attending his arms in Italy, a victorious army advancing without opposition on his capital, and ready to thunder at its gates, Francis yet retained spirit and resolution enough to spare some thoughts for his

* Nos. 2798, 2869.

ancient ally. Before the 25th of September Albany had landed in Scotland : he had contrived, a second time, to run the gauntlet of the English fleet without attracting observation, and effected his disembarkation in Scotland at a time and place equally unknown to friends and enemies.* The Lords at once flocked to his standard ; whatever promises they had held out to Margaret, to Dacre, or to Surrey were now given to the winds. No other proof is needed of the great influence exercised by Albany. "The Lords are in such fear of the Duke, " looking every hour for him to arrive," writes Surrey to Wolsey, "that and they had laid four of the best of " their sons in hostage to forsake him, yet if he came " they would break their covenant." The evidence of that influence cannot be questioned, whatever may be thought of the motive thus assigned for it.†

Surrey had now been lying on the Borders for six months, and, with the exception of a furious assault upon Jedburgh, and the forays already mentioned, nothing of moment had yet been accomplished towards the subjugation of Scotland, or its emancipation from the influence of Albany. The Earl's forces, superior in numbers to the Scotch, were augmented by the retainers of the Dacres, the Constables, the Cliffords, and all the Border Lords. He was well provided with a fleet, artillery, large sums of money, and munitions of war. At Edinburgh Margaret was doing her best to furnish him with intelligence, and raise a party in his favor. She had impressed upon him, more than once, the uselessness of these Border wars, and the necessity of advancing and striking a blow at Edinburgh itself. She might not have been a very competent judge of military operations,

* Probably at Dumbarton, as on the last occasion. See no. 3360.

† No. 3354. See also 3361.

yet, when she told Surrey that a thousand men with artillery would place the capital at his mercy, "if they came suddenly," it is not improbable that, had Surrey followed her advice, and, instead of wasting time and men in petty raids upon the borders, had rapidly concentrated his forces for one great and effective blow, he might have done more towards humbling Albany's party than by all his attacks on isolated forts and undefended villages. What then was his reason for hanging back? Was it, as he stated to Wolsey, that he had not sufficient carriage for victuals even for a single day? Was it that his forces, when united with Dacre's, would not amount, as he said, to more than 9,000 men, good and bad, and were therefore insufficient for such an enterprise? Or did he fear that whilst he was thus engaged at a distance, "leaving the country ungarnished of men," the Scotch would take advantage of his absence, and troop over the Border like hungry wolves, carrying death and devastation before them? It may be that all these considerations contributed to prevent the Earl, though a man of undoubted courage, from attempting the daring feat of a descent upon Edinburgh, even under the most favorable circumstances. But it is also clear that he stood somewhat in awe of the obstinate courage and passionate resistance of the Scots. Even when their houses were unroofed, their strongholds thrown down, their cattle driven off, their crops burnt before arriving at maturity, they contested every inch of ground, with incredible valor, against overwhelming numbers. Famine, plague, unutterable want and waste stared them everywhere in the face; yet their indomitable spirit could neither be quenched nor subdued. *Crescit sub pondere virtus*; and these terrible Border wars, which have left the stamp of their iron hoof on the face of the country

ever since, served to bring out that pertinacity of purpose, that inflexible perseverance, that unswerving resolution in the Scot, which have taught him to fear no evil, to be cool and intrepid in the wildest storm, and patient under the most cruel suffering. "I assure your Grace," says Surrey to Wolsey, describing an attack upon Ferniehirst, "I found the Scots at this time the boldest men and the "hottest that ever I saw in any nation." It would be hard, he adds, to encounter them, if they could muster 40,000 as good men as the 1,500 or 2,000 who at that time kept himself and Dacre at bay.*

At the same time it must be remembered that Surrey had other difficulties to contend with, as is clear from his various letters, in the insubordination and mutual jealousies of the Border Lords. They were divided into various factions, the Constables, the Ellerkers, the Tempests, the Savilles and the Gowers; all of them mortal enemies to Scotland, and not less mortal enemies to each other; and all of them—to a man—ready to settle their quarrels with the sword at any moment, whenever they might chance to meet.† Their ill blood, heated and thickened by generations of animosity, was kept at boiling pitch by the bickerings, the thefts, the disorders and mutual disputes of their several dependants. Every man and boy, from page to henchman, was animated by the spirit of clanship, and with the name inherited the feuds of his chief. On high days or working days, at church or in the market, at home or on an expedition, their passions broke out,—for the merest trifle, for the most imaginary wrong,—and set men together by the ears, circle extending upon circle, like a weird eddy of autumnal leaves,—as wild, as uncertain,

* No. 3364.

† No. 3240.

and as purposeless. Any attempt to extinguish the fire was hopeless. The contagion was universal, and therefore it found no punishment:—it was native to the blood, and therefore it defied all remedy.*

Nor can it be supposed that Dacre, whose authority on the Borders had been paramount for many years before Surrey's arrival, would see himself superseded and his authority controlled, even by a nobleman, great as was the Earl, without occasional outbursts of jealousy and discontent. More than once, though willing to do justice to Dacre's spirit, activity and hardihood, Surrey has to lament that Dacre takes his own course, and endangers the common cause by his wilful and headstrong disobedience. While Dacre, who had greater experience of the Borders, had from boyhood upwards been engaged with the Scots, reasonably imagined that his opinions were better founded than those of Surrey, a comparative stranger; and he was not always prepared to sacrifice his convictions to the demands of discipline. On one occasion he went so far as to refuse to join his forces with the Earl's, except he might be allowed to take his own road—through the shortest—though the wildest part of Scotland.† On another, when engaged with the Earl upon a foray, he refused at nightfall to lodge his troops within the Earl's camp, and whilst Surrey was at supper the horses broke loose, created a panic in the camp, and 800 out of 1,500 were lost by his pertinacity. "There is no hardier or better knight," says Surrey, recounting this misadventure to Wolsey,

* When Surrey was at Newcastle, four arrant thieves who had escaped from Alnwick, and eight from Newcastle, with eleven others, were brought up for trial; but no one could be persuaded to give evidence against them, because there were few gentlemen in Northumberland who had not thieves among their retinue. No. 3240.

† No. 3349.

“but often he neglects order;”—a remark which might have been applied with equal truth to almost every gentleman and nobleman on the Borders.*

On Albany's arrival it was his first object to undo the effects of English policy in Scotland. It had been the chief aim of that policy to form an English party, with Margaret at its head. Albany found no great difficulty in detaching the Queen once more from the side she had so lately espoused. The prioress of Coldstream, her confidant, conveys the important intelligence to Sir Wm. Bulmer, that the Queen is very fickle; “therefore
“counsel the man ye know (Surrey) not to take on
“hand over much of her credence.” The Governor, she assures him, had sent her fair words, and she was become half a Frenchwoman already.† Margaret wavered between her brother and Albany; had she received encouragement she would have preferred to have thrown in her lot with the former; but, strange to say, Henry did not meet her advances. Perhaps he had grown weary of her society when she was last in England, a few years before, and did not desire to have it renewed. He disliked the expence it entailed upon him;—that, perhaps, and that only. “Under the King's high correction, and your Grace's,” writes Surrey to Wolsey, with the business habits of an Englishman, “methink
“it were as profitable, and more good should come
“thereof, to have her remain in Scotland than to come
“into England . . . And where three or four hundred
“pounds in a year should please her well being there (in
“Scotland), peradventure 1,000 marks or 2,000 should
“scarcely do so being here.”‡ With an impetuous candour, she had offered to start away into England, “in her smock, if need be;” but her liberal proposal

* No. 3364.

† No. 3404.

‡ No. 3381.

was not as eagerly accepted as it was freely made; and she had doubts, as well she might have, how she stood in Henry's favor. With the insinuating address of a Stuart, Albany had not failed to steal upon her good graces. Next to making numerous promises, by which he never failed of flattering her vanity, he took the surest way of securing a place in her affections by rendering himself acceptable to the young prince. He permitted him to ride about Stirling at his pleasure, according to the information of an unknown correspondent; presented him with two gowns of cloth of gold and cloth of silver, begging him to be blithe and merry, as he was prepared to lay down his life in his service.* His attentions were not lost upon Margaret. On Sunday, says the same cynical correspondent, the Governor came to the town with three hundred men, and tarried with the Queen a quarter of an hour, "and she made evil cheer (appeared sorrowful) after his departing; but I trust in God that she shall take no displeasure (hurt); for this Monday sin nine hours she has been singing and dancing, and the Frenchmen with her."†

Such levity appeared scandalous in a sister of the king of England, still more in one who but a short time before had signalized her animosity against the Duke by employing every effort to keep him out of Scotland. With Margaret it was the mere dictate of policy. Placed between two great contending factions, without authority or interest with either, she resolved to use both to her own advantage, and join with those whom she found most willing to advance her purposes. In a letter to her confidant, Patrick Sinclair, sent by her secretly to Surrey, she discloses the real motives of her conduct. She was resolved to know definitely the in-

* No. 3426.

† No. 3444.

tentions of both parties towards her before she determined on her course. The Governor, she says, makes her the fairest promises, and Henry's silence is ominous; still she would rather trust the King; "for the Governor," she adds, "can say one thing, and think another. But all ladies get fair words now while (until) this hosting be done; but after that I hear say that he will be right sharp, by them that know his mind; and I dread I shall have my part."*

The season was rapidly advancing; it was necessary for Albany, if he wished to redeem his credit, to bestir himself at once, and make some warlike demonstration against England. According to the information furnished by Margaret to Surrey,† the French troops attending on the Duke numbered 6,000 foot; "and I hear say (she adds) shall be put in the vanguard, because he giveth not great trust to the Scotchmen." Three thousand Almaines, whose mode of fighting was novel, and therefore terrible to raw English troops, were expected daily. The Duke's munitions of war were more formidable than had ever been seen in Scotland. He had twenty-eight cannons, and four double cannons, the largest that had yet been employed in a siege. "Also," continues Margaret, he hath great pavasys (shields?) ganging upon wheels with the artillery, to shoot and to break the hosts asunder; and of these he hath many; and every een of them hath twa sharp swords before them, that none may touch them;" besides smaller artillery and ample ammunition, and twelve ships with victuals and wine. According to the information of another correspondent, lord Ogle,‡ Albany brought with him to Dumbarton 87 ships, 100 barded horses, 500 light horse, 4,000 foot,

* No. 3444.

† No. 3368.

‡ No. 3403. Compare 3360, 3362, 3404.

500 men-at-arms, 1,000 hagbussliis (musqueteers), 900 serpentines and falcons, 16 great guns, and gunpowder to the value of 10,000 crowns weight. Proclamations were dispersed by the Duke throughout Scotland, commanding all temporal men between the ages of sixty and sixteen to meet on 20th October with thirty days' victual, at the following rendezvous; Lothian, Teviotdale, and the parts adjoining, under Arran at Lawder; Kyle, Cunningham and Carrick, at Lanark, under Lennox; the Highlandmen, under Argyle, at Glasgow; the Northern men at Stirling, under Huntley.

An army so imposing had never appeared before upon the Borders. Even Surrey, not used to fear, was full of apprehension. The Duke was expected to march towards England on the next new moon after the 8th of October. The weather had been foul, with rain and snow; the roads were scarcely passable for great ordnance, except in the direction of Berwick; but Surrey was too well acquainted with the proud and impetuous spirit of the Duke, to suppose that he would be diverted from his purpose by such feeble obstacles as these. "By many ways I am advertised," he says in a letter to Wolsey, "that the duke of Albany is a marvellous wilful man, and will believe no man's counsel, but will have his own opinion followed; and because the French king hath been at so great charges, having his wife's inheritance lying within his dominions, dare not, for no Scottish counsel, forbear to invade this realm. I am also advertised that he is so passionate, that and he be apart amongst his familiars, and doth hear anything contrarious to his mind and pleasure, his accustomed manner is to take his bonnet suddenly off his head, and to throw it in the fire, and no man dare take it out, but let it to be

“brent. My lord Dacre doth affirm, that at his last
“being in Scotland he did burn above a dozen bonnets
“after that manner. And if he be such a man, we
“shall speed the better with him.”

But though Surrey thus expressed his hopes of victory, he was not wholly satisfied with the means at his disposal for resisting the invasion. No account has been preserved of the forces under his command, but they could not be, in point of number or of discipline, equal to those of his opponent. The French reinforcements of Albany gave him no trouble; he shared that feeling of contempt with which they were regarded by most Englishmen of his time. But the 3,000 Almaines were a more formidable force, and the enterprise was proportionably dangerous.

In these perplexities, the Earl wrote to Wolsey in a tone of remonstrance, not less unusual with him than strange as it must appear to modern readers, accustomed to form an exaggerated estimate of the Cardinal's haughty demeanor, and his master's impatience of reproof. He requests Wolsey that “some noblemen and gentlemen
“of the King's house, of the south parts, may be sent
“hither, though they bring no great numbers with them.
“God knoweth,” he adds, “if the poorest gentleman of
“the King's house were here, and I at London, and
“were advertised of these news, I would not fail to kneel
“upon my knees before the King's grace, to have licence
“to come hither in post, to be at the day of battle. And
“if young noblemen and gentlemen be not desirous and
“willing to be at such journeys, and to take the pain
“and give the adventure, *and the King's highness well*
“*contented with those that will so do, and not regarding*
“*others that will be but [except they be] dancers, dicers*
“*and carders, his Grace shall not be well served when*

*“ he would be. For men without experience shall do
“ small service, and experience of war will not be had
“ without it be sought for, and the adventure given.” **

Wolsey treated the Earl's apprehensions with coldness, if not with contempt. His reply is no less indicative of his wonderful sagacity, his keen insight into Albany's character, than it is calculated to inspire the Earl with confidence, and sting him to exertion. He told Surrey that he had been needlessly alarmed by the flying reports of the Duke's numbers and ordnance; that it was impossible for him to assemble his forces in the time specified, and transport his ammunition across the moors in such rainy and tempestuous weather. He demonstrated to Surrey,—and he spoke from his own experience of similar cases in England,—that it was not possible for the Duke to collect victuals in Scotland for thirty days, within two or three months time at the least. “ Besides,” added the Cardinal, “ it is not unknown that king James, “ whom your father and you slew, was a man of great “ courage, well beloved and in great estimation amongst “ his subjects; and yet was it not little difficult for “ him to bring the Scots, the King's grace being then “ out of the realm, and the king of Scots having great “ treasure, victual, harness, ordnance and provision made “ of a long season before, in the best and most convenient “ time of the year, to condescend unto the invasion of England; wherein what fortune and success “ they had may percase be a remembrance and example “ to those which at a more unmeet time would think “ to attempt the same.” He concluded his letter by assuring the Earl that the King would send him for his comfort the Lord Marquis (Dorset), Sir Nicholas Carew,

Sir Francis Brian, Baynton and others, who had the reputation of being the King's favorites, and were the southern lords to whom Surrey had somewhat contemptuously alluded in his letter.*

With the sagacity of true genius, the Cardinal had already directed the Earl what tactics he was to adopt.† Aware of the difficulty experienced by the Scots in procuring provisions, Wolsey advised him to stand on the defensive, and not hazard a battle except at manifest advantage. He was to keep the Duke in check, and prevent him from forcing an engagement by encamping not far from the places which the Duke meant to attack. The advanced season of the year, the impossibility of obtaining supplies upon the Borders, assiduously devastated by Dacre and the Earl during the last nine months, would ruin the Duke's enterprise, and delay was more fatal to him than battle. In venturing his troops against a series of strong forts, any one of which could easily stand a siege of some weeks, Albany had nothing to gain but barren honor; whilst the Scots, ill supplied, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and by no means inclined to treat the French and foreign aids of Albany with favor, would soon grow tired of a war from which they derived neither glory nor advantage. If the Earl conducted the "war like Fabius," and amused or wearied the Scots until their provisions were exhausted, he might then pursue them in their retreat, disappointed, hungry, discontented with their officers, and a prey to the angry elements.

These suggestions require no comment. The good sense of them is admirable; the thorough mastery they display of a subject, to which the Cardinal by education and profession could have given little attention, is an

* No. 3421.

† No. 3379.

indication of genius equally at home in the most apposite and heterogeneous subjects. Though a proud and imperious man like Surrey might fret under his chains, he could not but feel that he was in the hands of a master; not one, as Shakspeare describes him,—(though he puts that speech into the mouth of a waiting-woman, judging kindly but not profoundly,)—not one that was merely “lofty and sour to them who loved him not,” but whose loftiness was endurable for the superiority of his intellect. To that superiority even a proud man like Surrey bowed, as all men did; and in Wolsey’s intercourse with the Earl, his authoritative reproof (if so it must be called) of Surrey’s impatience was mingled with a frank admission of his own and his father’s military excellence;—a bitter-sweet, which exacted from the Earl respect to the opinions of the great minister, who in temper was as lofty as himself, and far above him in all the gifts of genius.

Whilst Albany had appointed October 20, and Rosley (Roslin?) More, two miles from Edinburgh, as the rendezvous for such of the troops as were expected from the North, those of the West were to meet at Biggar. The men of Nithsdale, Galloway and the parts adjoining were to assemble at Moffat; those of Teviotdale and the March, at Lauder.* All were to be in their places by the 30th of October. At this time Surrey was at Newcastle, uncertain of the way the Duke would be likely to take; whether towards Berwick or Carlisle, where Dacre was posted. If he advanced upon Carlisle, fifteen ships-of-war had been provided, to sail to Leith, and burn Edinburgh and Haddington: such, at least, was the report assiduously circulated in the hope that Albany might

be deterred from taking the western route, and turn his attention to the East Borders, where Surrey was better prepared to meet him. The Duke, owing to the difficulties he experienced in collecting his forces, and in transporting his artillery, advanced by slow marches, unlike a man who feels confident of victory. But he had many difficulties to contend with: the roads were impassable from the incessant rains, the season was far advanced, the Scotch lords hung back, alleging the impossibility of bringing on their retainers. Neither Huntley nor Lennox were hearty in the cause.* On Thursday, 22nd October,† the Duke started from Edinburgh. He took the road leading to Lauder, leaving his enemies uncertain of his ultimate destination. It was his own wish to have marched towards Carlisle; but his better judgment was over-ruled by the Scotch lords, who advised him, in consequence of the weather, to invest Wark and Norham. Despatching lord Maxwell to the West with 5,000 men,‡ he himself turned in the direction of Berwick.

Before leaving Edinburgh the Duke had addressed the Lords in words calculated to rouse their national spirit, had it not been sufficiently roused already by the injuries they had suffered during the last nine months. After dwelling upon the cost and personal sacrifices he had encountered in order to rescue them from the power of the invader, and secure the independence of Scotland, he desired them to remember the fate of their late King, and the deaths of their fathers and nobles at Flodden. Their borders had been wasted, their people killed, their kirks and their castles demolished and burnt. And who, he exclaimed, have been the authors

* Nos. 3438, 3451.

† No. 3456.

‡ Nos. 3451, 3459.

of all these evils? Who but an earl of England and his father. Could they not, he asked, find it in their hearts to draw the sword for Scotland, and meet that man in battle who had done them this displeasure? The Scotch Lords were men of rugged mould, not used to melting; but this appeal touched the tenderest fibres. In the tumult of their conflicting emotions, and their passionate energy for revenge, Albany was for a moment transfigured into an angel of deliverance. "They kneeled
" of their knees," says an eyewitness, "and swore that
" they would do any thing that he would command
" them." *

Two days had elapsed since the Duke started from Edinburgh, and he had not yet been able to concentrate his powers. The army marched in three distinct divisions. The Westland lords drew towards Musselburgh; the French were at Lauder; the Northern lords, at Lauderdale. On the 24th, evidently with only one division of his army, Albany advanced to Melrose and Driburgh. Here several days were wasted before his musters and ammunition could arrive. Buchanan, who is stated by Pinkerton† to have been present, and whose information for this portion of his history was evidently derived from trustworthy sources, affirms that the Duke threw a wooden bridge across the river at this point, and crossed with his host into the English borders, but was compelled to recross the river, as the Scotch refused to follow him. Buchanan seems to have thought that no other means existed for crossing at Melrose; yet Dacre speaks of "Melrose Brig," over which the Duke passed,

* No. 3441.

† No. 3477.

† Hist. of Scot., ii. 228. Surrey states that many of his host came over the Tweed, but he was afraid that Albany would not enter England. No. 3477,

as a well known structure,* and omits all notice of this defection of the Scots.

Surrey by this time had advanced to Alnwick, followed by the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. The lord Marquis was posted at Berwick with six or seven thousand men; Darcy, at Bamburgh; Dacre, at Carlisle or Naworth. Keeping north of the Tweed, Albany directed his steps towards Kelso. On the 28th he was at Eccles; the next day, at Home Castle. Here five or six of his great guns were disabled by the fracture of their axle-trees. On the 1st of November he laid siege to Wark Castle.

As soon as the intentions of the Duke had become clearly known to Surrey, he concentrated his powers. Whilst Dacre marched with all his disposable forces to Ford, the Earl advanced to Holy Island.† It is not easy to ascertain the precise numbers on either side. Wark Castle consisted of a dungeon surrounded with double walls. As in most of the Border fortresses, the area between the walls was of great extent; it served as a place of security for the inhabitants of the surrounding district, and sheltered them, their cattle and their corn from those sudden and devastating incursions to which they were incessantly exposed. It was defended at this time by Sir William Lisle and 100 men. Surrey, in a fit of impatience, represents it as untenable, wishes it were drowned in the sea, for no garrison would stay in it.‡ Like similar forts on the Borders, it was strong enough to resist any sudden attack of moss troopers, but not to stand a regular siege; like others also, its defences had been neglected, and the expence of keeping them in repair was more than the fortress was worth.

* No. 3478.

† No. 3499.

‡ No. 3506.

The castle stood on the south of the Tweed. Albany planted his artillery on the north bank of the river. After battering the walls throughout Sunday and Monday, the 1st and 2nd days of November, he sent, at three o'clock of the afternoon of the 2nd, 1,000 Frenchmen* across in boats to carry the place by assault. The besiegers gained the outer court, but were kept at bay by the garrison for an hour and a half. Inch by inch these resolute defenders were forced back into the inner ward. But here numbers proved of little advantage. The French, repulsed in a vigorous sally, were compelled to recross the river with the loss of ten men. We know so little of the real state of Albany's army, or the difficulties which he had to encounter, that it is impossible to form a fair judgment of his conduct on this occasion, or divine the reasons why he failed to support the assault. His precipitate retreat, which looks dastardly at least, is still more unaccountable. According to Surrey's statement, the Duke was terrified on hearing of his advance to the support of Wark, which could not have held out many hours longer. But Surrey admits that he himself experienced the greatest difficulty in keeping his own army together. It was the foulest and coldest weather he had ever seen. Scarcity of food, long exposure to the cold, the horrors of winter, had so wearied his men, according to his own statement, that it would have been hard for him to have prevented their dispersion. If it were so with the English, well supplied and supported as they were, and close to their own borders, the difficulty must have been far greater with the Scots, who possessed none of these advantages. Surrey

* Surrey to Henry VIII. ; no. 3506. He says 2,000 ; but in a subsequent letter (no. 3512) he qualifies the statement, and says "above 1,000 Frenchmen and 500 Scots."

either overlooks these facts, or had no interest in remembering them. And so, though he writes in somewhat boastful terms that Albany had fled like a coward when he "came to present him battle," it is a question whether the Earl was not more indebted to the excessive severity of the weather for his victory, than to his own courage and skill. As a matter of course he received the King's thanks for his "great travail, labor, study, pain and diligence . . . with all effect, right actively, valiantly and with perfect courage, discretion and good conduct taken and used, by many substantial, discreet and politic ways for resistance of the said duke of Albany."* But what Wolsey thought in the innermost core of his heart may be gathered from his notes on one of the Earl's dispatches. The result was no more than he had anticipated. He had warned Surrey that the Duke would never enter England,—that the invasion had been more in show than reality,—that Albany's aim was to tire out his opponents, and seize his advantage when the English troops were disbanded. Wolsey's calculations proved correct,† and he did not easily forgive the Earl for the enormous expence to which the country had been subjected by superfluous levies. He thought that both men and money might have been spared by the exercise of more care and foresight.

But whatever might be the motive or the cause of Albany's retreat, it wore the aspect of a most ignominious flight. He had decamped from the abbey of Eccles on Tuesday at midnight. If we may believe an anecdote preserved in a letter of Surrey to Wolsey, as the Duke was mounting his horse preparatory to his departure, the gentlemen of Teviotdale remonstrated with him on his dastardly conduct. "My lord governor," they exclaimed,

* No. 3531.

† No. 3477.

“ ye have remained in our Borders a long season, so
“ that all that the earl of Surrey hath left undestroyed,
“ ye and your company have clearly wasted—(this was
“ scarcely true)—and by the said Earl our Border is for
“ ever undone; and ye promised us to give him battle,
“ whereby we might recover us . . . Wherefore we
“ beseech you to abide and give him battle as ye have
“ promised.” The Duke replied angrily, “I will give
“ him no battle, for I have no convenient company so
“ to do;” and immediately galloped off. Hearing
“ these words the said gentlemen being evil contented,
exclaimed with one voice, “ By God’s blood we will
“ never serve you more, nor never will wear your badges
“ again;” and, tearing them off their breasts, they
threw them on the ground, saying, “ Would to God we
“ were all sworn English;” and so departed from the
Duke in great anger.*

Perhaps Surrey was not far wrong in his surmise that Albany’s estimation in Scotland had sunk for ever. And yet even on that point we must reserve our judgment. It is certain that his retreat did not produce in Edinburgh the profound impression that might have been expected. Margaret, indeed, calls it an “unhonest journey,” and states that she had not seen the Duke since his return; but it is clear she had not gained but rather lost influence,† and that the Scotch lords remained as firmly attached to Albany as before. The Duke, seeing his total inability to bring matters into a better condition, resolved to turn his back upon Scotland for ever, and desired leave of the Lords to depart. They earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose; offered him the profits of all spiritual benefices in Scotland, with their goods and services to be at his disposal.

* No. 3512.

† See 3643.

Such proofs of their regard, coming from such a quarter, must be regarded as above suspicion, and tend much to qualify the unfavorable impressions of Albany's incapacity and cowardice. Except his belief that Arran, Lennox and others would not have followed him into England, but have betrayed him to his enemies, Albany volunteered no explanation of his conduct ;—at least, this is Margaret's statement ;—and yet we find on the same authority that Arran as well as Argyle, contrary to her expectations, had gone over to the Duke on his return to Edinburgh, and were among the number of those who were most anxious to detain him.*

This flight of the doughty duke of Albany furnished the contemporary English satirist with a subject for one of his most popular poems, and afforded him an opportunity of glorifying his patron, the earl of Surrey. Skelton's verses are of no value, except as expressing the sort of feeling with which Englishmen in general hailed the ignominious defeat of one who had been so long identified with the enemies of their country. When the hearts of the two nations, in their long and obstinate struggle, had been filled with inconceivable bitterness and mutual animosity, such lines as the following, repeated in every nook of every shire in England, served well enough to foment and represent their national antipathies.

“ Rejoice, England,
And understand
These tidings new,
Which be as true
As the Gospel.
This duke so fell
Of Albany,
So cowardly,
With all his host
Of the Scottish coast,

* No. 3643. And this is admitted by Surrey ; no. 3576.

For all their boast,
Fled like a beast.

* * *

Dunbar, Dundee,
Ye shall trow me.
False Scots are ye :
Your hearts sore fainted,
And sore attained.
Like cowards stark,
At the castle of Wark,
By the water of Tweed,
Ye had evil speed.
Like cankered curs,
Ye lost your spurs.
For in that fray
Ye ran away,
With hey dog, hey !
For Sir William Lysle
Within short while,
That valiant knight !
Put you to flight,
With his valiaunce.
Two thousand of France
Then he put back,
To your great lack,
And utter shame
Of your Scottish name.

Your chief chieftain,
Void of all brain,
Duke of Albany,
Then shamefully
He reculed back
To his great lack ;
When he heard tell,
That my lord Amrell †
Was coming down
To make him frown.
* * *
Like a coward knight,
He fled and durst not fight ;
He ran away by night."

In this multitudinous jingle the poem runs on ; incorporating in its doggrel all the popular prejudices against

† Surrey, lord High Admiral.

Albany and the Scots, which the statesmen of the time, though fully aware of their falsehood, never scrupled to employ in a more serious style whenever it suited their purposes. In fact, Skelton's verses are no more than the popular refrain of arguments gravely set forth in royal speeches and ministerial manifestoes, whenever Scotland or the duke of Albany formed the subject of remonstrance. Here is to be found the calumny, so industriously repeated by Dacre and Surrey, that the patriotism of the Duke was only a cloak for his own ambition. Thus, addressing Albany, Skelton says:—

“ Ye pretend
For to defend
The young Scottish king ;
But ye mean a thing,
An' ye could bring
The matter about,
To put his eyes out,*
And put him down,
And set his crown
On your own head,
When he were dead.”

Here also is that ancient English taunt of the falsehood, the pride, and the poverty of the Scotch; their unnatural alliance with France; their malicious support of an exiled pretender to the throne of England. Here, too, is the old boast that they should one day be driven from their country. For, says Skelton,—in this more of a poet than a prophet,—

“ I rede you look about,
For ye shall be driven out
Of your land in short space.
We will so follow in the chace
That ye shall have no grace
For to turn your face.”

Such wars as these could not fail of producing deep

* Alluding, probably, to the treatment of prince Arthur by his unnatural uncle.

and permanent effects. But, disastrous as they were at the time, they were not wholly without their advantage to both people. They tended to consolidate England more thoroughly, and to bring out the energies of the Scots. The Northern provinces, too frequently inclined to forget their allegiance and fly off from the Southern, were hurled back from the rocky barriers of Scotland, where every foot of land was bristling with rugged and determined foes, and compelled to make common cause with their Southern countrymen. The result would have been far otherwise had Scotland been peopled by a tamer race, or one less jealous of its independence; whilst, for this country generally, the incessant activity of the Scotch, their close alliance with France, their readiness to take advantage of every incautious or disloyal movement in England, drew Englishmen closer round their national Sovereign; in Skelton's doggrel,—

“ At all hours to be ready
With him to live and die.”

And this was an advantage which, derived by the Tudors from Scotch hostility, was lost to kings of the next generation. Nothing more was required to render the cause of any pretender to the crown desperate than to find his cause supported by the Scotch. Nothing tended more to enhance the fading popularity of an English sovereign than to see his rival accepted on the other side of the Tweed. If the claims of the exiled De la Pole had ever any chance of being realized, the moment they were supported by Albany and his people they became utterly desperate.

As to other effects, Southern men might laugh at the heroic courage of the Scots, and treat the stories told of them with incredulity. To the tame dwellers on the banks of the Thames, the ardent and romantic heroism of

Scotch and Border knights, fostered by their peculiar wars, seemed little better than bombast and extravagance. But these incessant alarms, these raids by moonlight, must have produced deep and lasting impressions on the character and imaginations of the denizens of the Northern marches. Inroads into a hostile country, not in broad day, when everything is seen in its true colours, and surprise is hardly possible, but in the dim uncertain light of the moon, when every shadow is exaggerated, every crag, bush and hollow is peopled by the imagination with deadly foes, and every footfall gives back its echo near and far, must often have blanched the lips, if only for a moment, and curdled the blood of the boldest.* The desolation of these barren moors,—the dismantled ruins, the blackened huts, the mouldering ruins of former slaughter,—the spirits of vengeance still lurking in their ancient haunts, demanding blood for blood,—the bleak and moaning sounds,—the unearthly noises,—and more, the stern conviction that an implacable enemy was waiting for his revenge, would have it at any cost, but when and at what moment no one could anticipate ; —all these must have acted as potent spells upon the minds of men. Such vague and terrible apprehensions, the more terrible because of their vagueness, no valor could wholly surmount, no resolution could

* There seems to me a peculiar beauty and aptitude in the words put by Shakespeare into the mouth of Hotspur, that perfect ideal of a Border chief :—

“By Heaven ! methinks it were an easy leap,

To pluck bright honor from the pale-faced moon.”

He is thinking of those Border raids by moonlight in which he had so often taken part. Like men of passionate sensibility he is carried into a trance, into the dreamland of bygone days and familiar thoughts, by the vividness of his imagination. He is of true hero mould ; and the whole speech, incongruous and extravagant in any other man, is exquisitely beautiful and natural in him.

entirely resist. The spirits of men might be set in an iron frame, like Dacre's; they might be as iron itself; but they must have been more than human to resist the incessant throbs of contagious sympathy occasioned by such occupations. In the fierce raid on Jedburgh, already noticed, when a panic seized the horses, Surrey tells Wolsey, "I dare not write the
" wonders that my lord Dacre and all his company do
" say they saw that night, six times, of spirits and
" fearful sights. And universally, all their company
" say plainly, the devil was that night among them six
" times." Who shall paint the effects of that strange gaunt scenery, more wild and drear by the misery and oppression of its population, haunted by reckless men and starving women, who lurked among the ruins of their smoking cabins and charred corn crops, steeped to the lips in suffering, and started up at unexpected turns like spectral forms? Out of the wretchedness and desolation caused by his own hands, the invader shaped for himself imaginary terrors, which like the centaur's robe, could never be shaken off, but clave and ate to the bone.

Whilst these wars were going on between the two countries, died Adrian VI., on the 14th of September 1523. His death, like the deaths of popes in general, was assigned to various causes. Peter Martyr has preserved in his gossiping letters the contradictory rumors of the day: some said he died of an affection in the throat, brought on by uncovering his head at a religious service; others, that he indulged too freely at an entertainment given by Cardinal Santa Croce. Ciacconi attributes his end to his indulgence in Flemish beer. As Peter Martyr was in Spain at the time, he merely re-echoes the Spanish reports; and, like Spanish reports in general, these flying rumors deserve small credit, for Adrian, a Fleming by

birth, was never popular with the Spaniards. If the Flemings hated the Spaniards, their hate was returned with additional haughtiness and contempt. Moreover, Adrian, ungrateful to those to whom he was indebted for his exaltation, had shown but small compliance with the wishes of Charles or his ministers,—a crime the more heinous in the eyes of the Spaniards, as he had formerly been the Emperor's tutor. A much more affecting and truthful account of his last illness is given in the letters sent to Wolsey by Clerk and Hannibal from Rome. His sickness had been of some duration; according to Ortis, of no less than forty days.* He was attacked in August,† says Clerk, and was confined to his room, seldom giving audience, except once or twice to the cardinal De Medici, who appears to have ingratiated himself with the Pope after the disgrace of Soderini, and to the Emperor's ambassador, the duke of Sessa, whose contemptuous and imperious treatment were sufficient, without any other cause, to have tormented a weaker man than Adrian VI. out of his life.

According to Clerk,‡ the Pope suffered from continual pains in the reins and bladder. As he could obtain no relief, and was greatly weakened, though otherwise a hale and lusty man,§ he called the Cardinals together,

* According to Ortis, whose authority is not to be disputed, Adrian was invited to an entertainment by Bernardino de Carvajal, cardinal of S. Croce. He was taken ill the same night, and could drink nothing. On returning to the Vatican, the physicians treated his complaint as a catarrh which had produced ulceration in the palate. The ulcer extended to the throat, and for some days prevented him from swallowing. Driven from the throat by the force of medicines it attacked the kidneys, and remained there, defying all remedies for thirty days until the Pope died.

† The precise date is unfortunately lost in consequence of the mutilation of the letter.

‡ No. 3331.

§ See p. 1167.

sitting up in his bed, on the 8th of September, “and
“ there declared unto them what thorough his age and
“ sore vexation of his disease, which still continued, he
“ thought he should depart to the mercy of God.” He
desired the consent of their Eminences to his proposed
distribution of certain ecclesiastical dignities; among
others, of a cardinal’s hat to his countryman, William En-
kenvoert, bishop of Tortosa, his Datary, as a reward for
his good and faithful services. Of all the ecclesiastics
by whom the Pope was surrounded, Enkenvoert alone
enjoyed his confidence. As Adrian was not easy of
access, and showed little esteem for the Roman cardinals,
treating them with an austerity to which they were
unaccustomed, it is not surprising that they attributed
this treaitment to the hostile influence of his confiden-
tial and favorite minister.*

The Cardinals expressed no small concern at the Pope’s
proposal. To divert him at once from his resolution, and
the cardinal’s hat from the unpopular Datary, they urged
upon his Holiness, that if it were essential to his hap-
piness in his dying hour to give away cardinals’ hats, he
had better confer this honor on one of his nephews; for
the Datary, they said, had in all his transactions been
uncivil, exacting, stern, and disobliging. The Pope was
too fatigued and faint to continue the discussion. He

* Mr. Bergenroth, in his last volume, has referred to rumors, circu-
lated by the Spanish ministers, far from favorable to the character of
the Datary. He is represented by them, especially in the despatches
of the duke of Sessa, as avaricious, grasping, and amorous. These
accounts must not be received with too implicit a confidence. The Pope
was in bad odour with Don Manuel; the duke of Sessa inherited the
prejudices of his predecessor, apparently for no other reason than the
resolution of Adrian not to be the tool of imperial dictation. In angry
retaliation, they did not scruple to represent the Pope and his ministers
to Charles V. in the most unfavorable colors.

swooned once or twice the night following, and never afterwards rallied.

His death was received with little demonstration of concern. Perhaps no pope had for many years been less popular. His manifest incapacity for the duties of his exalted station,—the simplicity, not to say bluntness, of his manners,—were not adequately relieved by any great qualities of genius or exhibition of administrative skill. He had no taste for painting or sculpture, and little for literature;* still less for that literature which was in itself a power, and had been a very effective instrument in the hands of his predecessor, whose defects as a man and a ruler were in a great measure concealed by his patronage of learning and the fine arts. The habits of Adrian were as simple as his tastes. At the time of his birth and his education, polite learning had not yet penetrated into Belgium.† Brought up in the old school of scholastic theology, he was indebted for the little eminence he had gained in his own country to that learning, which had ceased to command respect at Rome, and was now regarded with disdain by those who considered the professors of it

* To cardinal Sadoleti and other professors of the new learning Adrian gave great offence by the contemptuous tone in which he spoke of the Ciceronians. Reading on one occasion certain elegant Latin letters, an accomplishment on which these Italians prided themselves excessively, he remarked, *Sunt litteræ unius poetæ*,—i.e. these are the letters of a “metre-ballad monger,”—a remark more just than complimentary. On another occasion, when the Laocoon in the Belvedere was pointed out to him as the most excellent and wonderful statue in the world, he coldly observed, *Sunt idola antiquorum*. I suppose, says Negro, who retails these stories, he will take a lesson from Gregory, and grind these statues, the lasting memorials of the greatness and the glory of the Romans, into mortar for building the church of St. Peter. 17th March 1523.

† “This pope,” says Negro, “has a pleasing countenance, mixed with gravity. He appears to be sixty at most, though some say he is sixty-four. He always speaks Latin;—passably well for a foreigner (*comportabilmente*). Letter to Micheli, 1st Sept. 1522.

as little better than barbarians, utterly behind the age, and unfitted for polite and classical society. A monk, or a schoolman, trained in the uncouth habits of the previous century, was a phenomenon to these fastidious Italians; he was regarded with something of that wonder, not unalloyed with contempt, with which their forefathers might have stared at some savage animal or untutored Goth who had strayed unawares into the marble halls and ivory palaces of the Cæsars. Nor had Adrian taken any pains to render himself agreeable to the Cardinals by conciliating their prejudices. He rarely consulted them on matters of moment. He treated them not unfrequently with positive rudeness. When, after many months of expectation, he had reached Leghorn on his first journey to Rome,* and was met in great pomp by the Cardinals and Italian ambassadors, amid the shouts of the people and the firing of guns, he scarcely deigned to acknowledge their courtesies with a smile. Their munificent offerings, their presents of fruit and wine, were coldly accepted. That night he chose to sup alone, and after supper he left his chamber with so much precipitation that the Cardinals in the neighboring apartment had no notice of his departure. At Ostia his steps were equally rapid and undignified. Cardinals, noblemen, ecclesiastics and ambassadors were hurled along in the impetuous stream of a rude and vulgar mob, mounted on sorry nags and mules, packed up as occasion served, broiling and panting amidst porters, grooms, and baggage drivers, under the cloudless rays of an Italian autumnal sun.

* He was elected 9 Jan. 1522, (Clerk's letter, no. 1960, and Campeggio, 1945), and did not reach Rome until the 29th Aug. See the letter of Hannibal, who attended him; no. 2521. Wingfield says 31st, but that is a mistake. No. 2547.

His first act after the day of his coronation was not less impolitic than ungracious. He revoked all the indulgences (*indulta*) which had been granted by the Cardinals from the 24th of January, when his election was notified, to the day of his arrival in Rome. He reduced the referendaries of the Papal court at a stroke from thirty to eight, allowing these disappointed holders of place no compensation. As they had purchased their offices under the previous pope, on the understanding that they should be permanent, Adrian incurred greater odium and opposition by his financial reforms than all such reforms are worth.* A simple-minded Fleming, incapable of counteracting the intrigues of the sharp and wily Italians by whom he was surrounded,—guided by Flemish ministers of low birth, unaccustomed to business, and suspicious of being imposed upon, but unable through want of firmness or genius to avoid it,—Adrian suffered the business of the Papal court to drift into inextricable confusion. Pressed on all sides by impatient and importunate suitors, anxious to do right, fearful of committing himself, unskilled in the tortuous processes of the Roman Chancery, he could only reiterate, in the midst of his perplexities, *Cogitabimus, videbimus*, and refer the baffled petitioner to his secretary or the auditor of the treasury. These officers, minute and excessive in their diligence, but wanting in tact, genius or experience, confused themselves with an endless multiplicity of

* Negro has preserved another instance of his financial reforms. Shortly after his arrival at Rome, the Palefrenieri (guards) of the late Pope sent a deputation to Adrian. The Pope asked, what was their number under Leo X. They replied, a hundred. Crossing himself, in his astonishment at such extravagance, Adrian told them that four would be amply sufficient for himself; however, that he might not have less than the cardinals, he consented to retain twelve of them in his service.—*Ibid.*

small details. More and more entangled at every fresh step in the labyrinth, irresolute, despairing of any just or satisfactory result, they could do nothing else in their perplexity than refer the disappointed suitor back to the Pope, who received him with his usual dignified smile, and obsequious maxim, *Cogitabimus, videbimus*. "Your Holiness,"—said Balbi, the Austrian envoy, on one of these occasions,—"Fabius saved Rome by delay, and you by the same process are destroying it."

To increase Adrian's troubles, the long period which had elapsed between his election and coronation had not been favorable to habits of order and of good government. A plague devastated Rome, and carried off 28,000 of its inhabitants* within three months after his arrival. Adrian was urged to fly: with a firmness becoming the occasion and his exalted position, he determined to remain. But the reputation he might otherwise have gained by such an heroic resolution was lost either by his inactivity, or his inability to find means for staying the plague or alleviating the distress of his people. To have expected from him effectual sanitary precautions in such a distressing emergency would imply a total ignorance of the scientific resources of the 16th century, whether in Rome or in England. But, lacking these, there was always the devout heroism of a Borromeo to fall back upon, and men might believe and grow strong in the efficacy of prayers, who despaired of medical remedies, or disbelieved in the virtues of medical science. But Adrian's heroism was not of this exalted kind. It was rather passive than active; he shut himself up in the Vatican with Enkenvoert, his

* No. 2714. It appears by a letter from the duke of Sessa, 31 Oct., that the number of deaths exceeded 150 a day.

Datary, and the secretary Hezius; rarely, if ever, coming abroad; beguiling the tedious hours with reading, writing, alchemy and gardening.*

But the thought which weighed down his mind and crippled his energies, from the first hour he had accepted the pontificate to the last, was the state of the public finances. Leo X., if Hannibal may be trusted, had left a debt of little less than a million to his anxious successor.† It was the first impulse of Adrian, like that of many others in similar circumstances, to relieve his immediate necessities by borrowing money from England. "Leo X.," writes Hannibal on 8th Sept.,‡ "has left "the present Pope 700,000 ducats in debt, and his "voyage has been costly." He had already applied for a loan of 40,000 or 50,000 ducats. "I think," says Hannibal, "25,000 will content him." The application was not favorably received. The same writer complains that he had written many times of the Pope's necessities, but could obtain no answer.§ England was at that time in no condition to lend money; its treasury was exhausted by the personal extravagance of the King, by the fetes

* His Holiness, says Negro, sings mass every morning at daybreak, and takes great pleasure in gardening. For this reason he has procured information of the Belvedere, saying that he will have it so well inclosed that henceforth it shall be shut up, and not exposed to the view of the public. (14 April 1522.) Whilst at Rome the Pope's life was too much that of a recluse; admirably adapted to the cloister, unfitted for the duties of a sovereign pontiff. He rose long before daybreak to say his offices, and returned to his couch until dawn. He then celebrated mass, and continued some time in prayer. At his audiences, of which he was chary, in consequence of his natural timidity and inexperience, his first and habitual answer was, *Videbimus*. Part of the day was given up to reading and study. "The fact is," say the Venetian envoys, from whom these details are taken, "that what with masses, prayers, dejeuner, siesta, "study, reading of offices, supper, the whole day is consumed, and "very little time is left for giving audience."—*Relazioni*, &c., Alberi, 2d Series, iii. p. 112.

† No. 2559.

‡ No. 2521.

§ No. 2539.

at Guisnes and Calais, by the mission of Wolsey to settle the disputes between Francis and the Emperor, and by the necessary preparations for war with France and Scotland. Under Leo X. many of the cardinals had crippled their property by purchasing their dignities. But if it had been otherwise, Adrian was not sufficiently gracious to induce them to make sacrifices in his behalf. Baffled, soured, disappointed, pressed by an evil fatal to his popularity,—at Rome especially,—no course remained for the unhappy Pontiff, except either to curtail the expences of the State, by forbearing to take part in any measures which required money, or to impose a tax on his reluctant subjects. He attempted both, and consequently offended all.

During his pontificate, Rhodes, the most distant outwork of Christendom, was exposed to the greatest peril from the Turk. We, indeed, have lived to see Rhodes in the hands of the enemies of the Cross for many centuries, and Christendom as vigorous as ever. But at the time of which I am writing it was the firm conviction of more than half the Christian world that if Rhodes fell, Rome and the rest of Christendom must fall with it; for the barrier against the heady flood of Mahomedanism would be broken down, and there would be nothing to resist its progress. Adrian told Hannibal, the English ambassador, that he wrote the oftener and more urgently to Christian princes for peace, because of the danger of Rhodes; “for if that island were taken, the Pope could not stay in Rome, nor could any prince be in tranquillity, as Rhodes was the key of Christendom.”* He shed tears at the dangers and miseries of these heroic defenders of the Faith,—betrayed by the indifference and faithlessness of their brethren,

* No. 2771.

and isolated from the rest of the civilized world. At the reports of their courage and intrepidity, unparalleled in the annals of war, "his bowels were moved by the " strength of his emotions," to use his own words.* He could not suppress his grief whenever the siege was mentioned,—*et dum fit sermo de oppugnatione illius, erumpunt lachrymæ*,† says Hannibal, an eyewitness of his affliction. When the news was at last brought him of the surrender, he stood for a time, silent and immovable; the profoundest sighs burst from his heart during the sad recital, and he fixed his eyes upon the ground without uttering a single word.‡ To his appeals for aid Christian princes had turned a deaf ear and returned a flinty answer; not wholly from insensibility,—partly, indeed, from incredulity. Their charity, so frequently open to the same cry, had now ceased to flow. But partly also, in the attraction of more engrossing interests at home, they felt comparative indifference to the fate of Rhodes. The idea of a common Christendom itself was beginning to pale and wane before the more powerful realities of the rising nationalities of Europe. Beautiful as a theory, it had ceased to be anything better than a theory; and men cannot live and wax strong on theories, however beautiful. So the voice of the Pope was heard like the ghostly wail of a shadow over the wide waste of Christendom, not without pity, but without any permanent effect. The old era was passing away; it was not in the power of any Pope to stay or to renew it.

This sense of poverty, combined with a conviction of

* No. 2509.

† No. 2539.

‡ Negro, 17 March 1523. To me this trait alone would be sufficient to redeem him from the repulsive colors in which he has been painted by some late writers.

his helplessness, made Adrian restless, irritable and impracticable. It increased his natural irresolution; and that again exposed him to the suspicion and dislike of his former friends and his present subjects. When Charles and Henry required him, out of gratitude, to join the confederacy against France, Adrian demurred. He would give no definite answer. He alleged his poverty, he blamed the wasteful management of his predecessor. On another occasion,* when he was urged by Clerk and the imperial ambassador to declare himself in favor of his confederates, he met their appeal with his everlasting smile, and his reiterated excuse of poverty, saying that the See Apostolic received too many profits from France for him to quarrel with it. They plied him with fresh arguments, but Adrian was deaf to their entreaties. "I assure your Grace," says Clerk, forgetting his habitual caution in the irritation of the moment, "*Pontifex, velut rupes in mari sita, undique petita fluctibus, mansit immobilis.*"

These difficulties exposed him to many calumnies. He was accused of being cold, dissembling, avaricious and impracticable,—faults rather to be attributed to his position than to himself. Scrupulous of incurring fresh expences, he was slow to engage himself in measures which required money; unwilling to raise hopes he could not gratify, he would not promise what he could not perform; and to those who knew nothing of his embarrassments, his parsimony appeared like meanness. Too keenly sensitive to the sarcasms and pasquinades of a great and corrupt capital like Rome, he was once injudicious enough to visit the scoffers with resentment, and reaped in consequence the natural results of such interference,—more pitiless and pelting ridicule.

In that respect no Pope had a more bitter experience than Adrian. In his life he was compared to Tarquin, and the epigram written upon Alexander VI. was revived in his case :

“Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste :
Semper et a Sextis diruta Roma fuit.”

At his death a statue was erected to Macerata, his physician, “*tanquam patriæ liberatori*,” implying that he had taken off the Pope by poison. Even in his grave his memory was not suffered to rest. He was buried in St. Andrew’s chapel, between the tombs of Pius II. and Pius III. ; and immediately this pasquinade appeared, “*Impius inter Pios*.” Never was any city “gladder of Pope’s death than they are of this man’s,” writes Clerk to Wolsey.* It was rumored that he had amassed much treasure ; but when the doors of his private apartments, which he had built in the Borgian Tower, and of which he always carried the keys, were burst open, nothing was found except two mitres, a few cups and jewels, a piece of gold brought from India, belonging to Leo X. ; and, if his enemies may be believed, implements for the transmutation of metals. The less creditable stories circulated respecting him, too readily reported and too greedily received, may be ascribed to malice. Disappointed in their hopes, his enemies attributed the disappearance of his property to Enkenvoert, cardinal of Tortosa, and accused him of carrying it off the day before. He left no money, except 800 crowns in gold.

Whatever estimation we may be inclined to form of his character, there can be no doubt that upon the Romans he left a very unfavorable impression. After Adrian VI., no Ultramontane, however exalted his virtues

* No. 3464.

or indisputable his claims, could entertain the least hope of attaining the Papacy. Francis I. was locked up in Lyons, trembling for the fate of his kingdom. The sack of Genoa by the Imperialists had produced a deep impression upon Italy. From the severities inflicted on the besieged, the Italians might learn to infer what sort of treatment they had to expect if they ventured to incur the Emperor's resentment. As Sessa boasted, the Emperor's power at Rome was so great, he might "convert stones into dutiful sons." And yet even he, it is probable, could not have carried the election of a second Adrian.

But he had no thoughts of so doing. Long before the announcement of the death of Adrian, there cannot, I think, be any doubt that it had been arranged that Cardinal De Medici should succeed. It was part of the compact implicitly or explicitly made with him at the election of his predecessor. But this was a profound secret.

The news of the Pope's death was communicated in a letter, of the same date, addressed by Clerk and Hannibal to Wolsey. Before the breath had left the Pope's body, we learn from the same authors, that the Cardinals were discussing the chances of the new election. They told Wolsey that it was hard as yet to decide upon whom the garland would light; but if neither De Medici nor Farnese could secure the Papacy for themselves—and that was not probable,—the result might prove favorable to Wolsey. They added, as they might safely do, without fear of contradiction, "If your Grace were here present, ye should be as sure of it as ye be of York, and that *tota curia Romana, ipsis et reverendissimis Cardinalibus, una anima, ap- probantibus*; nor the cardinal of Medici, nor yet the proudest of them all, would no more look for it

“ [in that event] than they would go to Jerusalem upon their thumbs!” They warned him, however, that in consequence of the unhappy precedent afforded by Adrian, his absence would prove a formidable obstacle to his success.

The news reached Wolsey at “the More” on the 30th of September, and he immediately addressed a letter to the King, then at Woodstock, briefly announcing the fact, and stating that though he considered himself “unmeet and unable to so high and great dignity,” and he would, rather “than to be ten popes,” continue and end his life in the King’s service, doing what he could for the honor and wealth of his realm, yet “remembering what mind and opinion your Grace was of, at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it should be to the honor, benefit, and advancement of your affairs in time coming, and supposing verily that your Highness persisteth in the same mind and intent, I shall devise such instructions, commissions, and other writings, as the last time was delivered to Master Pace for that purpose; and the same I shall send to your Grace by the next post.”

The next day he sent the papers for the King’s signature, informing him at the same time that he had “devised a familiar letter in the King’s name to the Emperor, which, if it may please your Highness to take the pain for to write with your own hand, putting thereunto your secret sign and mark, being between your Grace and the said Emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular benefit and furtherance to your gracious intent and virtuous purpose in that behalf.” He professed himself wholly resigned to God’s will, and equally obliged to the King, whatever the result might be, adding that he should never have aspired to so great a

dignity, had he not thought that it would conduce to the King's honor and to the welfare of his kingdom.

Then alluding to the Emperor he recalled to the King's memory "the conference and communications" Charles had held with the King in that behalf. He hinted at the arguments employed by Charles on that occasion, and his promise of assistance, if Wolsey could be persuaded to become a candidate for the triple crown. How Charles redeemed his promises remains to seen.

The death of the Pope was known to lady Margaret, the Emperor's aunt, as early as the 25th of September.* It was communicated to the Emperor himself, in a letter, dated the 16th of the same month, by the duke of Sessa. The Emperor had expected the result; for as early as the 13th of July, or afterwards on the 2nd of October, he wrote to the Duke, stating that he had heard of the Pope's illness, and in the event of a new election Sessa was to use all his influence in favor of cardinal De Medici.† At this period the Emperor's affairs were far from prosperous; the tide of success was turning against him; his succors were behindhand, and his troops, as usual, were murmuring for want of pay. The 10,000 Almaines under count Felix, the most important contingent in the Emperor's service, refused to serve any longer unless their wages were advanced by England.‡ In this dilemma Margaret desired De Praet, the Imperial ambassador in England, to repair to Wolsey, inform him of the death of the Pope, and offer her assistance in promoting his election to the vacant

* See no. 3399.

† See Mr. Bergenroth's Catalogue for the letters under those dates; and M. Gachard's "Correspondance d'Adrien VI.," &c., pp. 192, 197, where abstracts will be found of the same letters.

‡ See nos. 3440, 3559.

throne.* If we may trust the account sent by the ambassador to Charles, Wolsey expressed his gratitude for these offers, not forbearing to touch upon the promises made by the Emperor when he was with the King at Windsor. He also requested Margaret to write without a moment's delay to the Imperial ambassadors at Rome; and, the more to engage the Emperor's aid, he stated that he had made a great point that the King should write a letter to the Emperor in his own hand.

To this communication, the Emperor, then at Pampeluna, sent no reply until 27th November. Then, after expressing his regret that the letter of his ambassadors had been so long on the road, he scrupled not to assure De Praet that the news of the Pope's death had never reached him until the 4th of November or thereabouts. He admitted that a rumor to that effect had been set afloat by the French, but such was their mendacity that the Emperor gave no credence to their reports. He charged his ambassadors to inform the King and the Cardinal that he retained a perfect recollection how he and the King, his good father and brother, had opened their minds on this subject to the Cardinal; how they had exhorted him to think of it, and promised him their best services in promoting his election; and he continued, "that you may be aware with
" what zeal and diligence we have taken up this affair in
" favor of the said lord Legate, we send you copies of
" our letters in his behalf, directed to the duke of Sessa,
" our ambassador at Rome, *written before* the receipt
" of yours, as well as of others afterwards sent to the
" Sacred College . . . You will show and read all these
" copies to the said sieurs, the King and the Cardinal."

* No. 3399; 6 Oct.

Of the truth of this statement, and of the Emperor's veracity, my readers may judge for themselves from the following circumstances. On the 28th of October the duke of Sessa wrote to the Emperor, stating that he had received letters from England, in which he was strongly urged to further Wolsey's election. The English, he said, (alluding to Clerk and Hannibal,) think his election is almost sure, "as though God would work a miracle." To comply with these importunities, he informed the Emperor that he had so far consented as to recommend Wolsey for the papal chair, satisfied that his election was impossible. In his reply to this communication, the Emperor informs Sessa that he fully approves of what has been done; that as soon as ever he heard of Adrian's death he had himself written to Sessa, desiring him to use his efforts in securing the election for Wolsey, but at the same time *he had taken the precaution to order the courier who carried the despatch to be detained at Barcelona!* His letter is dated the 14th of December, and reached Sessa long after the election.*

The Cardinals had meanwhile entered the conclave, on the 1st of October. The wooden cells appointed for their lodgings were separated by short intervals, and were dis-

* A notice of these two important letters will be found in Mr. Bergenroth's Calendar under their respective dates.

To keep up the farce, Charles had the effrontery to write to Wolsey on the 16th December, two days after this letter to Sessa, stating that he had already written to Rome in his behalf before he had received the King's letters; and he had now written again, as Wolsey would learn from De Praet. (No. 3647.) This was done to give color to his former fictions, and make it appear that he was still in ignorance of the election, although, in his letter to Sessa dated the 14th, he admits that he had been already made acquainted with the result, and that no better pope than De Medici could have been elected. See also no. 3646.

tinguished from each other by the letters of the alphabet. For those ecclesiastics who had been elevated to the cardinalate by the late Pope the decorations were of purple, for the others green. The custody of the palace was entrusted to Ferdinand Silvio, captain of the Swiss; and 200 Germans were appointed to keep the staircases. The arrangements for the guard were similar to those adopted at Adrian's election; but in this instance the inner or fourth door was kept by the grand master of Rhodes, Villiers de Lisle Adam, who had lately been expelled by the Turks. To each Cardinal* three servants were allowed, and four to those whose feebleness or ill-health required the indulgence.† There was also a sacristan, two masters of the ceremonies, two secretaries, musicians for the mass, all of whom were sworn to secrecy. After a search made, on a false rumor, for arms supposed to be hidden in the conclave, the doors were walled up, and the windows locked with four keys, each of which was confided to a different officer. The Cardinals confessed; and the next day, being the eighth of the conclave, mass was celebrated, and the sacrament administered, by cardinal Sta. Croce in the chapel of St. Nicholas. Shortly after, three French cardinals, Auch, Lorraine, and Bourbon, made their appearance, much to the discomfort of De Medici and the imperialists. Presenting themselves at the doors of the conclave in their cloaks, or, as Clerk calls them, "their short weeds" (which was thought very dissolute), with boots and "spurs," they were admitted amidst much laughter. "The cardinal of Lorraine," he continues in no complacent

* At the first meeting there were but 35; by the subsequent addition of the three French cardinals and the cardinal of Ivrea, the number was made up to 39. (Clerk; no. 3592.) When the numbers exceeded the alphabet the letters on the cells were doubled.

† See no. 3547.

mood, "was in a gown of crane-coloured velvet, and had
 " a hat with feathers, which hat he left behind him for
 " lesing. It were long to recite unto your Grace the
 " cracks of the French faction, and with how proud
 " boasting words they, upon the arrival of these Car-
 " dinals, threatened and overlooked every man, per-
 " suading assuredly to have a pope at their pleasure.
 " Assuredly, the coming of these Cardinals hath trou-
 " bled and impeached our good purposes marvellously."
 Hitherto, by sundry means, the Cardinals had contrived
 to send daily information to their friends without; now
 they were more strictly guarded.* On the 8th, their
 service was reduced, and they were restricted, according
 to the usual rules, to one kind of meat, either roasted
 or boiled.

The conclave was divided into two factions, of seniors
 and juniors. The latter, numbering about sixteen, sup-
 ported the claims of De Medici; the seniors, superior in
 numbers, were determined to oppose him, and resist the
 nomination of any one of his party, to the utmost. The
 struggle was obstinate, and there was no appearance of

* Sessa, in his letter to the Emperor, speaking of the conclave, says
 that the immuring was a mere formality, and the Cardinals easily contrived to
 communicate with the world outside. (28 October. See Mr. Bergenroth's
 Calendar.) It is possible that, as Clerk states, while De Medici's party was
 supreme, the strictness of the guard was relaxed; but, by the preponderance
 of their opponents on the arrival of the French, a closer watch was insisted
 on for a time. Even this could not have been very effectual; for Clerk,
 who, as ambassador from England, was one of those who kept watch on the
 palace, and saw all that passed, complains that the constitutions for dimi-
 nishing the diet, and for accelerating the election, were "nothing observed."
 "Princes' orators (he says, alluding to Sessa,) deputed the custody be so
 " intermixed with the Cardinals' kinsmen, prelates and nobles here of
 " Rome, that we cannot, ne dare, order them accordingly; some by pre-
 " text of sickness, and some upon one cause of favor, and some upon
 " other; so that in a manner they be virtualled there within at their
 " pleasure."—State Papers, Hen. VIII. vi. 183.

accommodation. Various means were tried, without avail, by nominating a third party, to reconcile the contending factions; and in the pertinacity of the strife, the English ambassadors entertained hopes that Wolsey, though an absentee, might carry the election, as Adrian had done before him.*

If the account given by Clerk may be trusted, when the officers of the city perceived that the Cardinals were not likely to arrange their disputes for some time, they came to the door of the conclave, "where at a hole the Romans declared unto them divers hurts and annoyances that the city daily suffered by the reason of their long delay, as well in scarcity of victuals as otherwise, through other misruled persons, which they could not order; and finally said that it was a shame for them, so many wise men as they were, that they did no better or no sooner agree; exhorting them to leave their particular affections, and to think and lean unto the commonwealth, as wise men and as good men should do." The Cardinals returned for answer that if the Romans could be contented that they "should choose one being absent," meaning Wolsey, they were almost agreed. Whereupon the Romans "made a great exclamation that in anywise they should choose some man present, *etiam si truncum aut stipitem electuri forent.*"†

In a paragraph added to their letter at a subsequent date, the English ambassadors say, "Pope Alexander was chosen in eight days, Pope Julius in six, Pope Leo in eight, Pope Adrian in fourteen, and that was thought a very long tarrying. This is now the 24th day they have been in the conclave, with such pain and disease,

* No. 3464.

† So Clerk wrote to Wolsey. Of course I do not warrant the accuracy of the story.

“ that your Grace would marvel that such men as they be
“ would suffer it. And yet by none outward appearance
“ we cannot perceive that we be now anything nearer a
“ Pope than we were the first day they entered the con-
“ clave For there is a score of the old Cardinals
“ that have sworn and conspired together to rather suffer
“ death than to consent unto Medicis. And the cardinal
“ De Medicis hath another band with him, which will
“ suffer with him all that shall be possible to the con-
“ trary.”

At last, after many unsuccessful efforts to bring matters to accommodation, the party of Medici prevailed, in consequence of the intrigues of Colonna, or his real displeasure at the infidelity of his own supporters.* Relying on his influence to secure the election, he had agreed with De Medici to nominate cardinal Jacobati, on condition that if the nomination did not prove successful Colonna should give his support to De Medici. The latter, confiding in his superior intelligence, and better aware of the real state of feeling among Colonna's supporters, agreed to these conditions. Jacobati failed; and Colonna, irritated at his defeat, fulfilled his word, and, to the consternation of all his friends in the conclave, gave his vote to his implacable enemy De Medici, who was declared duly elected on the 17th of November, the fiftieth day from the time that the Cardinals had entered the conclave.†

As soon as the news reached the ears of cardinal Wolsey he addressed a letter to Henry VIII. After

* It is fully described by Clerk in a letter to Wolsey, no. 3592.

† See Clerk, *ibid.* It is not improbable that Colonna was influenced in giving his votes to De Medici by the duke of Sessa, and the conviction that his conduct would be reported in an unfavorable light to the Emperor, who was then omnipotent in Italy. But who can unravel the intrigues of a college of Cardinals?

briefly and calmly touching upon the protracted disputes in the election, and his own prospects of success, as set forth in Clerk's letter of the 24th October, he announced that the choice had fallen on De Medici: "Of which
" good fortunate news, Sir, your Highness hath much
" cause to thank Almighty God, forasmuch as not only
" he is a perfect and faithful friend to the same, but
" that also much the rather by your means he hath
" attained to this dignity. And for my part, as I take
" God to record, I am more joyous thereof than if it
" had fortun'd upon my person, knowing his excellent
" qualities most meet for the same, and how great and
" sure a friend your Grace and the Emperor be like to
" have of him, and I so good a father."*

His anticipations were not destined to be realized. Could he have looked into the future, he would have seen Rome sacked and burnt under Clement VII. by the imperial forces; and England, under the same Pope, divided from its allegiance to the Holy See. More than this;—he would have seen his own fate and untimely fall, intimately blended with the proceedings and conduct of one from whom he had expected so much, and at whose election he had expressed such unmitigated satisfaction. It is clear that Wolsey never had the smallest chance of obtaining the Papal crown; but if such had been his lot, though he might have retarded the progress of the Reformation, he could never have prevented it. My readers will have perused the events narrated in these pages to little purpose, if they think that this new epoch

* 6th Dec. ; no. 3609. His letter of congratulation to the Pope, and his instructions on the same occasion to Clerk and others, will be found at nos. 3658, 3659. They express similar sentiments, and declare Wolsey's satisfaction at having that person for Pope, whom, above all spiritual men living, he had in his heart "been most affectionate unto."

in the world's progress depended upon the election of a Pope or an Emperor, the disappointment of an Augustinian friar at Wittemberg, or the misconduct of a Papal nuncio. When life is ebbing, and the advent of a new existence is at hand, advancing as noiselessly and yet as certain as the dawn, blandly tolerant of our small cares and griefs as it sweeps along, but not the more to be diverted from its benevolent and irresistible course, we are apt to think that its progress might have been stayed had our wisdom devised different measures, and adopted in due time other remedies than those on which we relied. So is it with the death and the new life of the world. We mistake its causes; we misread its meaning. True love, and not less wise than true, will shed a tear, and strew the dead with flowers; then turning its face to the grey and shivering dawn, bind up its loins for the new race, though different to our seeming, not less full of life, not less divine, than that which has passed irrevocably away.

Lamentation over the fall of Rhodes was not confined to Adrian VI. It had reposed so long in undisturbed security, so long had it defied the Infidel, that to imagine the Turk would ever capture Rhodes, "had become a "mock and a bye-word." When the news of its fall came at last, the Christian world refused to believe it. No sooner had its surrender been ascertained beyond dispute, than men like Adrian bowed to the stroke with sorrowful submission and silent tears. Their consciences were smitten with self-reproaches and vain regrets. In the midst of their selfish disputes the mighty had fallen,—the ancient glory of Christendom had become tarnished. Whilst the professors of the true faith seemed further from peace and unity than ever, the consolidation of the East—inscrutable fact!—reared on

a false basis, had been accomplished. So long as a handful of devoted knights, shut up in a strong and gloomy fortress, self-excluded from the turmoils and pleasures of this world, guarded the sacred banner of the Church, it was a consolation to the generous and romantic to believe that Christian heroism was not yet wholly extinct. Now this pledge of God's favor had been swept away for the sins of mankind, and the cause of Christianity seemed desperate.

Of the events of the siege, of the feelings with which it was regarded, many curious notices will be found in this volume. Our own kings Henry VII. and Henry VIII. were the protectors of the Order; and the correspondence of the latter with the successive grand masters Caretto and Lisle-Adam cannot be read without interest. In the account of the siege, and the description of Soliman, by the English knight, Nicholas Roberts, one of the few survivors of that heroic band, many curious details have been preserved, not to be found elsewhere.*

To those who had watched the current of events, and the increasing conquests of the Turks in Syria and Egypt, or whose prejudices had not blinded them to the genius and administrative abilities of Soliman, it must have been evident that the independence of the Rhodians was a question of time only. It could not be allowed that a handful of men should set the whole power of the Crescent at defiance, and, instigated partly by the religious enthusiasm of the knight errant, partly by the restless spirit of the sea rover, swoop down from their lofty and solitary eyrie on the defenceless commerce of the Mediterranean, dreaded alike by Christian

* See the abstract of this letter at p. 1272.

and by Infidel. The Rhodians were accused of making little difference between the sheep and the goats, between the followers of the Crescent and the Cross. But it must be remembered, in their justification, that this calumny originated with the Venetian and other merchants, who were trafficking their goods, and their souls at the same time, with the enemies of the Church, and dishonoring their Christian calling. This will enable us to account for the cold support which the Rhodians received in their mortal struggle from the mercantile Italian republics.*

Fabricius de Caretto, not insensible of the danger, was preparing for the worst when he died, in the summer of 1521. Two candidates were put forward to succeed him,—Philip Villiers de Lisle-Adam and Sir Thomas Docwra, prior of St. John's in England. Docwra was recommended by his wealth, his ability, his knowledge of courts, and his great experience; Lisle-Adam, for the skill with which he had managed the interests of the Order in France and Spain. He had, besides, greatly distinguished himself by a naval victory gained over the soldan of Egypt in the year 1510;—was seneschal to the previous Grand Master, and in 1514 visitor of all the priories belonging to the Order in France. As his name stood first in the list, and no dissentient voice was raised, Lisle-Adam was elected with acclamation.†

At the time of his election Lisle-Adam was at Paris, and immediately prepared to return. But misfortune attended his steps. Francis I., at that time engaged in a war with the Emperor, could lend him little assistance. On his voyage down the Rhone to Marseilles,

* During the progress of the siege, the Venetians banished two of their citizens for carrying supplies to Rhodes. See no. 2840.

† His letter to Henry VIII. announcing his election, may be seen at no. 1604.

a vessel filled with arms and ammunition was lost through the negligence of the pilot. Whilst sailing to Nice, a fire broke out in one of his four ships laden with powder. Between Corsica and Sardinia he encountered a terrible storm, in which nine of his crew were struck with lightning; and he narrowly escaped falling into the clutches of the Turkish pirate Cortagoli,* who was waiting to intercept him with a large fleet off Cape Malea.

The Grand Master was received by the Rhodians with enthusiasm, and was even congratulated by Soliman himself on his election. But his joy was of no long duration. Two days before his arrival Belgrade had been taken by the Turk.† By his success on this occasion and at Petrowar‡ shortly before, Soliman was inspired with hopes of further conquests, and he resolved to turn his arms against Rhodes. To disguise his intentions, and prevent the princes of Christendom from taking the alarm, and sending reinforcements to the Rhodians, Soliman took the precaution of intercepting all communications. A spy sent to Constantinople contrived to advertise the Grand Master of the Turk's designs by a letter conveyed in a pot of caviare. The danger was urgent; and Lisle-Adam prepared energetically to meet it.§ Convoys of sailors, protected by the Knights, were sent over to the opposite coast of Asia, to fetch wood; the corn was cut down before it was ripe; guns and spears were examined; hand-millstones provided for grinding corn;

* Of this Cortagoli see vol. II. no. 17, and 3814. He had lost two of his brothers in an encounter with the Knights, and the third was at that time a prisoner at Rhodes.

† Sept. 8; but, according to Lisle-Adam's letter to Wolsey, no. 1741, Belgrade was surrendered on the 10th.

‡ See nos. 1471, 1472, 1497.

§ See nos. 2117, 2118, and 2324-5.

and a survey taken of the ammunition, erroneously estimated as sufficient to last a twelvemonth's siege. The Turkish slaves were invited by large rewards to assist in the general preparations; absent knights were summoned to return; and an urgent letter, despatched to Henry VIII., requested that Sir Thomas Docwra and Sir Thomas Newport * might be sent to Rhodes with the money and corn they had been employed in collecting. These generous efforts of Lisle-Adam were counteracted by the intrigues of Andrew d'Amoral, a Portuguese knight, Chancellor of the Order, and next in authority to the Grand Master. The historians of the time concur in expressing their admiration of the Chancellor's eloquence, his rare scholarship, his familiar acquaintance with the writings of the elder Pliny. But his ambition was equal to his ability; and in revenge for his disappointment in failing to obtain the Grand Mastership, he is said to have maintained a treasonable correspondence with the Turk, and betrayed the plans of the Rhodians to the enemy.†

To add to the Grand Master's disquietude, the Italian knights insisted upon leave of absence. Irritated by his refusal of so unseasonable a demand they retired in a body to Candia, and were not without great difficulty persuaded to return.

* It is said that Sir Thomas Newport, whilst carrying troops and money to Rhodes, fell in with a storm, and was cast away.

† This was generally believed at the time, but the evidence of d'Amoral's guilt is not satisfactory. The popular account, however, is confirmed by a letter of Lisle-Adam to his nephew Rochepot Montmorenci, dated 13 Nov., published in *Négociations du Levant*, pref., p. 131. See also the statement in no. 2841, printed in Hakluyt, and derived from an account of the siege translated out of French by desire of Sir Thomas Docwra in 1524. Besides d'Amoral, there was a renegade Jew physician, who kept up a correspondence with the Turk by means of a Greek, a native of Chios.

On a review the forces of the island were estimated as follows:—312 knights,* not including officers belonging to the Order, 300 soldiers, 500 Cretans, besides sailors and others; between 3,000 and 4,000 townsmen capable of bearing arms; and 1,500 or 2,000 villagers fitted only to dig and carry. To these must be added, a troop of young men brought from Crete to Rhodes by Messer John Antonio de' Bonaldi, a Venetian gentleman, who happened to be trading at that time for wine in the port of Candia, and the crew of a large carrack laden with spices, commanded by Dominic Fornari, a Genoese merchant, who, in returning from Alexandria to Sicily, anchored near Rhodes, and was persuaded to share in the perils of the siege.

The most ungrateful portion of the task remained. The city, notwithstanding its proximity to the Turk, was surrounded with pleasure houses, orchards, and gardens. To supply the necessities and even the luxuries of the wealthiest and most exclusive society in Europe, a thriving Greek population had gathered round the suburbs. The olive, the vine, the pomegranate, and the fig flourished in profusion beneath the guns of the fort. Roses with their myriad blossoms,—from which the island received its name,—fruits and vegetables of

* That is, according to Vertot, of Provence, 51; Auvergne, 26; France, 62; Italy, 47; Arragon, &c., 52; England, 11; Germany, 6; Castile and Portugal, 57. Of this number 13 were appointed to guard the tower of St. Nicholas.

According to Vertot, the names of the English knights at the time of the muster were John Rawson, William Tuest (West or Weston?), Nicholas Usel (Hussey?), Giles Russell, Thomas Remberton (Pemberton), Oct. de Montselli (Mansell?), John Soty, George Einer, Nicholas Ruberti (Roberts), George Asselz (Lascelles?), Michael Roux. Some of these names are so disfigured as to defy conjecture. Besides these, there were Thomas Docwra, grand prior, who remained in England, Sir John Borough, the Turcopolier, slain, Sir William Weston, commander, Nicholas Fairfax and Thomas Newport.

all kinds, fowls, cattle and corn,—throve abundantly in the mild and delicious climate. Now every olive, vine, and fig tree within a mile of the fort had to be levelled with the ground. Amidst the lamentations of women and children, houses were razed, gardens demolished, poultry and cattle driven into the town. The Grand Master set the example by devastating with his own hand his own garden situated in front of the French bastion. Laborers and animals, crowded together within the narrow streets, ill provided with adequate lodgings, unaccustomed to the stifling atmosphere and unusual food, languished and died. A pestilence among the cattle was followed by diarrhoea and fever among the men. From the besieged the plague extended with frightful ravage to the besiegers, and proved more fatal than the sword. The Turks, consisting chiefly of hasty levies drawn from the rustic population, had no tents, but camped in the opened air. Habituated to no other occupation than that of feeding cattle, impatient of the tediousness of a protracted siege, the privations they had to endure were augmented by unclean habits, half-cooked meat, ill-baked bread, and a scanty supply of water; for the Rhodians had taken the precaution to fill the wells outside the town with flax and putrid garbage.

The main body of the Turkish fleet, preceded a few days before by a detachment of thirty galleys, hove in sight on the 24th of June. According to the account of Nicholas Roberts,* it consisted of 500 sail; according to

* No. 3026. Hannibal, who was likely to be well informed, says, "300 sail well armed." (no. 2539.) According to the account preserved in Hakluyt, the fleet consisted of the following vessels: 30 galleasses, 103 galleys, 15 *taforées* (horse boats), 20 *foists* (*i.e.* light galleys with 16 or 18 oars on each side, and two rowers to each oar), 6½ great ships, 6 or 7 galleons (*i.e.* armadas), 30 *gallères*, besides a large detachment kept at sea to prevent reinforcements from entering Rhodes.

others, of 350. The difference may be reconciled on the supposition that the witnesses took their reckoning at different periods of the siege, before and after the main body of the Turks had been reinforced. After manœuvring some time, apparently with a view of displaying their power, the fleet passed in a long line in view of the town, and harbored a few miles off at Parambolin (Lindo?). To allay the excitement and calm the minds of the inhabitants, Lisle-Adam had given orders, on the 25th (24th?) of June, for a solemn service to be celebrated in the church of St. John. Sermon done, at the close of the mass, the Grand Master solemnly commended himself, his Order, and the town to the protection of their patron saint. “And above all other words, which
“were too long to tell, he besought him meekly that it
“would please him to take the keys of that miserable
“city; the which keys he presented, and laid upon the
“altar before the image, beseeching St. John to take
“the keeping and protecting thereof and of all the
“religion.”

The same day on which the fleet was descried, a procession of the host, followed by the Order and the whole population on foot, traversed the streets of Rhodes. Scarcely had the last wailing note of the litany died away, and the last acolyte disappeared, when young and old,—men, women, and children,—knights, priests, and friars,—the sick, the impotent, and the cripple,—mounted with breathless anxiety the city walls, there to gaze upon that formidable fleet, which was now doubling the neighboring shore;—to gaze, as the contemporary accounts declare, with deathlike stillness and horrible fascination, as dying men gaze, on the fatal instruments of their own destruction.

The Turks consisted, by some accounts, of 40,000 fighting

men and 60,000 miners; or, if we may fill up the gaps in the letter of Sir Nicholas Roberts, of "100,000 fighting men, and 50,000 laborers with spades and picks, which were the occasion of the taking of Rhodes." Though strongly fortified, it was by no means qualified to resist a siege, and was easily invested. It was surrounded by a double, according to some accounts by a triple wall, strengthened by thirteen towers and five bastions, defended by a deep foss and a counterscarp; and, judging of the deadly effects of their guns during the siege, and the many batteries brought up by the Turks, the utmost skill had been displayed by the Knights in arranging their defences. Strict disciplinarians, well acquainted with the art of war, they had spared no pains in training their followers. Nothing was wanting, either on the part of their commander or of their engineers,—of whom Gabriel Martinengo, a gentleman of Brescia, was the most eminent,—to turn their limited resources to the best advantage. And though, perhaps, the more regular armor of the knight was deprived of half its advantage, by the heat of the climate and the season of the year, yet in their numerous sallies their long spears must have proved deadly and effective weapons against the yielding garments of the Turks, armed with a scimitar and narrow shield.*

To stimulate the exertions of the Knights, each nation was appointed to its respective post. At the French bastion, on the extreme left, stood the French knights, commanded by Sir John St. Aubin, with the banner of

* Morally, the effects on their followers were not less important. The Christian writers of the times speak with the greatest contempt of the turbans and silk vestments of the Turkish officers. Clearly, in their estimation, these "infidel dogs" knew nothing of chivalry, always associated in the minds of that generation with knightly armor.

fleurs de lys. Next to them were the German knights, under their eagles, led by their commander Walderic. Then came the knights of Auvergne, commanded by the chevalier Dumesnil. The most dangerous post was assigned to the Spaniards, commanded by François de Carrieres, and to the English knights under Sir Nicholas Hussey. Here the Turk made his hottest assaults, and here also the Grand Master took his station shortly after the siege commenced. To Angelo Gentili was assigned the Italian bastion; and to Berenger de Lioncel that of the Provençal knights, towards the extreme right. These were the most important. Sir John Borough, an Englishman, Turcopolier of the Order, was appointed, with four others, to reinforce the Spanish and English bastions whenever they were too hotly pressed, and was shot whilst carrying off a banner from the enemy.

Lisle-Adam combined the piety and asceticism of the monk with the valor, self-devotion and intrepidity of the knight errant. He shared the lot of the common soldier; exposed himself to the same dangers, endured the same privations. Snatching a hasty meal on the ramparts in the day time, he not unfrequently continued at his post until the third watch of the night. A block of stone, a chance log, served him for a pillow, when he sought a brief interval of repose, worn out with incessant labor or mental excitement. A cold and rigorous judgment might have condemned him for exposing his person too freely in the various sallies of the garrisons, or in the desperate assaults made by the enemy, as they breached the walls, and poured like a torrent into the town, overwhelming for an instant with their irresistible numbers the scanty ranks of its defenders. On all other occasions he was calm, cautious and self-collected; was never elated by success, never

depressed by the most formidable dangers, or the apparent hopelessness of his cause. In the alternations of good and ill fortune, in the opposite and contradictory duties of controlling the rash and urging the reluctant, of providing against disaffection from within—not uncommon in a mixed population—and daily increasing dangers from without, he lost none of that calmness, dignity and composure for which eyewitnesses tell us he was remarkable. The grace, majesty and sweetness which secured for him in more peaceable times the love and veneration of beholders, remained untarnished and undiminished in all the trying events of this most daring and desperate enterprise. What little time could be spared from the incessant duties of governor, leader and commander, was given to devotion. In his cuirass and helmet,—ready at the call of duty,—he spent a portion of the night in prayer, prostrate at the foot of the altar; or, laying aside his gauntlets, busied himself with his Psalter, devoutly repeating the Psalms of David.*

Towards the close of July, the Turk commenced the assault by erecting a battery opposite the Spanish and English bastions. But his fire was soon silenced by the guns of the Rhodians, directed by the Brescian Mar-

* Such is the general estimate of his character as given by Fontani, who knew him well, and was in close personal attendance on the Grand Master during the siege. It must be confessed, however, that pope Adrian entertained a less favorable opinion of Lisle-Adam's talents and ability. He thought him a man "of small policy and less wit," and not fitted to govern such an Order (no. 3025). But then it must be remembered that Adrian spoke in the impotence of his grief at the loss of Rhodes; and his judgment was warped—as human judgment often is—by the ill success of the Grand Master and the surrender of Rhodes, which the Pope took much to heart. He was also said to have been greatly influenced by the English knight Sir Thomas Sheffield, who voted for Lisle-Adam in the election of the mastership, to the exclusion of his own countryman, Sir Thomas Docwra (nos. 3025-6).

tinengo, who had entered the town on the 24th of the same month. The attempts of the enemy to renew their works proved equally unsuccessful. The ground, a hard impenetrable rock, dismantled of every tree, cottage and projection which could afford shelter or baffle the artillery of the besieged, exposed them to the incessant and fatal fire of the town. The Rhodians, grown familiar with danger, sallied out, and completed their discomfiture with the sword. A month had elapsed, and the invaders had made no progress. Baffled in their hopes of an easy victory, unaccustomed to the hardships and perils of a protracted siege, exposed to the continual fire and sallies of the garrison, without fuel, scantily supplied with water and provisions, the Turkish soldiers grew every day more reluctant to obey, more inclined to insubordination, when Soliman himself entered the camp.*

His appearance was the signal for fresh efforts and more formidable tactics. Anxious to wipe off the disgrace they had incurred, the Turkish generals exerted themselves to the utmost, and pushed forward their works with renewed vigor. The wretched pioneers were again forced to the trenches with the bastinado or the sword; and Lisle-Adam, unwilling to venture the loss of a single man against such fearful odds, resolved to remain on the defensive.

The Rhodians were chiefly annoyed by two batteries; one of which, mounting twelve brazen mortars, shot stone balls into the town seven palms in circumference; and the other, of forty guns, carried balls, some of nine, and others of eleven palms in circumference.† Shells filled

* August 28.

† These dimensions may seem exaggerated, but their accuracy is confirmed by the great oriental historian, Von Hammer, who took a voyage to Rhodes especially for the purpose of ascertaining these and other facts

with combustibles, bursting in the air, and scattering fire on the besieged,—“a thing very inhuman and “fearful,” and little used among Christians,—carried dismay among the unfortunate Rhodians. By degrees, however, they grew accustomed to the danger, and learned to avoid it. Precautions also were adopted—among others, the ringing of a bell—to warn the inhabitants when an explosion was expected. So out of 2,000 balls ten only proved fatal.

The vast numbers of the Turks, roughly reckoned from 150,000 to 200,000, enabled them to carry on their operations without intermission, and keep the besieged incessantly employed. They had already raised two mounds overtopping the walls by ten or twelve feet, and advanced their works to the counterscarp. The Knights performed prodigies of valor; even the Turkish slaves seemed to have been animated by the enthusiasm of their masters, and to have labored with incredible activity and pertinacity. The courage of the Rhodians was kept alive by the eloquence of the Genoese archbishop, Leonardo Calestrini, and other religious men of the town.* By

connected with the siege. According to some accounts, the Turkish artillery consisted of six cannons perriers, shooting a stone of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet; 15 pieces of iron, for stones of five or six spans; 14 great bombards, for stones of 11 spans; 12 pot guns, shooting balls of brass and copper full of wild fire, which burst in the air, and fell on the inhabitants; with many other pieces of smaller dimensions. See no. 2841.

* As has been seen on more than one occasion of this kind, the women distinguished themselves greatly by their enthusiastic courage, inspired by despair. One Greek woman whose husband had been slain, in the extremity of her grief, and in dread of the town being taken by the Turk, cut the throats of her two children, and, throwing their bodies with all that she had on a funeral pile, rushed madly into the ranks of the besiegers, and lost her life. Another, a Spaniard, who had the reputation of a saint, and had lately returned from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, traversed the streets of Rhodes, barefooted and poorly clad,

the skill of Martinengo the breaches were repaired as soon as formed. The besiegers, everywhere driven from their works, in despair of making further progress by bombardment, proceeded to countermine the walls.

They had already advanced so far in their works that on the 5th of September they had blown up a great part of the English bastion, and planted seven ensigns on the ruins. The Grand Master was engaged at the time in hearing mass at the neighboring chapel. The officiating priest had just pronounced the versicle, "*Deus, in adjutorium meum,*" when the whole town was shaken, by the explosion of the mine, as if by an earthquake. "I accept the augury," exclaimed Lisle-Adam, and rushing to the breach, now filled with the enemy, compelled them to give way. The Turks fell back over the battlements and the broken wall with precipitation. In vain their general attempted to stem the flight of the fugitives by cutting them down with his own sabre. Knights and townsmen fought in the breach without distinction. Whenever the Turks repaired their losses and renewed the fight with fresh reinforcements, they were met by showers of stones, pitch, and sulphur. Nothing could resist the impetuous onslaught of the Rhodians, whose courage was animated by despair. At last the Turks, deaf to command, fled in consternation; and their own batteries, turned against the retreating columns, produced a terrible carnage.

Yet, notwithstanding this ill success, the assault was renewed a few days after. Even the Rhodian historians

animating the townspeople to acts of bravery, affirming that it had been revealed to her from Heaven, that their present sufferings were sent to them as a scourge for their sins, but that Divine mercy would never forsake them.

cannot withhold their tribute of admiration for the indefatigable energy and undaunted bravery displayed by the Infidels on these occasions. Fifteen assaults were given on as many different days in the course of a month, and with no better success than the first; yet the besiegers were not to be disheartened, nor did they betray any symptoms of abandoning the enterprise. Their sufferings were great, their privations increased as the year advanced; reinforcements were daily expected by the Rhodians; winter was coming on. To abridge the protracted horrors of a siege scarcely less disastrous to the Turk than the Christian, Soliman resolved by one vigorous effort to make himself master of the town. On the 24th of September he brought up into the port of Rhodes a hundred galleys to support his land forces. The Spanish and English bastions were again selected as the main points of attack. An unusual excitement in the camp of the besiegers, the evening before, led the Grand Master to suspect their designs. But his scanty and daily decreasing numbers could do little towards repairing their tottering defences; and, worn out with incessant fatigue and exertion, they were scarcely able to man the walls. At day-break the Turk doubled the strength of his batteries, and, under cover of the smoke, advanced to the attack, assaulting the town in different quarters. Animated by the presence of the Sultan, who beheld the fight from a small eminence visible to the whole army, the Turks fought with more than usual vigor. Their commander was the first to mount the wall, standard in hand, when a shot from the Rhodian guns swept him headlong over the parapet. Undismayed at the spectacle, rage, pity and revenge took possession of the hearts of his followers. They exposed themselves

recklessly to danger, resolved to avenge his fate, and put their enemy to the sword. Again and again they advanced with blind ungovernable fury. If they recoiled a few moments before the steady fire of the Rhodians and the resistless lances of the knights, it was only to sweep back again, like an angry wave, with greater might, and in more overwhelming numbers. Here, at the English bastion, the press was the greatest,—the fight deadliest,—the whole thoughts and energies of besiegers and besieged nerved and contracted to the uttermost. But whilst the attention of the Grand Master and the Knights was thus fully occupied in one direction, a body of the Turks contrived to obtain possession of the Spanish bastion unobserved. Mounting the walls they shouted to their companions to join them, and were quickly reinforced. An obstinate struggle ensued, and lasted for six hours. The Turks, aware of their advantage, were determined to maintain it. Inch by inch the Rhodians were driven back, and the Turkish standard floated on the battlement. Just then a cross fire from the Rhodian guns, sweeping the breach made by the enemy, cut off the approach of the Turkish reinforcements. One of the knights, with a handful of followers, mounting the bastion by the casemate, reached the platform sword in hand. Falling on the Turks like an exploding planet, he compelled them to give way; cleared the walls, turned the fire of the guns against those who were preparing to scale, tore down the enemy's standards, and rescued the town from its most imminent danger. Women and children, the sick and the wounded, took part in this dreadful action, as vigorously pressed as it was obstinately resisted. Those who were too young or too feeble for manlier tasks supplied the defenders with bread and wine; the

stronger piled up earth and stones, to assist in repairing the breaches, or to serve in annoying the assailants. The fight had lasted six hours, when the Grand Master, cautiously withdrawing 200 fresh men from the tower of St. Nicholas, compelled the janissaries to give way, but not until they had left 15,000 of their comrades dead in the foss or on the ramparts.

Foiled at all points, Soliman resolved to abandon the siege. He had already lost several of his bravest bashaws, more than 100 standards, and 60,000 of his janissaries. He was persuaded by an Albanian renegade, who had stolen out of the town, to persevere in his efforts, as the Rhodians were reduced to great extremities, and had nothing left but bread and water. Of the knights, 300 only survived; and the rest of the garrison scarcely amounted to 3,000.*

From time to time rumors had penetrated the nearest ports of Europe of the heroic and hopeless defence of the Knights. By letters from Candia, two days since, writes Hannibal, then at Rome, to Wolsey,† “the Pope has word that the Turk hath given two cruel assaults, and they of the city doubt sore of the third. They had never so little provision within the city as they have now.” There is no news, writes another correspondent, some time after, except from Rhodes, which is being besieged, and in great extremities; the Turks press the siege, though they have lost 60,000 men.‡ But with these came other and conflicting reports;—that the Turk, despairing of success, had resolved to abandon his attempt; that he had put his bashaws to death, in a fit of rage; and his troops were on the eve of rebellion. And

* See nos. 2775, 2818.

† 12th September, no. 2539.

‡ Giberti to Wolsey; no. 2775.

even the long and animated defence of the Rhodians flattered the hopes of men at a distance, whose minds were idly stirred by tales of suffering and endurance from which they were themselves exempt.

Lisle-Adam had not failed, in this extremity, to send out messengers to procure additional supplies, and quicken the sympathy and aid of the Pope and the princes of Christendom. But Adrian, as we have seen, was in no capacity to do more than weep, and recommend their cause to the charity of others. Unhappily also it seemed as if Heaven and the elements had combined for their destruction. A convoy laden with men and provisions, which had started from Marseilles under the orders of certain French knights, encountered a storm, and never reached its destination. The succors collected by another of their number, Sir Thomas Newport, were lost by a similar casualty. The prior of St. Martin, returning with reinforcements, fell in with the Turkish galleys before he could enter the port of Rhodes, and was compelled to abandon his enterprise. Left to their fate, deprived of all assistance, the Knights resolved to sell their lives dearly, and die rather than fall into the hands of their enemies.

Taught caution by experience, the Turk abandoned his previous tactics, and confined himself to undermining the walls. His chief efforts were directed, as before, to the English and Spanish bastions. Notwithstanding the difficult nature of the ground, the ingenious defences of Martinengo, and the resistance of the Knights, the works steadily advanced. The town was fast becoming a mere wreck. If we may trust the historians of the time, it had been pierced and honeycombed by sixty different mines. The steeples of the churches had been beaten down; the wall of the English and Spanish bastion was levelled with the barbican. By the 17th of October the enemy had

turned the defences of the English quarter, and, ammunition failing, met with little resistance from the Spanish. To add to their misfortunes, Martinengo was disabled by a stray shot in the eye, and could no longer direct the defences. According to Lisle-Adam they had already made such a breach in the wall that thirty or forty horsemen could enter abreast, and had carried their trenches 150 paces within the town.* Once more, therefore, on St. Andrew's eve (29th November) the Turks advanced in great numbers to the breach, resolved to carry the town by assault; but they were again driven back, leaving 11,000 of their men dead upon the field. The loss of the Rhodians amounted to 180.

“After that day,” says Roberts, “the Turks purposed
“to give us no more battle, but to come into our town by
“trenches, insomuch that they made. . .† great trenches,
“and by the space of a month did come almost into the
“midst of our town, insomuch that there lay nightly
“within our town . . . thousand Turks. The trenches
“were covered with thick tables, and holes made in
“them for their spingardes, that we could not approach
“them. And a month after that, [though] we saw
“precisely that the town was lost, we would never give
“over, in esperance of succors. And at such time as we
“saw that there came no succors, nor no succors
“ready to come, and considering that the most part of
“our men were slain, [and that] we had no powder, nor
“no manner of ammunition or victuals, but alonely
“bread and water, we were as men desperate and deter-
“mined to die upon them in the field, rather than to be
“put upon stakes; for we thought not that he would

* Letter to his nephew Rochepot Montmorenci, “Négociations du Levant,” i. 94. See also Nicholas Roberts, below.

† The letter is, unfortunately, mutilated in this and in other places.

“ give us our lives, considering that there were slain so
“ many of his men. And in the mean season they came
“ to parlement with us, and did ask of us whether we
“ would make any partido, and said that the Great Turk
“ was content that if we would give him the walls of the
“ town he would give us our lives and our goods. The
“ commonalty of the town hearing this great proffer,
“ came to the Lord Master, and said that, consider-
“ ing that the . . . and strength of the town is taken,
“ and all the munition spent, and the most part of your
“ knights and men slain, and also seeing there is no
“ succors ready to come, we determine to accept this
“ partido that the Great Turk giveth us, for the lives
“ of our wives and children. The Lord Master, hearing
“ the opinion of the whole commonalty was to take the
“ partido, fell down almost dead; and what time he
“ recovered himself, he seeing them continue in the same
“ mind, consented to the same.” According to Lisle-
Adam’s letter, already quoted, Soliman further offered
to treat with lenity such of the inhabitants as chose
to remain; they were to continue free of all tribute for
five years, and their children exempt from serving as
janissaries, as was usual in other parts of Greece. He
adds that this liberal offer of Soliman was due to Divine
grace, “ seeing the advantage the enemy had over us,
“ the injury and expense he had incurred by the siege,
“ during which we had no aid or succor except from
“ God only.” On the Knights’ side there had fallen
700, on the Turks’ more than 80,000, by war or
sickness.

To settle the preliminaries of the treaty a deputation
was appointed to wait upon the Grand Seignior, of whom
Nicholas Roberts was one.* He found Soliman “in a

* See no. 3026.

“ red pavilion, standing between two gold lions, marvellous rich and sumptuous, sitting in a chair, and no creature with him in the pavilion ; which chair was of gold, and the work of fine gold ;—his guards standing [outside], to the number of 22 . . . ; they be called Sulakys. This number is continually about his person. He hath the number of 40,000 of them. They wear on their heads a long white cap, and at the top of the cap the white ostrich feather, which giveth great show.”

The preliminaries were interrupted by the dissatisfaction of the townspeople, who now refused what they had before desired ; and the siege recommenced. On the 17th of December an engagement took place, but negotiations were again resumed at the instance of the citizens, and terminated on the 28th of December. It was agreed that 24 knights should be given as hostages. A band of 4,000 janissaries were sent to take possession of the town, and, if we may believe the Christian historians, committed great cruelties and excesses. They broke up the tombs of the knights, destroyed the images in the churches, and turned the sick and wounded out of the hospitals.

But such barbarities must not be attributed to Soliman. In his treatment of the Grand Master there was a mixture of barbarism and dignity, of tenderness and heedlessness, such as history has taught us to expect in Oriental monarchs. On one occasion he allowed the Grand Master, who was advanced in years, to stand before his tent from daybreak, for many hours, in a dense shower of rain and hail, without offering him any refreshment. When the two met, they regarded each other for some time with silent admiration ; Soliman suffered his hand to be kissed by the Grand Master, and

urged him to enter the Turkish service. Complimenting the Sultan on his generosity, Lisle-Adam replied that a ruler ought to incur any indignity rather than abandon his people in misfortune;—a sentiment in which Soliman concurred, and dismissed the Grand Master with respect, presenting him, and each of the knights who attended him, with a scarlet robe.

On another occasion Soliman entered the city, and, visiting the Grand Master unexpectedly, found him engaged in making preparations for his departure. As the Grand Master would have fallen on his knees, Soliman forbade him; and moving slightly his fez with his right hand,—a species of reverence never paid by the Turkish Sultans except to God and their Prophet,—he addressed the Grand Master with the word “Babba” (Father),—a term of the highest regard and affection. I would rather not believe Fontani, who says that the Sultan had given secret orders to put the Grand Master and the rest of the knights on board a war galley, and carry them off to Constantinople. At the same time it must be admitted that such tokens of Eastern affection have been often reported, and can scarcely be wholly devoid of foundation. The same writer, who had seen the Turk on horseback, though he did not admire his manner of riding, admits that Soliman was not deficient in dignity. In complexion he was slightly bronzed, was erect in stature, and, notwithstanding his black and rather fierce eyes, had a pleasant and commanding countenance.

After many hardships by sea, the Knights landed in Crete. They reached Messina in the May following; thence to Rome, where Lisle-Adam was met on his arrival by the Cardinals and others, and conducted to

the Vatican amidst the universal sympathy of the spectators.*

Is there a conservation and transmission of force in the moral as well as the physical world? Whilst politicians were thus tormenting themselves and others with ingenious and barren combinations,—whilst the old props and buttresses of Christendom appeared to be fast crumbling to decay,—there was growing up a new power in an obscure and forgotten corner, which, like the Turk himself, seemed to gather life out of death, and thrive on the ruin and confusion of the times.

Among the latest and the least esteemed of the religious communities of Europe was the *Saxon Congregation* of Augustinian friars.† It had given no doctors of eminence to the schools, like other Orders,—no popes or rulers to the Church. Founded at the close of the 15th century, distinguished by its poverty, its spirit of independence and fervid religious zeal, it was regarded with suspicion even by the general body to which it nominally belonged. For two centuries the Dominican and Franciscan had ruled absolutely over the realm of thought and theological speculation. If popes were its ostensible heads, the masters of the schools commanded its real obedience. Professing a nominal submission to established rules of faith, they had habituated their own minds and those of their followers to the freest and most daring speculations.

* A letter from the Sultan to his good friends the Venetians, dated from Rhodes, 29th Dec., announcing the surrender of the Island, will be found in the *Lettere di Principi*, ii. p. 35, ed. 1575.

† Luther was born in 1483, and entered the order of Augustinian Eremite friars at the age of twenty-two, at the time when Staupitz was its Vicar General.

What doubts have since been mooted, what difficulties suggested, in morals, religion or politics, during three centuries of unfettered religious inquiry, which they, the schoolmen, have not anticipated and dissected with the calmness of scientific anatomists? The real precursors of the Reformation, which, after their labors, had become inevitable, with a subtlety, patience and "unwearied" travail of wit," never surpassed, they had pierced and drilled, by their "vermiculate questions," the solid body of the general belief, until under the guise of its defenders they had become its most dangerous enemies. Every form of difficulty or error which had ever entered the brains of others or themselves, had been so carefully stated, so laboriously refuted, that doubts which might have died of themselves, or have obtained at best a narrow and precarious existence, gained a fatal immortality and activity by their writings. For error is too subtle to yield to dialectics; and such is the perverseness of the human mind, the poison remains when the antidote is forgotten.*

* There is a profound remark by Lord Bacon on the inefficiency of the scholastic method, and its tendency to propagate error. "Were it not better (he says) for a man in a fair room to set up one great light . . . than to go about with a small watch candle into every corner?" For, he observes, "as you carry the light into one corner you darken the rest." As the candle travels in succession from question to question, the ghosts of dead errors revive in the dark, and are invested with gigantic proportions. That central light which reason could not supply, Luther claimed for faith, as the sun of reason. And here I may be allowed to remark on the close analogy in the mental pose of Luther and Bacon; with this difference,—that whilst the latter was exclusively interested with the relation of man to nature and her kingdom, Luther's sole concern was the relation of man to God and the Kingdom of Heaven. In both there was the same intense dislike to abstract speculation, however ingenious; the same distrust of the mere intellectual powers; the same hatred of Aristotle and the habits of thought engendered by the study of the Greek philosopher. That *nuditas animi*, which Bacon considered indispensable for the successful prosecution of natural knowledge, was with Luther a necessary condition for religious truth. "Knowledge," says Lord Bacon,

Long since the time had passed away when the simple Franciscan or zealous Dominican thought his mission fulfilled if he brought back into the fold the erring flock and ignorant multitudes of populous towns. His real kingdom was the battle-field of the schools, and there he claimed to rule alone by the undivided supremacy of his intellect.

It was fortunate, perhaps, for Luther's independence of thought and action that he did not enrol himself in these more eminent Orders, where his ardor, his indefatigable industry and extraordinary logical acuteness, might have found a congenial sphere and unremitting occupation. Popular writers are fond of

"is the double of that which is;" and the highest perfection of man is to reflect exactly, not his own thoughts, but the external realities of nature. So in Luther's conception, the perfect righteousness of man is the mere and passive mirror of the righteousness of God, which is revealed in those who are willing to accept it by faith. But though both of these philosophers insisted upon the worthlessness of our human powers *per se*,—though both asserted that man has nothing but what he receives, and God's goodness and grace are infinite,—they never supposed that it was indifferent how that goodness was sought; or that a wrong method of seeking it, however laborious or conscientious, could be crowned with success. Wrong methods of investigation in the natural world lead only to error and confusion. So is it in the world of grace. "*Claudus in via antevertit cursorem extra viam*," observes Lord Bacon; a truth which Luther repeats in his own particular phraseology again and again. It was this conviction, and his strong sense of the mischief occasioned by the opposite error, which lent such force and energy to his language. It was the wrong method of the popular religion, more than the barrenness, despondency and immorality engendered by it, which seemed so heinous to him, and worthy of the severest denunciations. Whether he was right or wrong,—whether by the full blaze of the truth which he saw he was in some degree blinded, not unlike Bacon, and unable to do full justice to other sides of it,—I have not to inquire. But if this account be true, he must be accorded the position of a great and original thinker. He was not, like many of his contemporaries, a denouncer of errors merely,—a Thor with a hammer of destruction of more than usual power and pretension,—as he is too often represented; but the constructive side of his teaching is not less important to man in his divine relations than the rules of inductive philosophy are to his scientific well-being.

insisting on the more obvious side of his character,—on his courage, his homeliness, his broad humor,—overlooking the influences of his scholastic training, his logical acuteness, his love of foiling his opponents with their own weapons—weapons which he had learned to wield with more ability than they. For no man was better versed than he in the writings of the schoolmen, none knew better than he their weakest points,—their most flagrant contradictions. For the few grains of precious ore that might perchance be found he had, with unslaked thirst and unbiassed assiduity, turned over and sifted the controversial dustheaps of the day. Everywhere he shows himself much better versed in that learning he is accused of impugning than his opponents who undertake to defend it. He is more at home with the Canonists than the Cardinals themselves; more familiar than the most approved teachers of his time with the subjects of their teaching. For between him and them there was this vital [difference,—of men who had painfully toiled with no higher motive than professional responsibility, or desire of fame, and the fainting wretch, sick with the love of truth, who must die or find it, indifferent to all other considerations. That truth is, that it is to be found, that it passes all price, is the spur to exertion in such men. It is the sustaining energy against their own weakness and hesitation, the opposition of the world, the serried ranks of prejudice and error, the clouds and darkness which seem to settle down at mid-day on their plainest path. That is the faith of all great pioneers for truth,—a faith afterwards enunciated by Luther in terms more precise and theological, but which was working in him, perhaps unconsciously, long before his controversy with Tetzels or his rejection of the Papal authority.

It has been thought that the success of the Reformation was mainly due to the purity of the morality it inculcated, or rather to the general corruption of all classes,—of the clergy in particular,—in the 15th century. The declamations of moralists and theologians, the invectives of satirists, even the evidence of criminal courts, on such a subject as this, whether in the 16th or the 19th century, are too partial to be decisive. Neither authentic documents, nor the literature and character of the times, nor, if national ethics are essentially connected with national art, its artistic tendencies, warrant us in believing that the era preceding the Reformation was more corrupt than that which succeeded it.* It is impossible that the clergy can have been universally immoral, and the laity have remained sound, temperate, and loyal. But if these general arguments are not sufficient, I refer my readers to a very curious document in this volume, dated the 8th of July 1519,† when a search was instituted by different commissioners, on Sunday night, in London and its suburbs, for all suspected and disorderly persons. I fear no parish in London, nor any town in the United Kingdom, of the same amount of population, would at this day pass a similar ordeal with equal credit.

But, however this may be, it is clear from the writings of Luther himself during these three years, and still more from his most celebrated work *De Captivitate Babylonica*, that he did not rest his teaching on the moral, but the theological aspect of the questions in

* Consider these names : Leonardo da Vinci, 1452–1520 ; Alb. Durer, 1471–1528 ; Raphael, 1483–1520 ; Del Sarto, 1483–1525 ; Michael Angelo, 1474–1564. In other subjects, Luther himself, 1484–1546 ; Erasmus, 1467–1536 ; Copernicus, 1473–1543 ; Picus of Mirandola, 1463–1496.

† No. 365.

dispute. To the latter, not to the former phase, was it indebted for its popularity. It might be a more than Babylonish captivity, that the Church should disfigure the doctrine of the Sacraments,—that it should determine of its own authority their nature, and the mode of their administration,—should give them here, and withhold them there, as a tyrant over God's heritage;—but the immorality consisted in the slavery, not in the consequences to which that slavery had led,—in the confusion between things divine and human, with which the Pope for his own purposes had succeeded in perplexing the consciences of men.*

The dispute with Tetzel might have been forgiven; the burning of the Pope's bulls might have been attributed to the rude and rough extravagance of the German; but Luther's attack on the cardinal doctrine of Sacrifice,—interwoven as it was, not merely with the accepted theology of the day, but with all that was lovely and attractive, in the self-abasement, loyalty and devotion of the old world,—could not be mistaken, or its purpose overlooked. The sentence had gone forth to the world that all sacrifice had been abolished in one great sacrifice, all action absorbed in one great suffering and satisfaction. It was more blessed to believe than do, to receive than to give; for the empty hands of faith were more acceptable in God's sight than the full heca-

* In this celebrated treatise, which contains the essential rudiments of the writer's doctrine, Luther reduces all sacraments strictly to one; *sc.*, faith in the Word; that is, in the promises of God, confirmed to man by the death of His Son:—other sacraments, as they are called, are no more than signs and emblems of those promises, instituted to encourage and confirm men's faith. Faith then, or belief in those promises, is that which constitutes the peculiar sacrifice, the life, the work of a Christian, in strict language. In this sense, "whatever is not of faith is sin;" *i.e.*, is common to the Gentile and unregenerate.

tombs of charity. Christendom stood aghast; its deepest emotions were roused. Not only was the veil rudely torn away from the sanctuary it had hitherto regarded with distant awe and unquestioning reverence, but that sanctuary itself and its services were now held up to the world as no better than a whited sepulchre, the court of Death, the stronghold of Antichrist.

Some time before the appearance of this celebrated treatise, Henry had determined to signalize his theological acquirements and his devotion to the Church by writing against the prevailing heresies of the times. That he had entertained this intention at an early period of Luther's career is plain from a letter of Pace to Wolsey, dated 24th June 1518, in which the writer refers to the commendations given by Wolsey to the King's book. He states, as from his Majesty, that though the King does not think it deserving of so much praise as it had received from the Cardinal and other "great learned men," yet he is glad to have "noted in your Grace's letters that "his reasons be called inevitable, considering that your "Grace was some time his adversary herein, and of "contrary opinion."* It is clear, therefore, that the King must have been employed, some time before the date of this letter, on his self-appointed task.

The authors of the history of the Augustinian Friars claim for Bernard André, the poet, the credit of engaging the King in this novel path of theological controversy. Whatever might have been Henry's intentions in the first instance, they received a fresh impulse and a more definite direction in 1520, by the appearance of Luther's treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica*. The opinions of Luther had already gained so much notoriety that Tunstal, then at

* Vol. ii. no. 4257. This is confirmed by a subsequent letter written four days after. *Ibid.* 4266.

Worms, states in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey* that the Germans were so addicted to Luther, that, rather than he should be oppressed by the Pope's authority, who had already condemned his opinions, they were resolved to spend a hundred thousand of their lives in his defence. "He hath written a book," says Tunstal, "since his condemnation, *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie*, wherein he holdeth that four of the sacraments be only *de jure positivo*, by the Pope's ordinance, so called, viz., *Confirmatio*, *Ordo*, *Extrema Unctio* and *Matri-* monium; and that *Baptismus*, *Eucharistia* and *Pœnitentia*, be *de jure divino et evangelii*. They say there is much more strange opinion in it, near to the opinions of Boheme. I pray God keep that book out of England."

In spite of Tunstal's warnings, before April 1521 the dreaded book had found its way into England. On the 21st of that month Pace writes to Wolsey: "At mine arrival to the King this morning, I found him looking upon a book of Luther's. And his Grace showed unto me that it was a new work of the said Luther's. I looked upon the title thereof, and perceived by the same that it is the same book put into print which your Grace sent unto him by me written." After some further conversation, he assured the Cardinal that "the King was very joyous to have these tidings from the Pope's Holiness at such time as he had taken upon him the defence of Christ's Church with his pen;"—and had resolved to "make an end therein the sooner."

This letter was followed by another from the King

* 19 January 1521; from a letter preserved in Masters' collections for lord Herbert's history. I am indebted for the use of this MS. to the Society of Jesus College, Oxford. See the Appendix to this Preface.

himself, on the 21st of May, to Leo. X., in which he expresses his anxiety to suppress the Lutheran heresy ; and, to testify his zeal for the Faith, he proposes to dedicate to the Pope this the first offspring of his intellect, that all men may see he is as ready to defend the Church with his pen as with his sword.

Notwithstanding this urgent speed, the King's book was not completed until the 25th of August 1521,* probably in consequence of the duke of Buckingham's trial. Then Wolsey writes to Clerk that the King's book is completed, and he sends the ambassador directions how it is to be presented to the Pope. Clerk is to deliver a copy of it, privately, to his Holiness, covered with cloth of gold, and subscribed by the King's own hand ;—" wherein the King's grace hath devised and " made two verses inserted in the said book by the " King's own hand." If, on perusal, it was approved by the Pope, the ambassador is charged to have it set forth with the papal authority, and request leave to present it publicly in full consistory, there to receive the papal sanction. With this despatch Clerk received twenty-eight copies in the month of September.† One of them, bound with cloth of gold as directed, he presented to Leo, — "the trim decking" of which his Holiness liked very well ; and, opening it, read successively five leaves of the introduction "without interruption." "And, as I suppose," adds Clerk, "he would " never 'a ceased till he had read it over." "At such " places as he liked, and that seemed to be at every " second line, he made ever some demonstration, *vel nutu* " *vel verbo* ; whereby it appeared that he had great " pleasure in reading. And when his Holiness had read " a great season I assure your Grace he gave the book a

* No. 1510.

† No. 1574.

“ great commendation, and said there was therein much
 “ wit and clerkly conveyance; and how that there were
 “ many great clerks that had written in the matter, but
 “ this book should seem to pass all theirs. His Holiness
 “ said that he would not ‘a thought that such a book
 “ should have come from the King’s grace, who hath
 “ been occupied necessarily in other feats, seeing that
 “ other men which hath occupied themselves in study all
 “ their lives cannot bring forth the like.” Then, taking
 the book from the Pope’s hand, Clerk drew his attention
 to the verses written by the King in honor of his
 Holiness; “ and because the King’s grace had written the
 “ said verses with a very small pen, and because I knew
 “ the Pope to be of a very dull sight, I would have read
 “ unto his Holiness the said verses; and his Holiness,
 “ *quadam aviditate legendi*, took the book from me, and
 “ read the said verses three times very promptly, to my
 “ great marvel, and commended them singularly.”*

* The *Assertio* was printed at London by Richard Pynson, 12 July 1521. It passed through numerous editions, of which an account is given by Sir Henry Ellis, 3rd series of Orig. Letters, i. p. 256.

The famous verses are as follows :—

Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
 Hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitiae.

Possibly these verses were not the King’s own composition; for Burnet has published a letter from Wolsey to the King, professing to be taken from the State Paper Office,—the original of which has since disappeared,—in which the Cardinal says, that he has sent Mr. Tate (Tuke?) to the King “ with the book bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to send to
 “ the Pope’s Holiness, with a memorial of such other as be also to be sent
 “ by him with his authentic bulls to all other princes and universities.
 “ And albeit, Sir, this book is right honorable, pleasant and fair, yet I
 “ assure your Grace that which Hall hath written (which within four
 “ days will be parfited) is far more excellent and princely, and shall long
 “ continue for your perpetual memory, whereof your Grace shall be
 “ more plenarily informed by the said Mr. Tate. *I do send also unto
 “ your Highness the choice of certain verses to be written in the
 “ book to be sent to the Pope of your own hand,* with the subscrip-

On his telling the Pope that he had received a number of other copies "no worse manner covered and clasped" than that which his Holiness held in his hand, Leo desired to have five or six more, "to the intent he might deliver them to sundry cardinals learned." What opinions might have been expressed by other members of the Sacred College we have no means of ascertaining; but Campeggio in his letter to Wolsey is unable to restrain the transports into which he was thrown by a perusal of the King's "aureus libellus." Nothing, he assured Wolsey, could be better expressed or better argued;—the King was inspired more by an angelic than a human spirit.* Thus fortified, Clerk prepared for his great *coup* in the consistory held on the 2nd of October for this special purpose.

Either from apprehension of carrying the farce too far, — for no Pope ever possessed more worldly sagacity, — or dreading some disturbance if too much notoriety was given to this affair, — Leo declined Clerk's urgent request for a public consistory. If, said he, a public consistory were summoned, besides the clergy, a great crowd of laymen would be present; and whereas Lutheranism has been silenced for a time, and the minds of men are quieted, "this act should put them in fresh remembrance, and renew the old sore."† It was urged by Clerk, that if any such there were, they would be brought to reason "by the gravity of this act," and the conclusive arguments contained in the King's book. But the Pope remained inflexible. He was, in fact, bent

"tion of your name, to remain in *archivis Ecclesie ad perpetuam et immortalem vestre majestatis gloriam, laudem et memoriam.*"
Burnet, III. Records, No. 3.

* No. 1592.

† Luther had not yet emerged from his Patmos.

upon getting through this business with as little notoriety as he conveniently could, without giving offence to any. Therefore, on the Wednesday when Clerk, according to appointment, attended at the palace, after hearing mass "his Holiness went into the place where consistories were accustomed to be kept; and within a little while called in such prelates as were tarrying without to the number of twenty. And immediately after," continues Clerk, "the master of the ceremonies came unto me, and informed me somewhat of the ceremonies; and amongst other that I should kneel upon my knees all the time of mine oration. Whereat I was somewhat abashed, for methought I should not have my heart nor my spirits so much at my liberty. I feared greatly lest they should not serve me so well kneeling as they would standing. Howbeit, there was no remedy; and needs I must do as the master of the ceremonies did tell me. And so following him, I entered the place of th . . . , where the Pope's Holiness sate in his majesty upon a [dais], three steps from the ground, underneath a cloth of [estate]. Afore him, in a large quadrant, upon stools, sate the bishops in their consistorial habits, to the number of twenty." He was then presented by the master of the ceremonies, and after three obeisances the Pope allowed Clerk to kiss his foot; but as he attempted to rise, "his Holiness," he says, "took me by the shoulders, and caused me to kiss first the one cheek, and then the other." Then, returning to the stool which had been placed for him, Clerk pronounced his oration on his knees.* The Pope made a complimentary reply. He thanked God for raising up such a

* The substance of his oration will be found in no. 1656.

Defender of the Faith, and inspiring him with the power and the wish to grapple with such an abominable monster as Luther. On calling two or three days afterwards, his Holiness condescended "to use very good words" touching Clerk's oration, and took occasion at the same time to assure him that the Holy See would do as much for the confirmation of the King's book, "as ever was done for the works of St. Augustine or St. Jerome."

The day after Clerk's appearance in the consistory, the title of *Fidei Defensor* was conferred by the Pope on Henry VIII.*

The news reached England at the end of October. On the 4th of November, Pace, then at court, wrote to Wolsey, stating that the King had received his extracts from Clerk's letters, and was rejoiced to hear "of the Pope's singular contentation of his book against Luther, and how honorably and lovingly it was accepted by his Holiness." He repeated the same information on the 17th of the same month, adding, that "whereas the King perceived the great honor, laud and commendation he had attained by the writing of his book against the detestable heresies of Martin Luther, and that it had pleased the Pope's holiness, in memory of that Catholic work, to give unto him the high and most excellent title of *Defensor of the Faith*, to the perpetual renown and glory of him and all his successors, his Highness saith that though God hath sent unto him a little learning, whereby he hath attempted to write against the erroneous opinions and heresies of the said Luther, yet he never intended so to do afore he was by your Grace moved and led thereunto. Wherefore his High-

* No. 1659.

“ness saith that your Grace must of good congruity be
“partner of all the honor and glory he hath obtained
“by that act.”*

Owing to the rank of its author, and the imposing ceremony with which it was ushered into the world, the King's book passed rapidly through various editions. It was translated into German and published at Leipsic in 1523; into English a few years later. “It was multiplied into many thousands,” says Cochlæus, “by various printers; and filled the whole Christian world with joy and admiration.”†

Luther had scarcely returned from his Patmos in the castle of the Wartberg, when his attention was called to the King's book. He suspected its real author was Edward Lee, the enemy of Erasmus, afterwards archbishop of York, who had drawn down upon himself the animosity of the Germans, both Protestant and Catholic.

To the man who has grappled with Apollyon in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, any Goliath of Vanity Fair, however gigantic, must appear no better than an empty wind-bag. In the flush of his might he is sometimes liable to forget the weakness and ignorance of his fellow men. So was it with Luther. The spirit of victory was strong upon him. In his reply, dated from Wittenburg, 15th July 1522, he shows the King no mercy. “The King's book,” he says, “has been put forth to his everlasting disgrace.” “He was a fool for allowing his name to be abused by a parcel of empty-headed sophists, and for stuffing his book with lies and virulence, reminding the world of nothing more than of Lee or his shadow, and of such fat swine as are

* No. 1772.

† Acta Martini Lutheri, p. 48.

“mewed in the sty of St. Thomas. The Pharoah of England, like the tyrant of old, is not without his false prophets, Jannes and Jambres.” Then, by way of apology for this indecorous severity, he continues: “If the King had been guilty of error such as is common to men, he might have been treated with indulgence. Now that—damnable rottenness and worm as he is—he knowingly and wilfully sets himself to compose lies against the Majesty of my King in Heaven, it is only right that I, in the cause of my King, should bespatter his English majesty with his own mud and his own filth, and tread under my feet that crowned head (*coronam*) which thus blasphemes against Christ.

“And since it is notorious that these Thomists are a dull and heavy-headed race of sophists, than whom in the whole range of human nature there is nothing more stupid and blockish,—and as our good Henry wishes, in this book of his, to be reckoned a first-rate Thomist, whilst he dreams and snores, among other matters, *de characteret et vi sacramentali in aquis*,—absurdities which even his brother sophists in their universities have abandoned as untenable,—I have thought it right to snub and to pinch him with sharp words, and rouse him, if possible, out of his lethargy. . . . His book is a favorite with our sophistical neighbors, for no other reason than that it is so intensely Thomistic;—and asses love nettles.”*

* That is, Luther ridicules the idea of there being any sacramental efficacy in the water of baptism, or the material elements of the mass. That efficacy exists only in the promise of God, which, by His own ordinance, accompanies these outward and visible signs, wherever they are received in faith. This is that consubstantiation which Luther recognized in both sacraments. It will be gathered from these remarks that the

My reader may easily guess, from this specimen of the prelude, the style and temper of Luther's reply. The King's book contained nothing, it must be confessed, that could enlighten the consciences of men, or shake the convictions of those who had already adopted the Lutheran doctrines. It reproduced, without novelty or energy, the old common-places of authority, tradition and general consent. The cardinal principles of Luther's teaching the King did not understand, and did not therefore attempt to confute. Contented to point out the mere straws on the surface of the current,—the apparent inconsistencies of Luther, his immoderate language, his disparagement of authority,—the royal controversialist never travels beyond the familiar round; and reproduces, without force, originality or feeling, the weary topics he had picked up, without much thought or research, from the theological manuals of the day. Even his invective is as mean and as feeble as his logic. Even when discussing the Papal supremacy he puts on the blinkers with his harness, and is as docile and as orthodox as if he had never opposed the publication of a papal bull, or refused admission to a papal nuncio.

Such being the case, we may wonder at Luther's needless violence and acrimony; of which he himself seems to have been ashamed, and attempted afterwards to excuse in a letter to the King, on the ground that he was instigated to write in this bitter fashion by certain persons who were not favorable to his Majesty. Who they were he nowhere states, nor have I been able to discover. He adds, that he hears the King is beginning

reformer did not, like the schoolmen, consider the priest as of the essence of either sacrament. It is not easy to escape the conclusion that, according to this doctrine, any and all water is baptism, any bread and wine spiritual as well as material aliment, to the faithful.

to favor the professors of the Gospel, and has grown weary of his former councillors.

But in his apology, whilst magnifying the King's clemency, he fell into the mistake, on some false information, of affecting to disbelieve the authorship of the King's book. He attributes it to some cunning sophists, who had abused the King's confidence, without being aware of the danger they were incurring from the King's indignation when the facts should be discovered,—“ especially that monster the cardinal of York (Wolsey), “ the public detestation of God and man, the plague of “ your Majesty's kingdom !”

This letter, written in September 1525, is curious, as Luther had received some intimation, probably from Christiern II., that Wolsey had fallen under the King's displeasure;—but his invective against the Cardinal was premature. It is not surprising that Henry rejected his advances with scornful coldness, and bluntly contradicted every one of his insinuations.

The violence and bitterness of Luther called forth replies conceived in the same offensive tone and temper;—among others, from Sir Thomas More, under the pseudonym of William Rosse,* no less foul and scurrilous.

* *Guilielmus Rosseus*. I fear More's ownership of this work cannot be denied. The letter prefixed to it is so full of More's lively wit and sparkling dramatic humor,—the Latin is so far above the heavy controversial style of the times, of Fisher's, for instance,—that no one but More can lay reasonable claim to its paternity.

The book was published in London, 4^{to}, 1523, and is always included in More's collected Latin works. In the letter of his supposed correspondent from London it is stated, that when Luther's answer was first brought to the King he merely smiled at the abuse contained in it; and being asked his opinion remarked, that the author of such petulant and virulent invective was only fit to act the fool at a Lord Mayor's banquet. The King further remarked, that he should not think of answering Luther's invective, or advise any one else to answer it, but his querists were at liberty to do as they pleased. We must, I think, accept this anecdote on no less an authority than More's, who was generally at this time about the King.

I should be glad to believe that More was not the author of this work. That a nature so pure and gentle, so adverse to coarse abuse, and hitherto not unfavorable to the cause of religious reform, should soil its better self with vulgar and offensive raillery, destitute of all wit and humor, shocks and pains, like the misconduct of a dear friend. For round no man in this great reign do our sympathies gather so strongly as round More; in no man is humanity with its various modes,—its sun and shadow, its gentleness and kindliness, its sorrows and misgivings,—so attractively presented as in More. But this was precisely the danger, the fatal danger, to which men of More's temperament were exposed by Luther's heedless and unnecessary violence. They turned away in disgust from doctrines defended in such a style, in a temper so impatient and so arrogant. The cause of truth was imperilled, when taunts and ridicule, and all the ignobler shapes of controversy, took possession of the field. To Luther it mattered not. In this outspoken unreserve, this lava-like passion, pouring out the whole torrent of his feelings without stint or measure, his bluff German temperament found health and relief as in a violent kind of exercise. To others the injury was irreparable.

Far as this summary has extended, I have not been able to notice the various illustrations which these volumes afford of the personal history of the King, his court and his ministers, and of the general condition and social manners of the times. There is, however, one point connected with the early life of no less a personage than Ann Boleyn, to which I must draw my readers' attention. Scanty as is the information we possess of her earlier

history, there are some authentic notices of her in these papers which will go far towards removing the misstatements circulated about her and her relations with the King. The earliest notices we have of her career are to be found in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. They have been followed, with little examination, and some additions, by all historians since. Cavendish states that "Mistress Ann Boleyn, being very young, was sent into the realm of France,* and there made one of the French

* This has been moulded by writers since Cavendish into the current story that Ann Boleyn went into France in the train of Mary queen of Lewis XII., and that the French queen spoken of in the text was Mary, not Claude. I have already remarked upon the improbability of this account in the preface to my first volume, and should not have referred to it again, but for the strange conclusions which some critics seem to have drawn from my note,—as if I had intended to deny Ann Boleyn's residence in France. My own opinion is, that she went into France with her father Sir Thomas, when the latter was sent ambassador to that kingdom in 1519, and that she remained there until 1522. Those who adopt the popular statement will have to account for the improbability that a child not more than seven years of age should have been sent in the train of queen Mary in preference to her elder sister ;—that she would have been called "Miss Boleyn," when not only in the document referred to, but in others, younger sisters are distinguished by their Christian names ;—that she would have been allowed to remain in France when the rest of Mary's train was sent home, and even have continued there when the relations of the two kingdoms were by no means amicable. I say nothing of the extreme improbability that an old courtier of the stamp of Sir Thomas should have allowed his daughter to remain at the French court at a time when such a residence would have been regarded as anything but patriotic.

Not contented with this perversion of the earlier facts of her life, some writers go on to state that when queen Claude died in 1524, Ann Boleyn, not yet weary of France, went to live with Margaret duchess of Alençon, from whom she imbibed her Protestant inclinations. They forget that Francis I. was made prisoner at the battle at Pavia in February 1525, was carried off into Spain, and was there visited by his sister Margaret, who is not likely to have encumbered herself with a young English girl.

“ queen’s women, continuing there until the French queen
“ died. And then was she sent for home again; and
“ being again with her father, he made such means, that
“ she was admitted to be one of queen Katharine’s maids,
“ among whom, for her excellent gesture and behavior,
“ she did excel all others, insomuch as the King began
“ to kindle the brand of amours.” He then goes on to
say that lord Percy, who at that time attended upon
Wolsey, used to resort to the Queen’s chamber, and then
fell in love with Ann Boleyn, and they were at length
“ insured together,” intending to marry. But when the
affair came to the knowledge of the King, his Majesty
consulted with cardinal Wolsey how this “precontract
“ between them ” might be broken off. The Cardinal,
finding he could not induce the lord Percy to give
up his intentions, sent for his father the earl of North-
umberland; and after long debating, it was resolved
that the lord Percy should marry one of the earl
of Shrewsbury’s daughters, as he afterwards did, and
break his contract with Ann Boleyn, who was so
greatly offended with the Cardinal that she never for-
gave him.

This is the bald outline of a story told with wonderful
circumstantial minuteness and dramatic effect by Caven-
dish, and since repeated by others without the least sus-
picion of its accuracy.

Queen Claude died in July 1524. Allowing some little
time to have elapsed between Ann Boleyn’s supposed
return and her admission to be one of Katharine’s
maids, the story of lord Percy and Henry’s affection
for her must fall, according to Cavendish’s account, in
1525 or 1526. Now, in the documents printed in this
volume, it will be seen that in the commencement of

1522,* Francis I. complained, as a proof of the hostile intentions of England, that the English scholars at Paris had returned home, and with them the daughter of Mr. Boleyn. That this was not Mary Boleyn is certain, for she had been already married to Mr. Carew on the 4th of February 1520, when the King made an offering of 6s. 8d. at the wedding.†

In the March of 1522 I find Mistress Ann Boleyn mentioned with other ladies as having charge of certain garments and dresses which had been used at a royal revel on the 4th of March in the same year; in other words, officially attached to the royal wardrobe.‡ That she left her post and returned to France a second time, during the progress of the war, or followed the fortunes of Margaret on the death of queen Claude, no one has ever supposed, and is too improbable to be surmised. So much for this portion of Cavendish's statement.

With regard to her supposed "pre-contract" with lord Percy, we have the following curious facts. Shortly after Mary Boleyn's marriage the King was anxious to ascertain whether Sir Piers Butler, then earl of Ormond, would consent to a match between his son and Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter (that is, Ann, then living in France); and he wrote to Surrey, at that time lieutenant

* No. 1994.

† See the King's Book of Payments, in this vol., p. 1539. It is upon these entries that the facts mentioned in the text depend, without which they could not so easily have been substantiated. Here, then, is a striking example of the importance of the rule laid down by the Master of the Rolls,—viz., that of cataloguing *all* documents without selection, however minute and formal,—so offensive to the magnificent imaginations of some critics and historians. Mary Boleyn, as Mrs. Carey or Carew, then newly married, attended on queen Katharine at *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*.

‡ Even Du Tillet reports that Ann Boleyn returned home in 1522. Recueil, p. 270. See also Herbert, p. 46, in the "Complete History."

of Ireland, to propose it.* Although the project was for a long time under discussion, it failed to take effect. For I find in a letter from Wolsey to the King, written from Calais in November 1521, that the Cardinal intended on his return to devise (talk) with the King on this subject.† Ann returned to England in the spring of 1522, and nothing more is heard of these proposals. Her acquaintance with lord Percy cannot have commenced, as Cavendish supposes, in 1525; for long before 1524 Percy was engaged to the lord Steward's (Shrewsbury's) daughter; and their marriage was arranged, if not actually consummated, in September 1523.‡ If it be thought that the pre-contract to which Cavendish alludes might have taken place in the interval between Ann Boleyn's return to England in 1522 and Percy's engagement with the Earl's daughter in 1523, even then Cavendish's story is substantially incorrect. For it must be remembered that Percy was employed in 1523 as warden of the East and Middle Marches,§ and was apparently away in the North. So the main framework of Cavendish's circumstantial anecdotes relating to Ann Boleyn and her early history falls to the ground, and with it the inferences drawn from it, and generally accepted by modern historians.

* See nos. 1004, 1011, 1762.

† The editors of the "State Papers," following the popular accounts, refer these negotiations to Mary Boleyn, who, as I have stated, was already married in 1520. Led, unfortunately, by their authority, these references are placed in the Index to my volume under Mary, and not under Ann Boleyn. I take this opportunity to correct the error.

‡ See nos. 3321, 3322, 3334.

§ See 2536 and 2645 (apparently). When Percy became afterwards earl of Northumberland, he denied, in the most solemn manner, that there was ever any contract between himself and Ann Boleyn. Singer's Cavendish, p. 465.

Partly by adopting a smaller type and double columns in the descriptions of the Patent and French Rolls, the Signed Bills and Privy Seals, I have endeavored to economize the space of these volumes. I have also thrown into smaller type all lists, accounts of property and the like, though I am fully aware of the valuable information which such papers often furnish for the social and domestic history of this country.

The much greater amount of matter contained in these volumes than those which have preceded them, will, I trust, be accepted as some excuse for the length to which this introductory summary has led.

In the chronological arrangement of the documents the most difficult portion of an editor's task consists. The accuracy of that arrangement, which is of paramount importance to students of history, must depend on the general harmony and consistency of one part of the correspondence with the other. To show the special reasons on which the several dates are assigned to undated letters, the editor has no other choice except either to interrupt the course of his work by inserting notes, and stating the grounds on which he has adopted one date in preference to another, or to discuss the whole matter connectedly in the Preface. The latter method has been adopted, and I think with good reason; for an editor is thus compelled to reconsider the whole work when all the materials of it are before him, and give it the benefit of a careful revision. I think that the opinions of a man who has by the nature of his work been compelled to study the original documents with impartiality and extreme minuteness will be considered as of some value by candid judges. Let me add, in my own defence, that though these Introductions may increase the bulk

of the volumes, they entail no expense on the nation beyond the printing and the paper. They are written at leisure hours, without additional remuneration.

I have to return my usual thanks to Mr. Gairdner and Mr. Martin, for the important services they have rendered me in the preparation of these volumes.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

(A.)

EXPENSES at the ELECTION of the EMPEROR.—(Mone, 1836, p. 407.)

For the entertainment of the electors at the diet	-	60,659 g. fl.
For the bishop of Cologne, &c.	- - -	29,000
Presents for the cardinal of Mayence	- - -	87,900
„ marquis Joachim	- - -	135,500
Merchants' losses	- - -	9,000
Presents for the archbishop of Cologne	- - -	41,000
„ archbishop of Treves' people	- - -	30,000
„ duke of Saxony	- - -	60,000
„ Bohemia and Poland	- - -	10,000
Additional	- - -	102,065
		565,124

(B.)

NOTE as to PENSIONS.

Dorset to Wolsey, 1 Sept. [1525].

“Please it your Grace, that where at my last being with you at More, I moved your Grace, among other my suits, to be one of the pensioners of France, as I was before; for if I should be omitted, and another put in my stead, it should not a little grieve me, considering that as well such as be my kinsmen in France, as my friends here in England, then knew me as one of the same pensioners, and what they shall think in the same I do wholly remit it unto your Grace. I have been at all times ready, and in all parties (parts), to serve the King's highness to the best of my little power, and many times to my great cost and charge; with the which I ever held myself as well content as any poor subject within this realm,” &c.

(C.)

EXTRACTS from MASTERS'S MS., JESUS COLL.

THE ELECTION OF THE EMPEROR.

"The Emperor Maximilian, at his being in the field with his Grace, and at other times since, promised unto his Grace to make him king of the Romans, and also Emperor; yet his Highness, having knowledge of the king of Castile's mind to obtain those dignities, will set apart all such practice, and help him the best he can. And in case the Electors would rather choose Ferdinand because Charles cannot reside with them, his Grace's desire is to have the governance of Flanders, which he will as diligently look to as if it were his own, for the love he bears that King, his nephew."

Note in margin: "This is out of an original letter of Pace's written to the Cardinal by the King's command, as a direction for the said Cardinal's answer to his Majesty's ambassadors in Spain."

FRANCE.

"1518-19, March 14.—Our King writes to the French king, giving him hope that he will help him to obtain the empire.

"Francis, on the other part, affectionately thanks him, and desires him to continue his amity, which shall be confirmed shortly by the interview now appointed.

"Francis also gives some hopes to our Cardinal that he will help him to obtain his desires (which Francis utters in plain terms that he means the Popedom). And this he bids Sir Thomas Bolein write to the Cardinal, that he will assure him of fourteen Cardinals, and of the whole faction of the Ursins. Francis saith, now the King and he are one, and joined in league, they may make what Emperor and Pope they please. Also, that he makes this overture to the Cardinal in consideration of the great affiance he hath in our King; else he would be loth that an Englishman should be Pope." * * *

"About May 1519, Richard Pace, secretary to the King, was sent into Almain, to the princes Electors.

"1519, June 1.—Sir Thomas Bolein hath instructions how to acquaint the French king therewith, and to tell him (1.) that the said Secretary's business is to advance the suit of the French king to the Electors, &c. (2.) If the Electors shall be averse from the French king (as there is great suit for the king of Castile) then the said ambassador is to procure and to persuade the Electors to condescend upon some such other as may be for the peace of Christendom.

"To this the French king said that he thanked the King, &c., and that he would be glad to be Emperor himself (as he had four voices), and loth

would he be the king of Castile should have it. Also, that the assembly of the Electors shall be at Frankfort within these seven days. Each of the Electors cometh with 400 horse. The town of Frankfort hath provided 10,000 men for safeguard. The Pope hath sent a dispensation to the Electors to make the election in some other place, if this be not safe.

“At this time the French gentlemen were forbidden to frequent our King’s court, unless they were sent for.”

* * * * *

“April 9 [1519.]—The French king told Sir R. Wingfield that the Cardinal durst not oppose the Emperor, as being in danger of him for some intelligence, &c.”

* * * * *

“April [1520.]—The Cardinal writes to one of the French king’s Council,† that our King means to keep his promise, viz., to observe [the time of the interview, and to admit no interview with the Elect king of Romans ; yet because the said Elect’s ambassador hath lately by way of question proposed to the King, what if his master should, as he passeth by the coasts of England, choose to sail near unto the ports where his Highness would take shipping, whether then his Highness could be content to see him, either on the sea, or if he landed in any of his havens, to see his Grace and the Queen his aunt. To which demand the King, considering the alliance and ancient amity between England and Burgundy and Spain, could not give denial, &c.; but so that for this the King will not at all retard his journey into France, but be there in the end of May, so that this meeting of the King’s grace and king of Romans cannot be called an interview, but an encounter in the King’s voyage. And if this encounter shall not happen, then there is like to be an interview between the King’s grace and king of the Romans beyond the seas, between Calais and Gravelinge, after the interview between the King and French king.”

LUTHER.

“After the election of Charles Emperor, Tunstal was sent to be at the Diet of Wormbes.

“Jan. 21, 1521.—He writes to cardinal Wolsey that the Germans everywhere are so addicted to Luther, that, rather than he shall be oppressed by the Pope’s authority (who hath already condemned his opinions), the people will spend a hundred thousand of their lives. They have informed the Emperor that he is a good and virtuous man, besides his learning.

“He offereth to make his defence, and revoke those opinions which he cannot defend by Holy Scripture.

“After he perceived that he should not be permitted to come to the

† Bonnivet. See no. 736, which is now mutilated.

Diet hither, as once it was accorded, and safeconduct granted unto him, (which, at the instance of the Pope's orator, was revoked,) despairing to be heard in his defence, did openly in the town of Wittemberg gather the people and the University together, and burn the decretals, &c., as books erroneous, as he there declared; which his declaration he put in print in the Dutch tongue, and sent it all about the country; which declaration by some idle fellow hath been translate into Latin, which I send your Grace herein enclosed, to the intent ye may see it, and burn it when ye have done, and also that your Grace may call before you the printers and booksellers, and give them a strait charge that they bring none of his books into England, nor translate them into English, &c.

"The matter is run so far the princes cannot appease it. The original was the great sum of money that goeth yearly to Rome for annates, which the country would be rid of, and the benefices be given by the Pope to such persons as do serve at Rome unlearned, as cooks and horsekeepers, &c.; so that the easiest I can think will be that the Pope shall lose the said annates and benefices.

"He hath written a book since his condemnation, *De Capt. Babylonica Ecclesia*, wherein he holdeth that four of the sacraments be only *de jure positivo* by the Pope's ordinance, so called, viz., *Confirmatio*, *Ordo*, *Extrema Unctio*, and *Matrimonium*; and that *Baptismus*, *Eucharistia*, and *Penitentia* be *de jure divino et evangelii*. They say there is much more strange opinion in it, near to the opinions of Boheme. I pray God keep that book out of England.

"At the exequy of the cardinal of Croy, in the presence of the Electors, the Emperor, the Pope's ambassador, and the Cardinals, a friar preacher made a sermon, and in the beginning said the Pope was *Vicarius Christi in spiritualibus*, and the cardinals and bishops were *Apostoli*, &c. But how his tongue turned in his head I cannot tell; but after he concluded that the Emperor, when they do amiss, should reform their abuses, *etiam usque ad depositionem*; whereupon the Pope's *Nuncius*, having commission against Luther, called him, laying the premises to his charge; which said *Nuncius* hath been openly threatened by many gentlemen not to intermeddle with him. In his said sermon he exhorted the Emperor and all the princes to go into Italy, which is of the Empire, and to reform such abuses as be there; whereunto I understand many of the princes be inclined, because every man thinketh to gain thereby. The said friar preacher is since ordained to preach here all the Lent, by whom I know not.

"Luther offereth, if the Emperor will go to Rome to reform the Church, to bring him 100,000 men, whereunto the Emperor, as a virtuous prince, will not hearken. The said Luther hath many great clerks that hold with him, save in some points, which the said Luther hath put forth more than he can or will justify, to the intent that on the residue he might be heard, and a council called for reformation, whereof the Pope will not hear, but standeth to his sentence of condemnation."

(D.)

Richard
EDMUND DE LA POLE. BIANCHE ROSE.

In the *Journal (Gedenkbuch)** of Ph. von Vigneulles, not long since published by a literary society at Stuttgart, and edited by Dr. Michelent, some curious and hitherto unknown particulars are to be found relating to the history of England, and especially of De la Pole. The following summary of such portions of the work as relate to our present subject will enable the reader to form some idea of its contents:—

About July this year (1514) peace was made between Lewis king of France and the king of England, and the latter gave his sister Mary to Lewis. Both the Emperor and the Dauphin were displeased at this, for Lewis wished thereby to keep the Dauphin from the crown. The king of England wished Lewis to deliver to him the duke of Sifort (Suffolk), called “la Blanche Rouse,” who was the true heir to the crown, and had more right than Henry. For this reason Lewis assisted him during the war, with intent to make him King, and gave him an annual pension of 36,000 cr. At the peace he refused to give him up, but banished him, and ceased to aid him, except by his pension of 6,000 cr. La Blanche Rouse accordingly went to Metz, and entered the town on Saturday, 2d Sept., with 60 horses. At first he was lodged in the Court St. Martin, and in the custody of† the duke of Lorraine, and some of the gentlemen who accompanied him were lodged at the Angel. The king of France asked the townsmen to receive him, and at his request they did so, and searched in the city for a house for him to buy or rent. At the end of three days a pleasure house belonging to Messire Claude Baudoiche was lent to him. On entering the city he was presented with two “demicowes” of wine, red and claret, and 25 “quairts” of oats. He remained a long time at Metz.

At the same time feasts and triumphs were held in Paris, and the peace with England proclaimed. Soon after the lady of England entered Paris, and was married in great triumph; but the clerks of Paris laughed at the pageants, and said that the King had got a white hackney from England, which would soon take him post to Paradise; and they did not lie, for he did not live long after.

On the 24th Feb. (1515), the Duke of Siffort, who called himself king of England, left Metz secretly with his cook and his page, and took the road to France; and I heard that he rode so fast, from fear, that he made 40 leagues between day and night.

At Christmas (1516) the duke of Gueldres staid at Metz incognito, and was lodged at the “Teste d’or.” On the same day he went to France

* See vol. xxiv. of the *Literarisches Vereins* in Stuttgart, 1845.

† “et la gairde du.”

secretly, fearing to be known because of the wars he had long waged against his prince. And he took with him la Blanche Rouse, who left secretly with a small company, and they went together to speak with the king at Paris. The duke of Sifort returned on the 17th Feb.

(April 1516-17.) Blanche Rouse was still living at Metz in a house belonging to Jehan de Vy, near the great house by the side of the church of St. Esprit (et faisait sa demourance aprez la grant maison de costé le St. Esprit, en une maison qui jaidis fut, &c.) He possessed a horse which he valued highly, and he often said that there was not his equal within 10 leagues of Metz, and finally backed him to run against a horse belonging to seigneur Nicolle Dex, from the elm at Avegney to within St. Clement's Gate, for 80 cr.; and the money was paid into neutral hands. On St. Clement's Day, Saturday, 2d May, "et a ce jour meisme, que l'on courre l'awaine et le baicon au dit lieu St. Clement," the two gentlemen, with several others, rose early, and had St. Thiebault's gate opened before the usual time, and so passed into the fields for the race. For two or three days before Dex had treated his horse as a friend, had given him no hay, and had drunk nothing but white wine.* He had also very light steel shoes made for him, and came into the field like a groom in his doublet and without shoes, and with no saddle, but a cloth tied round the horse's belly. Blanche Rouse, who rode with a saddle, passed Nicolle for some time; but when they were near St. Laidre, his horse lagged behind so that the Duke urged him on with the spurs until the blood streamed down on both sides; but it was in vain. Nicolle gained the race and the 160 cr. of the sun. At the same time the king of England, the Red Rose, fortified and provisioned Tournay, and especially a strong castle which he had built in the town, and others along the river. It was said he wished to transport the people to England, where he would give them land and possessions, such as they had in Tournay, and that he would colonise the city with English.

In June 1517, the duke of Sciffort, king of England, left Metz, accompanied by Ph. de Raigecourt, one of our seigneurs, and other citizens, and went to Lyons and Venice, and other cities in Italy and Lombardy. They returned on the eve of St. Prewé, Thursday, 20th Aug. 1517. On St. Clement's Day 1518, Blanche Rouse again undertook to run his horse against Nicolle Dex, by a page, for 21 cr.; but the page fell, and Nicolle was again victorious. Soon after, on the 8th of May, he left Metz for France.

This day (24 Oct. 1518) Blanche Rouse returned to Metz, having been for a long time in Lombardy.

Feb. 1518-19.—About this time the chapter of the great church at Metz lent a house of theirs, called La Haulte Pierre, near St. Simphorien, to the

* "le dit seigneur Nicolle n'avoit point donne de foin à son chevaulx, ne n'avoit beu aultre chose que du vin blanc."

duke of Seiffort, for his life, giving him permission to rebuild it; for Claude Baudoiche wished to have his house, in which Seiffort had lived ever since his arrival.

In 1519, on the Sunday after *Quasimodo*, 8th May, monseigneur de Guise, brother to duke Anthoine de Lorraine et de Bair, arrived at Joicy to accomplish a vow he had made in Lombardy, to present to Ste. Bairbe, on foot, a wax taper, of his weight when in armour, and a wooden statue of himself. Several lords met him, among others, the duke of Sciffort and his people, who accompanied him on foot to Metz.

About this time (June 1519) there was much talk in the city about the duke of Sciffort and Seville, wife of Nicolas the goldsmith;* for the Duke employed Nicolas to make plate for him, and sent him to Paris to make purchases, during which time Seville came to banquet at the Duke's house. One day at the beginning of September the goldsmith's neighbours were making a disturbance about this; and Seville, being alarmed, collected her husband's best jewels, and went secretly to Haulte Pierre, which the Duke had just had built. She remained there for some days before it was discovered, but her husband contrived to get his goods returned. On Wednesday, the 16th, as the Duke and his people were passing by Fornerue, Nicolas was standing in the street with his neighbours, and, as was said, threatened the Duke with his head, which he, seeing, cried out, "Non, non, tantost, tantost, en voulez vous à moi?" and tried to strike him with his dagger. Nicolas, however, ran into a neighbour's house, and Sciffort threw his dagger after him. This caused a great commotion, and on the Saturday Nicolas appeared armed before the great church, and begged the people to assist him to procure justice, saying that if this was suffered they all might have to endure the same wrongs. A council was called, and a message sent to the Duke not to come out, which met him on the road, but he returned home. The Council lasted till half past ten, the husband demanding justice. Some of the lords were sent to the Duke to remonstrate with him, and to bring back the woman. After some words he reluctantly granted this, on condition that Nicolas would promise not to beat her, nor to say anything to her about it that might displease her. She was then led by the chevalier Andrien de Rineck, seigneur de Laidunchamps, and seigneur Ph. Dex to the court and examined. The husband, however, refused to make the required promises, and asked time to deliberate. Seville was kept in custody of the serjeants, at the palace; and Nicolas, angry that his wife was not returned to him, left the city, and was made a bourgeois at Thiouville. Sciffort also went to the castle of Nicolle de Hen, near Ennery, and was one day surprised by some Almaines whom Nicolas had assembled. In fact, had they known who he was, they would have taken

* "Car celle Seville estait alorns l'une des belles jeunes femmes qui fut point en la cité de Mets; haulte, droite et élancée, et blanche comme la niège."

or killed him. On account of this, he went to the city of Toul. A fortnight after Seville was delivered to her brother Francois Godin, and went to live with a widow named Mariette, near Sainete Crois, but soon after escaped disguised as a vine dresser, and was said to have gone to Toul.

(E.)

ACCOUNT of the REVENUE from 1519 to 1523.

DECLARATION made by John Cutte, Sub-Treasurer, of the STATE OF THE EXCHEQUER.

From Mich. 10 to Mich. 11 Hen. VIII. (1518—1519.)

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received - - - - -	-	-	-	52,535	8	8
Paid in ready money, for fees, wages, &c.	5,256	14	6½			
Paid to John Heron, for the King's use, in obligations, &c. - - -	13,223	18	6½			
Paid in assignments to divers persons -	33,825	16	1			
				<u>52,306</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>
And so remains clear - - - -	-	-	-	228	19	6

Mich. 11 to Mich. 12 Hen. VIII. (1519—1520).

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received - - - - -	-	-	-	47,131	9	10½
Paid in fees, &c. - - - -	6,589	7	8½			
„ in obligations - - - -	2,880	19	2			
„ in assignments - - - -	36,951	8	11½			
				<u>46,421</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>
And so remains clear - - - -	-	-	-	709	14	0½

Mich. 12 to Mich. 13 Hen. VIII. (1520—1521).

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received - - - - -	-	-	-	46,526	14	7½
Paid in fees, &c. - - - -	6,062	19	1½			
„ in obligations - - - -	4,014	18	8			
„ in assignments - - - -	35,309	12	4½			
				<u>45,387</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>
And so remains clear - - - -	-	-	-	1,139	4	6

Mich. 13 to Mich. 14 Hen. VIII. (1521—1522).

(No Book for this Year.)

Mich. 14 to Mich. 15 Hen. VIII. (1522—23).

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received - - - - -	-	-	-	34,956	14	5
Paid in fees, &c. - - - - -	4,281	15	2			
„ in obligations - - - - -	1,236	18	9½			
„ in assignments - - - - -	29,267	12	5½			
				34,786	6	4
And so remains clear - - - - -	-	-	-	170	8	0

(F.)

THE CUSTOMS.

Statement of the RECEIPTS of the CUSTOMS for the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of Henry VII., and for the 7th, 8th and 9th of Henry VIII.

London.—Subsidy, 5,848*l.* 12*s.* 7,210*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* 7,739*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*—11,033*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* 9,830*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* [Customs?], 4,625*l.* 16*s.* 9½*d.* 5,474*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.* 5,190*l.* 11*s.* 6¼*d.*—6,186*l.* 0*s.* 8½*d.* 5,255*l.* 5*s.* 11¼*d.*

Southampton.—9,506*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* 3,999*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* 11,156*l.* 19*s.*—5,249*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* 3,813*l.* 16*s.* 3¾*d.* 5,617*l.*

Bristol.—1,104*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* 961*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* 953*l.* 9*s.* 11½*d.*—1,114*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* 1,084*l.* 5*s.* 0½*d.* 1,214*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*

Bridgewater.—127*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* 92*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.* 118*l.* 16*s.* 2½*d.*—154*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* 193*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* 163*l.* 17*s.* 3¼*d.*

Kingston-on-Hull.—703*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* 774*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.* 636*l.* 16*s.* 1¼*d.*—674*l.* 14*s.* 613*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* 625*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*

Poole.—718*l.* 0*s.* 5¼*d.* 932*l.* 19*s.* 5¼*d.* 830*l.* 9*s.* 0¼*d.*—724*l.* 2*s.* 10½*d.* 746*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* 700*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

Newcastle-on-Tyne.—290*l.* 10*s.* 3¼*d.* 340*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.* 458*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.*—400*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* 177*l.* 11*s.* 8½*d.* 324*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

Chichester.—348*l.* 6*s.* 9¼*d.* 353*l.* 19*s.* 10½*d.* 375*l.* 7*s.* 5¼*d.*—285*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* 243*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* 189*l.* 5*s.* 5½*d.*

Sandwich.—330*l.* 7*s.* 7¼*d.* 317*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* 284*l.* 16*s.* 4½*d.*—340*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* 330*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* 310*l.* 11*s.* 9¼*d.*

Boston.—33*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* 56*l.* 2*s.* 0¾*d.* 61*l.* 0*s.* 2¾*d.* 53*l.* 7*s.* 4¼*d.*—49*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.* 48*l.* 0*s.* 1¾*d.*

Ipswich.—268*l.* 5*s.* 2¾*d.* 281*l.* 2*s.* 3¼*d.* 593*l.* 0*s.* 1¼*d.*—275*l.* 17*s.* 9½*d.* 429*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* 403*l.* 19*s.* 8½*d.*

Exeter and Dartmouth.—1,733*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* 1,412*l.* 9*s.* 0¼*d.* 1,614*l.* 17*s.* 5¾*d.*—1,766*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* 1,332*l.* 1,634*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.*

Plymouth and Fowey.—779*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* 621*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* 646*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*—386*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* 611*l.* 8*s.* 6½*d.* 664*l.* 17*s.* 5½*d.*

Yarmouth.—185*l.* 18*s.* 4½*d.* 281*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* 404*l.* 7*s.* 6¾*d.*—434*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* 339*l.* 14*s.* 2½*d.* 346*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*

Lyme.—244*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.* 234*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.* 289*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*—224*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.* 281*l.* 10*s.* 6½*d.* 173*l.* 16*s.* 0½*d.*

Total for the 22nd, 23rd and 24th Hen. VII., 81,046*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.*

Total for the 7th, 8th and 9th Hen. VIII., 82,073*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

Endorsed: The declaration of all the subsidies and customs of all the ports of England.

LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

HENRY VIII.

A.D. 1519.

1 HENRY VIII. to WOLSEY.

Add. MS.
19398, 644.

B. M.

"Myne awne good Cardinall, I recommande me unto yow as hartely as hart can thynke. So it is that by cause wrytting to me is somewhat tedious and paynefull, therfor the most part off thes bysynesses I have commytted to our trusty counseler thys berrer, to be declaryd to yow by mowthe, to whyche we wolde yow shulde gyff credens. Nevertheles to thys that folowith I thought nott best to make hym pryve, nor nonother but yow and I, whyche is that I wolde yow shuld make good watche on the duke off Suffolke, on the duke of Bukyngam, on my lord off Northe Ombreland, on my lord off Darby, on my lord off Wylshere and on others whyche yow thynke suspecte, to see what they do with thes nwes. No more to yow at thys tyme, but *sapienti pauca*. Wrytayne with the hand off your lovyng master. Henry R."

Hol. Add.: To my lord Cardinal.*

2 [CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to HENRY VIII.]

Vesp. C. XII.
286.

B. M.

Is desirous to confirm the league concluded between the Emperor his father and the King. The King shall never find him unfriendly, but always a loving brother, nephew and kinsman.

Fr. Endd.: The minute of a letter in French to be sent by the king of Arragon to the King's grace.

* The date of this document is uncertain. The news to which the King refers may allude to the overtures made by France in the last volume, or to a proposition for a closer alliance with Charles in this and the following years. As Suffolk and the other nobles here mentioned were attached to France, it is difficult to see what displeasure they could feel if the former supposition be correct; and though Suffolk had fallen into some disgrace in 1518, as appears by Pace's letters, Buckingham by the same authority appears to have been then in favor. The reader will do well to refer to a letter noticed in the last volume, under date 27 Feb. 1518, No. 3973, referring to a letter sent by the Pope through the Bishop of Worcester, and giving obscure hints of some disaffection among the nobles. Two documents have since turned up upon the same subject, which will be noticed hereafter.

1519.

Jan.

3.

[CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv. 1.

B. M.

Knows him by reputation, and cannot help congratulating him on the great service he has rendered Christendom by effecting the alliance between his King and the writer's master. Saragossa, —* Jan. 15[19].† *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated. D. Tho. Card. Ebor.

4 Jan.

4.

The ESTATES OF SCOTLAND to LEO X.

R. MS. 13 B. II.
289.

B. M.

Ep. Reg. Sc. I.
294.

Adv. MS. 44.

The English are continually breaking the truce and the comprehension made with Scotland in the treaty with France, by incursions and receiving Scotch rebels. They endeavor to weaken the friendship between Scotland and France, and to hinder Albany's return to Scotland. Ask the Pope to intercede on their behalf with England, and to advise the French king to assist them and send Albany to Scotland. Desire credence for Thos. Hay and James Cotts. Edinburgh, † 4 Jan. 1518.

Lat.

5 Jan.

5.

PACE to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. i. 52.

B. M.

The King and council are delighted at the French king's determination to adhere fully to his promise touching the "[reta]kyng" of Mortaigne at his own cost. Greenwich, 5 Jan.

Hol., mutilated, p. 1. Add. : To my lord Legate's grace.

5 Jan.

6.

SILVESTER BP. OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Thanks Wolsey for promising to take Worcester's interests under his protection. Rome, 5 Jan. 1519. *Signed and sealed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

5 Jan.

7.

HENRY VIII.'S TOMB.

R. O.
Archæol. xvi.
84.

Form of indenture, 5 Jan. 1518, between A.B. and C.D., on behalf of the King, and Peter Torrysany of Florence, graver, now resident in the precinct of St. Peter's, Westminster, for the making of a tomb of white marble and black touchstone for Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine, one-fourth larger than that which he has already made for Henry VII., in pursuance of his indenture with the late King's executors, dated 26 Oct. 1512. This tomb is not to cost more than 2,000*l.*, and to be completed in four years, under the direction of Wolsey. A model to be sent in — § months. On notifying the completion of the work, Torregiano will be informed where it is to be placed, and shall there set it up. On fulfilling the contract he shall receive back the following obligations, viz., two of John Fraunceis and Reynier de Bard amounting to 600*l.*, three of John Cavalcanti and other merchants of Florence for 400*l.*, and another of the same for 1,000*l.*

Pp. 4, large paper.

5 Jan.

8.

For ALICE DAVY, Gentlewoman to Queen Katharine and Nurse to Margaret Queen of Scots.

S. B.

Annuity of 10*l.* out of the petty customs of Portsmouth, in consideration of her services. *Del.* Westm., 5 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 10.

* Blank in orig.

† In R. MS. and Ep. Reg., note *ad fin.* : "Non ex Edinburgo sed Parisiis a gubernatore et sec. Paniter emissæ," &c.

‡ Supplied from modern heading.

§ Blank in MS.

1519.

7 Jan. 9. NL. WEST to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.

73.

B. M.

Had received on the 7th Wolsey's letter, dated Westminster, the 4th, to himself alone. Will do his best to induce the French council to condescend to the King of England's desires. Is surprised that he has not heard of the receipt of his letters last sent, wherein he detailed how he "had communed with the French king touching your affairs, and such communication as your grace had with me in your gallery." Had sent the letters of exchange for the Cardinal's pension to be paid, of which he begs an acknowledgment by next post. Requests money. Requires it for his journey to Bleyes, which will take 14 days coming and going, and afterwards home. Wishes to know whether Mr. Peachy's name is overlooked in the list of those who are appointed to accompany him. He was included by Wolsey in the first batch with [Master] Boullayn, Master Weston, and Master Fitz[william]. Paris, 7 Jan. *Signature burnt off.*

Pp. 3, mutilated. [To] my singular [g]ood lord my lord Cardinal's grace, &c.

7 Jan. 10. JOHN BP. OF ARMAGH to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Will leave today for the seaside. Have taken leave of the King, the Queen of Arragon and others. Declared to the former the causes of their coming: 1. To congratulate him on his arrival in Spain: 2. To promote amity between Spain and England, "wherein I persuaded and declared the fast friendship of my master, brother and uncle to the said King, never to fail:" 3. To magnify Henry's entry into the universal peace. The cardinal of Tortosa, Chievres, the chancellor, the governor of Brest, the bishop of Burgos, Don Fountseca his brother, the commendador major of Castile, the treasurer of Castile, the bishop of Badajoz, Don John Maxwell, and the treasurer of Aragon, were present. The King sent his special commendations to Henry and Wolsey, with great sincerity, as the writer thinks. The council also were unanimous in desiring the continuance of amity.

Has letters from the Queen of Arragon, with good words to the King and Queen of England. Took leave of all the nobles of Castile to whom they had letters from Henry, viz., the dukes of Alva, Veger, and Nawger, and the count of Benavent. Have been very well received. The nobles are all eloquent orators, besides having "much wisdom and great experience." The King has given to the writer a thousand ducats, 600 to lord Berners, and to Windsor herald 100. Saragoça, 7 Jan. *Signed.*

Pp. 4. To my lord Cardinal's grace.

10 Jan. 11. SPINELLY to BRIAN TUKE.

Vesp. C. 1.

235.

B. M.

Wrote last to him on the 27th ult.; also to the King and my lord Cardinal. My lords ambassadors departed on the 8th for St. Sebastian, meaning either to embark there, or, if the weather proved unfavorable, to go by land. They took their leave in presence of all the councillors of the King deceased, when "many good words were on both sides declared for the observance of perfect amity," the King desiring Henry to be his good uncle, &c. They then went to the "queens" of Arragon, to the cardinal of Tortosa, and all other great lords of Castile, who all bear a good mind to the crown of England. My lord Archbishop had for his reward 500 double ducats, lord Berners 300, and Windsor 50. They were conducted a mile out of the town by the dean of Besanson, and by Spinelly a day's journey and a half. On his return Chievres showed him that the French King "persisteth to know what the Catholico will do touching Navarre before any communications be kept;" to which Charles and his council will

1519.

SPINELLY to BRIAN TUKE—*cont.*

return no other answer than they have done. The meeting with the Great Master of France is therefore still far off; and, to prepare for the worst, 600 spears have been sent into Navarre. The steward Bouton is to go into Almain to send 6,000 Swiss or Almain to Naples from Trieste, and here preparations are made to embark 10,000 foot. Great hopes, however, are entertained of peace in consequence of the Catholic King's inclusion in the treaty.

Chievres informs him that the Great Master of France has been dangerously ill. The French try to evade giving hostages to which they are bound by the treaty. Chievres also says the queen of Arragon has given up to the Catholic King her right to Navarre by the inheritance of the duke of Namours her brother deceased, in whose behalf Lewis [XII.] was about to have made war against the late king of Navarre, as the marshal Dorisoles, the French ambassador in England at that time, showed Henry VIII.; "whereof I have a good remembrance myself, having the King our said master at that time sent to me for to be showed unto the Lady Margaret the copies of the letters and actions as Dorisoles delivered unto his highness for answer in the matter." The Pope still hesitates to send the crown to the Emperor, saying it is "a new thing and not consueto;" much to the displeasure of the council. The French king strongly urges the Pope and college against it, but the Catholic trusts his Holiness will keep his promise. Don Loys Carroz will be recalled, not being subtle enough for the affairs of Rome. Chievres also said that if the French king would not leave apart the business of Navarre they would make no treaty with him for Naples, but marry the Catholic King as soon as they might.*

Desires Tuke to show Wolsey the contents of this letter, having no time to write to the King or his grace. "The court remove toward Barsalona, and four months of my diet is passed, and words I have none of money." Saragossa, 10 Jan. 1518.

Hol., pp. 7. Part in cipher, deciphered by Tuke. Add.: [To my] worshipful master, [Master] Tuke, &c.

12 Jan. 12. J. DE BERGHES to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Thanks him for his cordial letter, and his goodwill reported by Messire Guyot. Is glad that Henry has acceded to his desire to have one of his sons in Henry's service, he himself growing old and incapable. Berghes, 12 Jan. Signed.

Fr., p. 1. Add.

12 Jan. 13. The FRENCH HOSTAEGS.

Calig. D. VII.

75.

B. M.

Articles agreed to by the king of France for sending as hostages into England, besides the lord de Grimault, the lord de Thoune et Charente, already there, the lord de Normanville, eldest son of De Hugueville and of his chamber, Montmorency, Montpezat, Mouy and Morette. Agrees to take upon himself the expense of recovering Mortaigne and expelling De Ligne. Assents to the prorogation of the term for the delivery of Tournay till the question of these hostages is settled. "Actum Parisiis, 12 Jan. 1518." Signed: Francoys. Countersigned by the English commissioners.

Mutilated, pp. 3.

Calig. D. VII.
77.

ii. Copy of the above, in an English hand, without signatures.
Pp. 3.

* Tuke writes "Darisols."

1519.

14. SUFFOLK to WOLSEY.

Titus, B. 1.

301 b.

B. M.

The King is not satisfied with the arrangements proposed by the king of France, and says that "these four were not of his (Francis's) chamber afore now, but only one; and also that they were not the personages that the French king did favor greatly." Advises Wolsey to come [to court] to be present at the debating of the matter; if he cannot, to send his mind by Master Secretary [Pace]. The King is satisfied with Wolsey's advice "for the demand of the great master [of Flanders] for the artillery and other things at Tournay." Greenwich, Sunday.

Hol., pp. 3. *Add.*: Un to me lord Cardynall and Lyggate es grace.

15. [WOLSEY to WEST and others.]

Calig. E. 11.

(29).

B. M.

They are to require hostages of more value. Rumors have been spread to their disadvantage. The King's honor is concerned to see that the promise made be faithfully kept. At this point they are to pause, and say they have no further instructions for the present. If they shall find that, through fear of his subjects, the French King cannot send better hostages, they are to say that if it were left to them they could be content to leave the matter to the King's arbitrament. They shall urge the expediency of the King writing to their master, and make such reasonable offers as they feel assured he will accept.

Draft in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, pp. 3.

16. BREKEWAST to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Hears he is going to give up Tournay to the French. Henry knows his condition, and that he will always be a good Englishman and Burgundian. Does not know how he can keep the office he has given him, for he would rather die than take anything from the French. Asks him to think of him, for the King knows what he wants better than he knows how to ask. *Signed*.

Fr., p. 1. *Add.*: Au Roy.

12 Jan.

S. B.

17. For GERALD EARL OF KILDARE, Deputy in Ireland.

Commission to appoint a deputy, he being summoned to the King's presence on the affairs of Ireland. *Del.* Hampton Court, 12 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27.

13 Jan.

R. O.

Rym. XIII.

691.

18. FRANCIS I.

Commission to Gaspar de Colligny, lord of Châtillon, to receive Tournay from the commissioners of Henry VIII., and deliver them the sum agreed upon for its restoration. Paris, 13 Jan. 1518.

Lat., parchment.

13 Jan.

R. O.

19. PACE to WOLSEY.

They have read many of the abbot of Westminster's bulls; have conferred them with his book, made a summary of all things noticeable touching the foundation, sanctuary and exemption. They have granted the abbot till Saturday to produce the other charters, and on the Monday after "my lord Legate's brother and I shall wait upon your grace." Westminster, 13 Jan.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Legate's grace.

1519.

13 Jan. 20. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 248.

Congratulated the King on the new treaty. Found him starting on one of his pleasure excursions. He was gratified to hear that a Turkish ambassador was expected to ask peace of Lewis of Hungary, as it proved that Seim was not meditating hostilities against Christendom. Dined with Campeggio, who showed him letters from the legates in France and Spain. If the Turk invade Italy, Francis offers 3,000 spears, 6,000 light horse and 40,000 infantry. The Catholic's offers are more limited: 2,000 spears, 1,300 light horse and 15,000 infantry. As he had not received any other news, Giustinian did not ask about the marriage of Charles with the daughter of Portugal. On the return of Wolsey, who is expected in a week, hopes to learn what is resolved upon. The galleys are yet in Flanders, but are expected at Hampton daily. Lambeth, 13 Jan. 1519.

13 Jan. 21. J. DE BERGHES to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. IV.
10.*
B. M.

In behalf of Jo. Hewster, governor of the English merchants here, who has been falsely accused of authorizing the *thollenaires* of the King, the writer's master, to take "honds toll" of English subjects. Berghes, 13 Jan.

Fr., p. 1, *mutilated*. *Add.*: Mons. le Cardinal archevesque et legat d'Angleterre.

14 Jan. 22. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Understands by his letters, received through the bishop of Ely, his goodwill towards the amity between the two kings. Begs credence for the bishop. Paris, 14 Jan. *Signed*.

Fr., p. 1. *Add.*: A mons. le Legat Card. d'Yort, &c.

14 Jan. 23. E. OF WORCESTER and others to HENRY VIII.

Calig. D. VII.
80.
B. M.

After a stormy debate they have concluded the business of the hostages. Francis will send them, and undertake the recovery of Mortaigne, requiring only that Mons. de Ligny shall be summoned by England to surrender it. Send a copy of the articles inclosed which have been subscribed by the King. Have written at greater length to the Cardinal. The gentlemen in the train have behaved well. Send herewith a letter from Francis wherein he desires the King of England to be content with the hostages. He has shown singular love towards England. Master Peachye will give him further information. "Wrytt in hast, the 14th day of January, at Paris."

Mutilated, pp. 3. *Add.*: To the King's grace.

24. WOLSEY to WEST and others.

Calig. E. II.
(18.)
B. M.
Strype's Mem.
I. p. i. 32.

[Understands by their letter of 28 Dec.] the towardness of the French King, declared by the answer given to the lord Ligny; his willingness to make restitution for damages done by sea, and to take on himself the recovering of Mortaigne. The King has sent him thanks. He commends their dexterity, and hopes this alliance will promote the peace of Christendom. They are to procure the best hostages they can, and stop the dishonorable bruits circulated touching their insufficiency; more important even than Tournay. Is satisfied with the arrangements they have made for the interview. As for the pay of the garrison of Tournay

Draft in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, pp. 2.

1519.

14 Jan.

Vit. B. xx.

80.

R. M.

25. [KNIGHT] to WOLSEY.

..... the 30th Dec. "where them[peror when he had] knowledge of mine arrival did send unto [me] Hanz Reignart, his chief secretary, as w[ell] to learn the cause of my coming as to know also the continue . . . his grace being then diseased, supposed [he could not] endure any long audience. And ensuing th . . . I discovered that that was committed unto me by th[e King's] highness, whereof declaration made and the mu . . . taken" he determined to give Knight an audience [on the] 1st inst., where he declared his charges in [fuller] form than he had done to Reynart. The Emperor caused answer to be made in a mu[ch] loving form, "adding in his own person much . . . honorable and good maniere," and appointed him a day for more ample communication upon the p[remises]. Since that time his illness has increased so greatly that no opportunity has yet occurred for the meeting. On the 8th [inst.] the Emperor sent his chief secretary [to] Knight, "and efsyns did give thanks unto the King's [grace for his . . .]ll and loving demeanor both towards him and the [Prince his ne]plew, reserving unto them as weale honorable . . . the confederation to be taken for principal contrahents . . . ceypvng the same in such form as may be most vailiable [for] the weal and assurance of the King his nephew's [do]mynions," saying that the Emperor would ratify it. He praised the King's purpose of making an expedition against the Infidels, and his preliminary preparations for concord between all Christian princes, saying he would advertize the King of what he thought most expedient for the purpose. Since this, however, the Emperor has been "so vanquished with sickness, which was first a catarre, and sythyns a flux and fever continual," that all despair of his life. Has received, since his arrival, the copy of the treaty signed by the King " . . . as I shall show cause why at . . . also your grace's letters with commandment . . . Lady Margaret and the council . . . sinister report made unto them . . . Elnensis late orator in England for the . . . which if it shall please your grace that I do a . . . upon knowledge I shall follow your pleasure and con[venience]. W[els] in Awstrigue," 14 Jan.

Hol., pp. 3, mutilated. Add.: To the most reverend [&c. my] lord Cardinal [of York], Legate of England, &c.

17 Jan.

26. BONNYVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

In behalf of the bearer, his cousin german, sent with others to England by Francis I. Paris, 17 Jan. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: Mons. le Card. Dyort.

19 Jan.

27. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.

11. 250.

The King and the legates are absent, amusing themselves. Is indisposed; but on their return, on the 24th, will acquaint them with the Doge's letters of the 11th and 27th ult. The English ambassadors are on their return from France, and will surrender Tournay. Hostages are to be given by Francis. The King is said to have remitted 25,000 ducats to Augsburg for the Emperor; cannot vouch for this. The King Catholic has remitted 200,000 ducats to the Emperor and the electors. Believes it is for Charles's election to be King of the Romans. Lambeth, 19 Jan. 1519.

19 Jan.

28. READING MONASTERY.

S. B.

Warrant for a congé d'élire to the prior on the death of John Thorne, abbot. Greenwich, 17 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.*
19 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 12.

1519.

20 Jan. 29. HENRY VIII.

R. T. 137.

Letters patent surrendering to Francis I. all his claims upon the inhabitants of Tournay for 23,000 francs of gold, the residue of the 50,000 gold crowns which they promised to pay when the town came into Henry's hands; Francis having engaged to pay the debt. London, 20 Jan. 1518, 10 Hen. VIII.

Lat. The original is signed by Henry, and sealed with the great seal.

20 Jan. 30. ALBANY to LEO X.

Adv. MS. 55.

R. MS.

13 B. II. 280.

B. M.

Ep. Reg. Sc. I. 279.

As the Pope desires to promote friendship among Christian princes with a view to joint action against the Infidels, requests him to take under his protection the young King of Scots. Is ready to confer with the Pope's legate in France, the Cardinal S. Maria in Porticu, on any further arrangements. Paris, 20 Jan. 1518.

Copy, Lat., pp. 2.

31. ALBANY to LEO X.

R. MS.

13 B. II. 279.

B. M.

Ep. Reg. Sc. I. 278.

Desires the necessary bulls for James archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor, to have the abbacy of St. Thomas, Aberbrothock, which James, natural son of the late King, who held it *in commendam* by the resignation of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, proposes to resign. Paris.

Copy, Lat.

32. ALBANY to LEO X.

R. MS.

13 B. II. 281.

B. M.

Recommends David bishop of Lismore for the abbacy of Dryburgh, of the Premonstratene order, St. Andrew's dioc., void by death of James the last perpetual commendatary. Paris.

Copy, Lat., p. 1.

33. ALBANY to LEO X.

R. MS.

13 B. II. 286.

B. M.

Ep. Reg. Sc. I. 288.

Thanks him for having appointed Alex. Stewart, his brother, to the Augustine monastery of Scone. The schedule of *commendam* and bulls are, however, detained by the Cardinal St. Eusebius, on the pretext that Alexander has not complied with his demands respecting the priory of Whithorn. The situation of that priory, however, requires a prior powerful enough to resist the incursions of robbers, and it is necessary that he should be acceptable to the King and council.* The safety of the kingdom will not allow him to yield, and the Estates have warned him not to suffer any insult to be offered to the kingdom under his government. Alexander would willingly give up the priory if the council would allow it, and will do so if the bulls for Scone are sent. Desires credence for Thos. Hay, his secretary. Trusts that his holiness will consider all these reasons, and comply with the request. Paris.

Copy, Lat., pp. 2.

34. ALBANY to LEO X.

R. MS.

Stry B. II. 287.

I. P. M.

441.

I.

In behalf of Paniter in the case of the hospital of St. Mary's Montrose, formerly a lazaretto (*leprosaria domus*).

Lat.

te,

L

* In marg. of R. MS.:—Urbinate cum duce videlicet affinitas.

1519.

35. [ST. MARY'S, MONTROSE.]R. MS.
13 B. II. 289.B. M.
Ep. Reg. Sc. I.
292.

Paniter's instructions to his agent [as to the provisions to be inserted in the bull] :—

1. Thorough change and suppression of the old foundation, by consent of the patron and possessor, seeing there is no settled foundation at present. 2. The original burdens and masses (*suffragia*) to be kept as in the possessor's mandate. 3. Transference of the ruined church of the Friars Preachers to the new convent. 4. Approbation of the alienation of the lands made by the present possessor, with insertion of a clause for payment of pensions to the friars. 5. Reservation of tithes. 6. Renewal and enlargement of the indulgences formerly granted to the place in favor of the friars alone. 7. Endowment of a perpetual vicarage by the present holder, the vicar to hold the lands of the hospital for the souls of the said possessor's maternal uncle and brother, &c.

Lat. Headed: "Procuratori informatio d'ni Paniter."

20 Jan. 36. SPINELLY to HENRY VIII.

Vesp. C. I. 207.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 10th. The estates of Arragon closed their sittings yesternight, granting the King a benevolence of 200,000 ducats, to be paid in even portions in three years, deducting from the second payment amounts due for debts contracted by his predecessor with gentlemen of the realm for service in war and other causes, to 50,000 ducats. They have consented to the reformation concerning justice, civil and criminal, made by the King; contrary to the mind of the nobles, who complain that their prerogatives are invaded. Tomorrow the court removes to Barcelona. "The French ambassador and the Venetian been appointed to go the- gythere and I with the Pope's nuncio." The constable of Castile, the duke de Linfantasygho and the marquis de Vyllena will accompany the King to Catalonia, to be present at a chapter of the Toison, "which shalbe gyven unto them trye, and also the duc of Alba, Beggery (Vedegeira) and Fonseca; and in Arragon to the count Darranda and Rybagors; in Catalonya to the duc de Cardona and to the viceroy of Naples; in Valencia to the duke of Sogorbia and Candya. In the realm of Naples is spoken of divers," but no conclusion taken.

Another object of this meeting was to obtain their advice, if the French king persisted in his declaration touching Navarre, and that if any breach happened it might not be laid upon the council of Flanders. The Catholico has declined holding any communication with France until Navarre be restored. Chievres showed him a letter from their ambassador in France, dated the 7th, in which it was stated that the King and the lady of Angoulesme desired him to advertise his master that they would send the great master with the bishop of Paris and Robertet to Montpelier, desiring Chievres to meet them at the latter end of the month. This is looked upon as a good sign of peace; but, considering the language hitherto held by Francis, his affection for John d'Albret, the authority of his grandfather and the lord Dorvall, it is thought that he will not readily consent. For the performance of the treaty Latrouillyera was sent by the Catholico into France on the 15th. The bayly of Hennego and Doctor Yughelett are on their way to England. On his arrival at Barcelona Chievres told him *that if he is to meet the great master of France, the commander major of Castile and Dr. Kerceyal, the two principal counsellors of the Catholic Kings will be of the party. Spinelly augurs from this that no harm will ensue. Chievres has also assured him that the King shall be advertised of his charge when he goes into France.*

Armstorf is gone to the Emperor with bills of exchange to the value of 250,000 ducats, payable the 1st April next. The merchants have promised

1519.

SPINELLY to HENRY VIII.—*cont.*

that Fockerryys, Osteterys, or Velzers, shall answer the same in February next, that the electors may be sure of their money, and make no difficulty about coming to Frankfort. The King is also bound to make good to the electors a pension of 70,000 florins of gold during their lives. The town of Antwerp is to answer for the same. The Elector of Brandenburg voids his pension for an equivalent bishopric. The elector his brother has the promise of the King's younger sister for his son, with 100,000 florins of gold, and a certain [sum] in raiments and stuffs. Their influence brought over the remnant, "and therefore consequently deserved larger remuneration." The French king's solicitation in this matter has cost him a large sum of money, and served only to increase the bargain to the King Catholic. He cannot be king of the Romans until he is crowned Emperor. This point is in the arbitrament of the Pope. The King would be glad to be crowned in Almayn, eschewing many inconveniences of going to Rome, *manu armata*, to induce the Pope's compliance. The King gives his brother's bastard-son a lordship in the realm of Naples of 10,000 ducats per annum, and the Cardinal de Medicis some good bishopric. He wishes, however, that the King of England would write to the Pope in his favor. Besides a pension of 1,500 ducats on the archbishopric of Palermo the King has given the Pope's legate the bishopric of Gayeta, where he was born. The Queen of Portugal is not best content with the country. This will diminish the amity, "for the King her brother is nothing pleased with the reckoning." Lady Chievres, with Lady Fyenes her niece, and the other unmarried, shall come to Barcelona. Before their departure the alliance with Lord Berghe's son will be completed. The King of Portugal has sent to the Catholico two Morisco horses, with harness of gold, pearls and stones. The gift is estimated above 10,000 ducats.

Desires to know if the King of Portugal has been advertised from England to send his ratification of the treaty. Lord Fyenes goes with Chievres into France. Saragossa, 20 Jan. 1518. *Signed.*

P.S.—The estates of Naples have granted 120,000 ducats this year towards the marriage of the Queen of Portugal; those of Arragon 10,000. The court will not remove till Saturday next, by reason of the feast of St. Sebastian. Don Loys Karroz will be recalled from Rome, as he is not subtle enough for that mission. The counts of Porsain and Egmont, with other knights of Castile, will go with Chievres into France.

Hol., partly cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 9. Add.: [To the] King's most noble grace.

22 Jan. 37. SIR WILLIAM SANDYS to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

This day arrived the gentlemen of France as hostages, MM. Morette, Montmorency, Moy, Mompessat, and asked if he had received any notice of their coming from my Lord Chamberlain. Stated he had received word by Mr. Carew, but not of the day when they would arrive. They desired that the Chamberlain should be informed immediately, as he is waiting at Peronne. Calais, 22 Jan. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*

23 Jan. 38. MARGARET OF SAVOY to [HENRY VIII.]

Galb. B. v. 26.

B. M.

Is in great trouble and anguish. Has always been afflicted much during her life, having lost her two husbands, and now it has pleased God to take to His mercy her father, the Emperor, who died at the city of Veltz on the 3rd of this month, after receiving the sacraments. Mechlin, 23 Jan. 1518. *Signed.*

Fr., pp. 2, mutilated.

1519.

23 Jan. 39. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.
338 b.
B. M.

Begs he will advertise to the King the news of the Emperor's death which she has just received. Has communicated it to Wolsey, knowing that he will condole with her, and use his influence for the King Catholic and Don Fernando. Mechlin, 23 Jan. 1518.

P.S.—Recommends Guyot the bearer.

In her own hand: Begs he will show in reality the love he has for her nephew. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

23 Jan. 40. DE LA LAING to WOLSEY.

Galb. B. vi. 8*.
B. M.

Sends the bearer, Captain Guyot, with a message to Wolsey. The Emperor died on the 12th at Wels in Austria. Malines, 23 Jan. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Mons. le Cardinal d'Angleterre.

Jan. 41. [WOLSEY] to [WEST and others.]

Calig. D. vii.
83.
B. M.

The King will restore Mortaigne, now in the hands of De Ligny. Has written to the Archduchess of Flanders for leave to De Ligny to repair to England for peaceable deliverance of the castle. Encloses letters from the King to De Ligny; one of credence for the bearer of it, the other containing sharp menaces in case De Ligny refuse compliance. He is to say that the King is surprised De Ligny will neither repair to his presence, nor accredit any person to him; that he has sent lately "certain letters containing such obscure clauses and unparfite sentences, that hard it would be to find any substantial resolution of his intent and mind therein." Had hoped that as De Ligny held the castle by Henry's gift, he would not throw any obstacles in the way of the treaty on which the King is resolved. If he hesitates he is to put him in mind of his own letters, "sealed with the seal of [his] arms," wherein he is bound to restore the castle whenever the King requires. Is to urge the said lord to condescend to some reasonable way, and not brave the indignation of two great countries. If he then holds out, is to deliver the sharp letter and defiance.

In Ruthal's hand, mutilated, pp. 2.

23 Jan. 42. For THOMAS ENGLISSHE and JOHN BRYSON.

S. B.

Licence to depart from England on a pilgrimage to the court of Rome, "to visite the lymctes of blessed Peter and Paule." Greenwich, 23 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.

25 Jan. 43. [EDWARD STANLEY LORD] MONTEAGLE to DR. VESEY,
R. O. Dean of the King's Chapel.

The King wrote to Sir Roger Bellingham and me that we should call before us Geoffrey Mydylton and Davy Best, the bearer, to settle the matters mentioned in a bill of complaint inclosed in the King's letter. Business of the King's prevented me from going into that country at the time, but I sent the King's writing to Bellingham, advising him to summon them. As Geoffrey would not abide our order, we have bound him in 100*l.* to appear before you and the Council on the day after the Purification of Our Lady. Manchester, 25 Jan. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.

26 Jan. 44. J. DE BERGHES to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.
383.
B. M.

Has received his letters requesting him to deliver up to the governor of the English merchants a prisoner in his town of Berghes, named Nicholas Terry. Must decline to do so, by reason of a privilege which he has,

1519.

J. DE BERGHES to WOLSEY—cont.

expressly providing that no prisoner shall be delivered who is willing to come to trial. Will proceed against the prisoner according to the accusations Wolsey has to send. Begs that he will see Nich. Statham satisfied in a debt owed him by Lambert Cavillaro, to whom the King had granted letters of respite. Malines, 26 Jan.

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Mons. le Cardinal d'Angleterre Archevesque de Yorck.

26 Jan. 45. CONFISCATION of the GOODS of SCOTCHMEN in Kent.

R. O.

Certificate of Alex. Culpeper, one of the late commissioners to make such seizures, certified into the Exchequer, 26 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.

Goods and chattels of Matthews, mercer of Cranbrook, born in Scotland, seized by Culpeper 19 Dec. 5 Hen. VIII.; appraised by Thos. Slyf, Willm. Brabon, and Thos. Maplesdon, the same day :—

4 mattresses, appraised at 4s. 4d. A table and a form, 12d. A chest, 16d. 11 pieces of pewter, "of one and other appraised at 2s. 8d." A doublet, 16d. A pair of hose, 12d. A cap, 4d. 2 short gowns, 11s. A gown and a kirtle of his wife, 8s. A brass pot of 2 gallons, 20d. A brass pot of 1 gallon, 12d. A brass pot of a pottle, 6d. An old kettle of 6 gallons, 10d. 3 old small kettles, 12d. A pan of 4 gallons, 14d. An old pewter platter, 3d. 2 pewter dishes, 4d. 5 old pewter saucers, 5d. An old chafing dish of latten, 4d. A little frying pan, 5d. An old skillet pan, 4d. An old pewer pot, 4d. A little pewter salt, 1d. 3 small candlesticks of latten, 6d. Total, 40s. 4d.

Goods and chattels of Wm. Thomson alias Cokmasse of Newenden, born in Scotland, seized by Culpeper 1 Oct. 5 Hen. VIII., appraised by Gilbert Ongle, constable of the said town, Rob. Pott, Rich. Lowes, John Sanden and Rich. Syre :—

2 bedsteads, 8d. A feather bed and 2 mattresses, 6s. 8d. A coverlet and 2 blankets, 3s. An undercloth and a coverlet, 4d. 2 hangings over the beds, 8d. 3 chests, 12d. 2 hampers, 4d. 2 sails, 8d. 7 sheets, 4s. 5 towels, 8d. A fringe and 4 tablecloths, 12d. 3 painted cloths with papers and borders, 6d. A salet and a pair of splints, 12d. 20 pieces of pewter plates, dishes and saucers, 5s. 2 brass pans, 12d. 3 brass pots, 12d. 3 kettles, 12d. 2 frying pans, 4d. 1 chafing dish, 8d. 5 pewter pots, 12d. A cupboard at 20d. 2 "skomars" and 4 candlesticks at 8d. A cruet and a spit, 8d. An andiron, 4d. Total, 33s. 10d.

Goods and chattels of James Scottysheman, of Cranbrook, born in Scotland, seized by Culpeper 11 April 6 Hen. VIII., and appraised by John Hame, Rob. Andrew and Richard Deuce :—

12 nets, 6s. A jacket, 3s. A chest of a bushel, 12d. Total, 10s.

A roll of parchement.

26 Jan. 46. For JOHN FITZ JAMYS.

To be Attorney General in all courts of record in England. Westm.,

26 Jan.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.

27 Jan. 47. For JOHN ERNELE.

To be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Westm., 27 Jan.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.

1519.

28 Jan.

R. O.

48. THOS. MARQUIS OF DORSET to WOLSEY.

Leicestershire is in great disorder. Two tame harts, with bells about their necks, belonging to his brother Leonard, have been killed in the night, and their heads set upon stakes, at the suggestion of Sir John Villers. On the quest being made "the said Sir John Villers, who was wont to ride with eight or nine horses at the most, came to town with 26 or 30 well weaponed, and himself a sword and buckler by his side, who never used to ride with one before, and set him down upon the bench, the said sword and buckler by his side, facing and braving the quest with his adherents, so that justice could take no place," as Roger Wigston can inform Wolsey. "At my poor lodge of Bradgate," 28 Jan. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*: "My lord Card." *Endd.*

28 Jan.

R. O.

49. JOHN GÖDERICHE to ROBT. STUDDELY.

Master Adam Aphowell, sheriff of Gloucester, is very severe with the tenants of the farm at Langford concerning Studeley's annuity there. They, however, will not pay, as they are advised not to do so by the King's steward, until they have a discharge from Master Ridell and Master Norwich, "aconceclers" with the lords. Desires him not to press them till he has such a discharge for them. Gloucester, 28 Jan.

Hol., p. 1. Add.

50. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vl.

149.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 21st, acknowledging Wolsey's of the 4th, the contents of which, "upon the King's credence," he had declared to the Catholico, who received them very cordially, as will be perceived by his own letters to the King and Wolsey, and by his instructions to his ambassador Dr. Jowglet. In accordance with Henry's opinion Charles has again asked the Pope to favor his election, and to appoint the cardinal of Sion, to whom 2,000 florins of gold were sent. To secure the Pope he has given the bastard son of his brother a lordship in the realm of Naples, worth 600,000 ducats per annum; and for the fidelity of the house of Brandenburg, power to contract a marriage between the lady Katharine his sister and the elector Joachim's elder son. A marriage has also been contracted between the marquis, resident at the court of Brussels, and the queen of Arragon, who has 8,000 florins of gold per annum of inheritable land in France, and 40,000 ducats from Castile and Sicily. She is worth 120,000 ducats. Lord Mounteyny will go into Almain in default of the lady Margaret. The King has written to Berghes again for his mission to England. The Archduchess wished to send count Horn. The queen of Arragon's dower amounts to 47,000 ducats per annum. The great master of France will take his road to Montpellier the first Monday in Lent, at which time the exequies of the Emperor shall be made.

Hol., cipher, with decipher by Tuke in margin, mutilated, pp. 4.

28 Jan.

P.S.

51. For HENRY NORREYS, squire of the Body.

To be bailiff and woodward of the lordship of Ewelme, Oxon., and keeper of the park in the said lordship, *vice* Thomas Broke, serjeant-at-arms, with 7d. a day. Greenwich, 8 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 28 Jan.

29 Jan.

Calig. D. vii.

82.

B. M.

52. [ANT. DE LIGNÉ] to the GOVERNOR OF TOURNAY.

"Mons. le Chamberlan vous a donne" whether he (de Ligné) is willing or not to surrender Mortaigne into his hands. Has had only two letters from the King; the second in terms more severe than he thinks he has deserved. Considering the menaces that had been offered, and

1519.

[ANT. DE LIGNÉ] to the GOVERNOR OF TOURNAY—*cont.*

his unwillingness to interrupt the amity between the two powers, although Mortaigne belonged to his son, he had delivered it into the hands of his sovereign and of Madame. He has not done anything to demolish the fortification ; for if so he would have been at a double expense, in pulling down the old and building the new. His castle of Faukenberge remains as before. Leaves it to their discretion to determine what compensation should be made for his loss and his rents. Mortaigne, 29 Jan. 1518.

Fr., p. 1. *Add.*: A Mons. le Gouverneur de Tournay et Tournesis.

31 Jan. 53. The UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD to HENRY VIII.

Faust. C. vii. Many thanks and compliments for his liberality to them last year
193. when at Woodstock. Oxford, 2 kal. Feb.
B. M.

Jan. 54. MONEY due to the KING.

R. O. Names of the persons comprised in an indenture between the Legate and John Myclo on the King's part, and Anthony Cavalary, merchant of Luke, on the other, with the sums due by them to the King which Cavalary should have received of them by the indenture.

Obligations of Peter Corce and others for 1,000*l.*, 100*l.* payable annually from 15 . . ; Anth. Bavaryn and Laurence Pasqualigo 90*l.*, payable in 1520 ; Anth. and Stephen Vivaldi, Bartn. de Aurea, Geo. Ardison, and Walter Champy, 651*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, payable at Midsummer 1522 ; Philip Friscobald 338*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, payable August 1521 ; Barth. Salviati, John Calvacanti and Peter Corsi 1,000*l.*, 100*l.* payable annually from Jan. 1519 ; Salviati and Fras. and Ph. Sbarra 149*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, payable 31 July 1521 ; Misot and Bernard de Bardi 282*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, payable 18 March 1523 ; Corsi 42*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, payable 24 Feb. 1513 ; John Capon, Peter and Fras. de Bardi, and Andrew and John Calvacanti, 500*l.*, payable Mich. 1524 ; Stephen Fesaunt, Laurence Bonora and Mark Moriano 90*l.* 8*s.*, payable 1 March 1519 ; Nic. Dodo and Ant. Bavaryn 98*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* 1 March 1519 ; Jerome Molyne, Matthew Barnard and others, 355*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*, payable by instalments from All Saints 1521 ; Nic. Dodo and Ant. Bonvisi 500*l.*, payable 3 July 1521 ; Anthony and Peter Guydott 692*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*, payable 3 July 1524 ; Nich. Degra and Maurice de Marinis 48*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, payable 3 July 1521, &c. Total 12,338*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

Hugh Clopton and others 1,000*l.*, 200*l.* payable annually from 1 Aug. 1520 ; Henry Patmer 1,000*l.* at Candlemas 1521 ; Sir John Peche and others 600*l.*, and John Halle and others 600*l.*, payable in 6 years from Christmas 1519 ; John Broune and others 600*l.*, 1 Aug. 1520 ; Wm. Semper 100*l.*, 1 Dec. 1520 ; John Tynnyng 150*l.*, and Wm. Hannyng 150*l.*, at Midsummer 1521.

Pp. 6, mutilated.

55. GRANTS in JANUARY 1519.

GRANTS. 3. Recognizance cancelled. Thos. Clifford, of Skipton in Craven, York., Sir Roger Belyngeham of Burnelsede, in Kendall, and Sir John Lowther of Lowther, Westmor. Greenwich, 3 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

4. William Shylston, of Thurstelton, Wrey, Bercefferris and Wetherdon, Devon. Pardon. Eltham, 18 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 4 Jan.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 32.

5. William Holden, yeoman of the Guard. To be keeper of "le Newe Parc" near Leskerd, Cornw., parcel of the duchy, with 3*d.* a day, as Thomas Clemens held the office 2 Edw. IV. ; with the herbage and pannage, at the annual rent of 20*s.* payable to the provost of the lordship of Leskerd. Eltham, 14 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 5 Jan.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 13.

1519.

Jan.

GRANTS.

10. Christopher Rochester, page of the Chamber. To be the King's otter hunter with 3½*d.* a day for himself, 4½*d.* for the King's six dogs, 1½*d.* for a boy, and 9*d.* for 12 dogs, *vice* Sir Edward Bensted, deceased. Greenwich, 5 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm. 10 Jan.—P.S.

10. Roger Goodmoud, of Tunbridge, Kent, groom *alias* grocer. Pardon. Westm., 10 Jan.—*Pat.* 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 13.

10. William Langton. To be chamberlain of Berwick-on-Tweed, with a retinue of 12 soldiers. Greenwich, 2 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm. 10 Jan.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 15.

18. Thomas Alen, of the royal Household. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield, lieutenant of Calais. *Del.* Hampton Court, 19 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Fr.* m. 1.

19. John Clapham. Lease of a close called Bulfortoftis, and the villages of Estlillyng and Westlillyng in the lordship of Sherephoton, York., for 21 years, at the respective annual rents of 66*s.* 8*d.*, 20*l.* and 10*l.* *Del.* Westm., 19 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 14.

19. Ric. Balke. Lease of the site of the manor of Yaresthorp in the lordship of Sherephoton, York., for 21 years, at the annual rent of 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *Del.* Westm., 19 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 14.

19. John Evangelist, late of Aragusa, merchant. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield, Deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 30 Nov. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 19 Jan.—P. S. *Fr.*, m. 1.

22. Joan Piero, of Brescia. Licence to import 400 tuns of Toulouse wood or Gascon wine. Greenwich, 8 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 22 Jan.—P. S. *Fr.*, m. 5.

24. John Sutton, of the "Pecherhouse" in the King's household. Pardon. Greenwich, 5 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 24 Jan.—P. S.

25. Ric. Boyvid *alias* Bofild, of London, merchant tailor. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield, Deputy of Calais. *Del.* Westm., 25 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Fr.*, m. 5.

25. Edward Skelton, of Dunstable, maltman. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield, Deputy of Calais. Eltham, 17 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 25 Jan.—P. S.

25. Sir William Tyler. Grant of the manor of, and certain lands in Grafton Fleford, Wore., lately held by Joan Lady Howeth, deceased (11 Aug. 1518), wife of John Frye, and a daughter of Eleanor late Duchess of Somerset. Eltham, 18 Oct. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 25 Jan.—P. S.

27. Thos. Gyfforde and Dorothy his wife, John Vernon and Ellen his wife, and Anne Mountgomery, ds. and hs. of Sir John Mountgomery. Livery of lands of the said Sir John and his wife Elizabeth, and of James Mountgomery his brother. Greenwich, 9 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 27 Jan.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 17.

28. Adam Penynghton. Wardship of John s. and h. of Humph. Bate, who held of the honor of Richmond. *Del.* Westm., 28 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 14.

28. William Ellenger, of Mellesam, Suff., servant to the Duke of Suffolk. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield. Greenwich, 28 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 28 Jan.—P. S. *Fr.*, m. 5.

28. Rob. Browne, page of the Chamber. To be steward, receiver, surveyor, feodary, bailiff and parker of the honor of Wormegey, in cos. Norf. and Suff. Greenwich, 24 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 28 Jan.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 15.

29. John Byron, squire of the Body. To be chief steward of the lordship of Stokebaldolf, Notts, *vice* Sir Rob. Sheffield, deceased. Eltham, 16 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 29 Jan.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 31.

1 Feb. 56. ENGLISH and FRENCH MERCHANTS.

Calig. D. vii.

84.

B. M.

Summons from Anthoine Le Viste, knt., sieur de Fresnes, and Jean Hurault, sieur de Vybraye, councillors and masters of requests of the (French) King's household, to the first usher of the King's great council, ordering him, at the request of Richard Chamblay (Chamberlain), knt., "cappitaine du Chateau de Londres," Robert Goudwin and Jehan Quoquesal, merchants in England, John Abinton and Robert Wardel, captains of vessels, to command Guillaume de la Fontaine, otherwise called "Le Moyne de Bayonne," to answer the allegations of the said complainants, whose vessels he had spoiled and plundered in September and October last. Paris, 1 Feb. 1518. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

1519.

2 Feb.

57.

SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.

85.

B. M.

On Sunday last my lord of [Ely, Sir Richard] Weston and Master Fitzwilliam, left for England. The same day the French king went a-hunting to Mons. Montmorency's, and will not be back till tomorrow or Friday. The English merchants who sued for restitution are gone to Roan, except John Eston's factor and those that were spoiled in September and October last at Bayonne and Bordeaux by La Fontaine. None have been able to prove their complaints except Robert Goodwin of Ipswich, who has but one witness. On Boleyn's remonstrating with the Grand Master "in his chamber in the court, where he lieth sick of the gout," the Chancellor and Mons. de Fresne, one of the commissioners, against the delay of payment and the difficulty of proof, the merchants only bringing bills of complaint or showing letters of testimonial from Hull and Newcastle, he was answered that letters of testimonial are only hearsay evidence, and by the treaty they must have witnesses. To save the expense, and expedite matters, they have agreed to send at their own cost a [commissioner to] England to examine such witnesses as the English merchants can produce, or refer it to two judges in England, who shall return the depositions to the commissioners here. Desires Wolsey's resolution. The merchants object to sending forth the adjournment to Rochelle and Bordeaux, and to this examination of witnesses.

The Chancellor ascertained him, as a great secret, of the death of the Emperor, and that certain of the Electors had expressed their willingness to do Francis pleasure, but he had refused to take any part before he had sent information of the matter to England. ". Tournay was, that my lord Chamberlain was at Tournay, and sent to Peronne to Mons. le Marchall de Chatyllon to come to Tournay, for all thing was ready." Mons. l'Amiral is sent into Lorraine; Mons. de la Varnade, one of the commissioners for the merchants, into Almaine; De la Guyshe, to my lady of Savoy. On the 17th his hundredth day of pay expires. Sends a week before, as desired. Begs Heron may deliver the money to the bearer. Yesterday received a letter by the French post from his highness to Richmond herald, as Brian Tuke writes. Richmond is at Roan. Paris, Candlemas day. *Signed.*

Add.: "To mine especial, &c., my Lord Legate Cardinal and Chancellor of England."

Mutilated, pp. 3.

4 Feb.

58.

WORCESTER, DOCWRA, VAUX and BELKNAPP to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Left Peronne for Tournay on the 27th Jan., to prepare the ordnance for conveyance to Calais by water, and to set the soldiers in order, that they might be ready to depart to the King's honor. On leaving Peronne, "were in hand with" Mons. Chatillon and the general, who was to pay the 50,000 francs, to see if they would do so, as Worcester wished to pay the soldiers before the delivery of the town. Worcester, Docwra and Vaux offered to remain with them as pledges, and enter the town with them; but they said they had no orders to pay the said sum till the delivery. The writers said that should be done as soon as they had heard from the Treasurer of Calais that the six hostages were in his keeping; with which Chatillon was well contented. Arrived at Tournay on the 30th, four days after Belknapp. Wrote to Robert Fowler for money from Calais, by which five or six days' wages will be saved. Garrison and artillery will be ready to depart at the foresaid day, "and sorry we would have been that the Frenchmen should have heard the reckonings that hath been with the said soldiers for their debts."

Enclose a letter from lord Ligny to Jerningham, and another from Hedyng to Worcester. The day they entered Tournay, Ligny delivered

1519.

Mortaigne to Hedyng, for the king of Castile and lady Margaret, and went to a place of his called Baillewe, in Hainault. Sent him, by Clarenceux and Russell the King's letters for the deliverance of the castle and town, with "letters patentes of peremptorie summons," in case he should not comply. They have not yet returned. On Candlemas Eve, Hedyng brought Worcester a letter of credence from lady Margaret, to the effect that Ligney would not deliver Mortaigne to her and the King of Castile till she had promised him, under her seal, to persuade Henry to give him some recompence, as Mortaigne is his inheritance by the King's grant, and he had given it to his son. They answered, they had no authority to speak on that matter to any one, except to De Ligney, to whom the King had delivered the castle, and had sent an officer of arms demanding its surrender. Hedyng replied, that his mistress had sent to the King, and she was only bound by her writing to do the best she could to get Ligney recompensed, and when she had Henry's answer she would deliver the town to whom the King pleased. He hoped the King would reimburse Ligney for his expenses. Said they could make no promise. Offered to receive the place, and certify the King of it; but he had no such orders.

The same day received Wolsey's letter dated Westminster, 28 Jan., with a copy of the King's letter in French, desired by Mons. de la Batte, the French ambassador. Are "sore troubled and called upon" for Wm. Pawne's debts for works done in the citadel, and stuff for the building of it. They must be paid, to avoid slander and other troubles that might ensue. The only authority they have to pay is Wolsey's letter, dated Westminster, 11 Jan.

The day after their arrival spoke with the governors of the town and those of the chapter, and intend to do so again in Chatillon's presence. They professed gratitude to the King, but evidently are "gladder to return French than to continue English." Have not yet heard from Sandes of the receipt of the sixth hostage. When they do so will deliver the town.

Desire the master of the ordnance, or some other, be appointed to receive the ordnance at Calais of Belknap, Jerningham and Thos. Herte, or their deputies. Have delivered the King's letters to the deputy, &c. of the garrison. They are all willing to return home. The French king has written to Worcester about the view of the places for the meeting. Wish to know the King's pleasure at their coming to Calais. As no one of better rank than the captain of Boulogne will be sent, one or two of the officers of Calais or Guisnes will be enough for the first view. Tournay, 4 Feb.

Clarenceux and Russell have returned from Ligney. He received them with many good words, but returned them the King's letters. A copy of them both was accordingly given him. Enclose the copy of a letter from him to Worcester. He told Clarenceux that he and his son had delivered Mortaigne to the lady Margaret only for the King, trusting the King would give them some recompence. Are informed by Herte that there is "a pale" remaining here which was in the field at the King's being in these parts. It would cost three times its worth to carry it to Calais. The guns and iron work are shipped; the boards and old wheels are left. They can be sent for any time this half year. Have just received a letter from Sandes, saying that he has received the sixth hostage. Have accordingly written to Chatillon that they are ready to perform the King's promise. Trust he will be here on Monday or Tuesday. Will then return to Calais, and so to the King. *Signed.*

The stuff that Pawne has to sell will not fetch much unless the French officers buy it. It will not cover his debts. Are afraid the French will not take it, as, though they spoke of it at Paris, they have not done so since they came here.

Pp. 9. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace, legate of England.

1519.

59. JACQUES DE HORNES to the [ENGLISH] AMBASSADOR.

Calig. E. i. 83.

B. M.

Offers his services to the king of England. Had been promised when in England that if the King employed any strangers he should be thought of. Has written to Hesdin to speak in his behalf. Weert, 6 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add. : "[A Mons.] l'ambassadeur [pour la Maje]ste du Roy [d'Angleterr]e estant pardecha."

60. CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to HENRY VIII.

Vesp. C. i. 239.

B. M.

Notifying the death of his grandfather Maximilian. Montserrat, 6 Feb. 1519. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. : À très hault, &c., notre bon frère et bel oncle le Roy d'Angleterre.

61. CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. i. 240.

B. M.

In consequence of the death of Maximilian, solicits Wolsey to obtain for him Henry VIII.'s interest towards his election to the empire. Montserrat, 6 Feb. 1519. *Signed : Yo el Rey.*

Lat., pp. 3. Add. : R^{mo}, &c. Thomæ cardinali Eboracensi, legato, &c.

62. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.Galba, B. v.
338.

B. M.

Has received his letters of consolation on the death of her father Maximilian. Next to her nephew the King Catholic, has the greatest reliance on the king of England. Malines, 7 Feb. 1518. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

63. HUGH [OLDHAM] BP. OF EXETER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Received his letter on the 1 Feb., dated Westm., 31 Dec., communicating the information that he had been created legate, and summoning the bishops to meet at Westm., the writer among the number, on the day after Ash Wednesday, for the reformation of the Church of England. Montagu, 8 Feb. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

64. The ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS at TOURNAI.

R. T. 137.

Acknowledgment by the earl of Worcester, Docwra, Vaux and Belknap of the receipt of 50,000 francs from Francis I. Tournay, 8 Feb. 1518.

Lat. The original signed and sealed.

65. JOHN DE LA SAUCH, keeper of the Seal Royal in Tournay.

R. T. 137.

Vidimus of letters patent of Henry VIII., dated London, 9 Nov. 1518, empowering the earl of Worcester, the prior of St. John's, Sir Nicholas Vaux, captain of Guisnes, and Sir Edward Belknap, to surrender Tournay, the abbey of St. Amand and the castle of Mortaygne, to Francis I. or his deputies. *Signed by John le Clement and Anthony Joseph, royal notaries.*

Fr. and Lat.

66. MORTAIGNE.

R. O.

Rym. XIII.
693.

Surrender, by Anthony count Fauquenbergh, baron de Lingne, of Mortaigne, to John de Hesdin, maître d'hôtel of Margaret of Savoy, as, in consequence of his great maladies and other urgent reasons, he cannot deliver it to Henry VIII. in person. 8 Feb. 1518. *Signed.*

Fr.

1519.

8 Feb. 67. A. DE LIGNE to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. v. 337.
B. M. Is advertised by a gentleman at arms that the King is very indignant at his having delivered Mortaigne into the hands of my lady of Savoy, &c.*

9 Feb. 68. The PROVOST, JURATS, and SHERIFFS of ST. AMAND EN GENLE.

B. T. 137. Commission to William abbot of St. Amand to make oath of fealty to the king of France. 9 Feb. 1518.

Fr.

ii. Commission to the same to obtain acquittance from their oath to the king of England. 9 Feb. 1518.

Fr.

9 Feb. 69. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii. 87.
B. M. Has received letters by Boulen and by De la Bastye his ambassador. Learns that the King is acquainted with the death of the Emperor. Hopes for the King's good offices, and the Cardinal's, on this interesting occasion. Paris, 9 Feb. *Signed.*

Add.: "[A] Mons. le legat, Cardinal d'Yort, primat en Angleterre."
Mutilated, p. 1.

9 Feb. 70. [SIR THOMAS BOLEYN] to HENRY VIII.

Calig. D. vii. 88.
B. M. Received on the 7th Feb. letters dated 31 Jan., directed to himself and the bishop of Ely, with two others; one to the French king, and the other to his mother. Delivered the same to the King as he came from mass in his chamber. He took Boleyn apart to the window; told him he had heard of Henry's satisfaction at the entertainment of his ambassadors; said that Henry had set him the example;—that he could not do half enough. Boleyn told him that his master, on hearing the death of the Emperor, had sent information of that event, that they might act in perfect unity; because, as in the new Emperor there will really be vested the monarchy of Christendom, it was important they should proceed prudently and harmoniously. "Whereunto he bade me lean out at the window with him, and he would tell me what he had done in it, and his whole mind; what further he intended to do he would speak with my Lady his mother." He told Boleyn several of the Electors, perceiving the wish of Maximilian that the King Catholic should succeed, and that he "was old and sickly, and, by reason of a running," in danger of death, had expressed themselves favorable to Francis; first, because of the greater service he might do against the Infidels, "which he sweareth is most in his mind;" and next, the great good he might do in Christendom betwixt all other princes:—that he has the promise of four of the Electors, under their hands and seals; that he is endeavouring to bring over Cologne and Treves, and hopes to accomplish it by means of the duke of Gueldres, and another duke of Almayn, whose name Boleyn does not remember. He is rejoiced at the aid promised him in the late letters from England, especially as "your grace" does not pretend to it yourself, as his ambassador [informed] him.

Boleyn told him that he had received no notification of this matter, but only to know his opinion. He repeated that he had heard from his ambassador "of your loving and favorable mind towards him," and would send str[aightway to the] Lady his mother, who lay the night before at Villeroys

* Inserted by mistake in vol. II. no. 3,930, which see.

1519.

[SIR THOMAS BOLEYN] to HENRY VIII.—*cont.*

... [at] the further end of Paris, to be with him within two hours. On Boleyn saying that the letters should have come to his hands sooner, but for the contrary winds, he said, "Contrary winds hindereth [many] matters." The [Queen] mother, on receiving her letters the same afternoon, expressed her delight at the alliance. Paris, 9 Feb. *Signature burnt off.*

Add. : "To the King my sovereign lord."

Mutilated, pp. 3.

10 Feb. 71. TOURNAY.

R. O. 1. Gaspar Colligny to Loys de Proisy, bailly of Tournay.
Rym. XIII. Empowering him to take possession of Mortaigne, surrendered by the
694. English commissioners. Tournay, 10 Feb. 1518. *Signed.*
Fr.

R. O. 2. Surrender, by the earl of Worcester, Thomas Docwra, Nicholas
Rym. XIII. Vaux and Edward Belknap, of Tournay, into the hands of Châtillon.
694. 10 Feb. 1518.
Fr.

R. O. 3. Security given by Worcester and the rest to Chastyllon that they
will obtain the king of England's ratification of what they have done in
absolving the citizens of Tournay from their allegiance to England. 10 Feb.
1518.

Fr., p. 1. Endd. : "Copy of the grant that we have made to the lord
Chastyllon."

11 Feb. 72. [WORCESTER and the rest to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. VII. Tomorrow [they] leave Tournay, having delivered it to marshal
90. Chatillon, the city and castle, St. Amand and all the territories, with the
B. M. town and castle of Mortaigne, which they have received of lord Lyngnye
by the hands of Hedyng, lady Margaret's steward, with no other con-
dition except that the writing under the seal of the said lord Lyngnye
shall be delivered with a discharge under the great seal. Hedyng has taken
great pains in this matter. Tournay, 11 Feb. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

11 Feb. 73. For JOHN BLOUNT, squire of the Body.

P. S. To be keeper of Clebury Park, Salop, for life, *vice* John Blount,
deceased. Greenwich, 9 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 11 Feb.
Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14.

12 Feb. 74. [WEST BP. OF ELY to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. VII. Thursday, 8 Feb., the King's ordnance was dispatched "out of the
91. danger of Tournay." The same day marshal Chatillon lodged within a
B. M. league of the town with a French general called Hurat, 1,200 horse and
500 foot; and the same day the writer, in company with Robert Fowler, re-
ceived 50,000 francs in crowns of the sun, *i.e.* 26,315 and 30 sous "Tournois".
Refused to take his acquittance until he was in part possession of Tournay,
when "he caused his trumpets to be blown, and displayed both his own
banners and the duke of Vandon's, Mons. Pyons, captain of Bayard, and
others, with the wivellers' banner for conduct of the footmen, and set forth all
his artillery and his company in array like as he should have joined battle."
On the writer objecting to this proceeding as suited more to a conquest

1519.

than a surrender by treaty, Chatillon answered that he knew better how to enter a town than the writer did. However, on reference to the lord Chamberlain and others, the King's ambassadors, Clarencieux was sent forbidding the Marshal to enter in that form. After certain arrangements the Chamberlain delivered his discharge to Sir Richard Jerningham, took the keys of him and delivered them to Chatillon, and entered the town, riding by his side. Afterward he surveyed the walls, and satisfied himself that there was no more ordnance.

On Friday the writer rode to Mortaigne, and received it of Mons. Hedin, and delivered it to Mons. Pressye, who had received authority from France for that purpose. It has been strongly fortified by De Lyny. The King's ordnance has been stopped at a place called Odyner (Oudinard). Proposes going to Antwerp to hire ships for its transport. Begs that somebody may be appointed to receive it at Calais by indenture with Mr. Hert; and that protection may be granted for certain soldiers going to England, to be specified by Jerningham. Tournay, 12 Feb. *Signature burnt off.*

Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace, legate, &c.

Mutilated, pp. 3.

12 Feb. 75. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

In favor of Jaques Semel, physician, late of St. Omer's, who has been imprisoned in London at the suit of John Berannel, for upwards of 14 months, in whose favor the Emperor, the king of Castile and herself, have frequently written. Maître Jehan Jouglet sieur de Maretz, master of requests of the king of Castile, now in England, will give fuller information. Mechlin, 12 Feb. 1518. *Signed.*

Fr., pp. 2. Add.: A Mons. le card. d'Yorck.

13 Feb. 76. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Ellis, 3 S.
i. 193.

When the King heard Pace say that Wolsey was so ill with "the murre" he could not hold up his head, his grace said, "Alas! I am sorry therefor, and I would be glad to see him; which I said should be as soon as your grace might go out of doors." The lord Marquis has sued for letters from the King to the bishop of London for the preferment of his brother to the archdeaconry of Colchester; but the King, hearing it was worth only 100 marks, "said it was more meet for his secretary than for his brother, and that he would write for me therein;" and immediately commanded Mr. More to write in Pace's behalf. Greenwich, 13 Feb.

Hol., pp. 2.

14 Feb. 77. SYNOD OF THE CLERGY.

R. O.

John [Penny] Bishop of Carlisle to Wolsey.

I perceive by your letters your desire to repress the vices and errors which are beginning to spread through Christendom. Though a hard task, it will be to your glory. Desires to be excused coming to the Council which Wolsey has summoned for after Ash Wednesday, as he has scarcely recovered from a severe illness, and is still very weak. Will send Tunis and Park as his proctors. Mylborn, 21 Feb. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.: Tho. Card. Ebor. legato, &c.

2. Wolsey to Archbishop Warham.

Has seen the copy of his monitions directed to the Archbishop's suffragans, commanding them to repair to Lambeth to keep a general council for the reformation of enormities, "forasmuch as it hath pleased

1519.

SYNOD OF THE CLERGY—*cont.*

the King's grace, like a noble and virtuous prince, to move you thereunto." Wolsey is assured that the King will not have him so little esteemed as Legate "that ye should enterprise the said reformation to the express derogation of the said dignity of the see apostolic, and otherwise than the law will suffer you, without mine advice, consent and knowledge; nor ye had no such commandment of his grace, but expressly to the contrary; and that well appeared where his grace and highness willed you to repair to me at Greenwich sitting in administration of divines in the quire." The Archbishop must appear before the Legate, and explain his reasons for disobeying the King's command. As Wolsey intends to be at Richmond for eight or ten days, which is not far distant from the Archbishop's place at Mortlake, this interview "shall not be much inconvenient" to his grace. From my house of York.

3. Wolsey to Booth Bishop of Hereford.

Wilkins'
Concilia,
III. 661.

Commanding him to 'attend a council (*concilium*) for the reformation of the clergy, to be held on the Monday after Ash Wednesday at St. Peter's, Westminster. Westm., 31 Dec.

ii. The Same to the Same.

Although for the reformation of the clergy he and other bishops met at Wolsey's house on the day after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the convocation has been put off until the Monday after Ash Wednesday next, in consequence of the plague raging in the city of London. Meanwhile the Bishop is to put in practice articles already agreed on for the reformation of the clergy, that on his arrival in town he may be able to report what good has come of them. 21 Aug. (?) 1518.

4. The Bishop of Hereford to William Webb, Archdeacon of Hereford, and his Clergy.

Wilkins'
Concilia,
III. 681.

Summoning the clergy to attend a synod for the discussion of certain articles lately submitted by Wolsey, as papal legate, to a council of bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York lately held at Westminster. Hereford, 26 April 1519.

5. Constitutions of Wolsey for the province of York, selected from the canons of his predecessors.

Wilkins'
Concilia,
III. 682.

These turn upon the following subjects:—The plain preaching to the people, in the vulgar tongue, of the articles of belief; the administration of sacraments; tithes and offerings; duties of archdeacons and priests; jurisdiction, and cognisance of matrimonial causes; holidays; appeals; the life and honesty of the clergy; nonresidence; monasteries; repairs; immunities; simony; and the like.

6. [Thomas Gould] to [Warham] Archbishop of Canterbury.

R. O.

The great malice of Warham's adversary is abated and discouraged, "for he perceiveth the great love and favor that ye have in the room." Hears from Dr. Sexton that he proposes "secretly to handle you in the *præmunire*." Some of the council say that if Warham had been called before "this great tyrant" they would not assist him, so that it would be more to his rebuke than Warham's. Spoke lately with my lord of Norwich, who keeps himself firm and stable towards God and his church. Met him at More gate, going secretly to Master Ursewick's with one chaplain and two servants, and he promised that "he would assuredly stick by you, as his hand was in mine at our departing," saying also that the Cardinal laid nothing to his charge as yet, but would have him keep his day next Lent,

1519.

and that, if the King would not suffer him to have his lawful defence in the case of *præmunire*, he would forsake him as his liegeman. Departed thence to Fynysberefelde.

Asks his favor in the matter of the benefice, and that he will take his brother's title, as he died intestate, and no man had the ministration of his goods, so that Warham alone has a right to this "wooson." Mr. Olevyr, Gould's parish priest of Bowe, executor of Sir William, his former priest, will go to him about it. Has promised him his good will. London, 14 Feb., "by the hands of your old chaplain, and it shall please your lordship, our Lady of Stanynge in London, which is in my wooson, and to content Master Olevyr therewith." *Signature torn off.*

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: My [lord] of Canterbury's grace.

16 Feb. 78. The CITY OF TOURNAY.

R. T. 157. Promise, by the provosts and community, to pay to Francis I. 6,000 livres of Tours, over and above the 23,000 which they owed to the king of England, and which Francis has undertaken to pay to Henry. 4,000 to be paid every year. 16 Feb. 1518.

Fr.

16 Feb. 79. For SIR THOMAS and JOHN BLOUNT, squire of the Body.

P. S. To be stewards, in survivorship, of the manors of Beweley and Clebury Mortymer, masters of the hunt, and parkers of the parks in the forest of Wyre; on surrender of patent of Hen. VII., granting the same to the said Sir Thomas alone. Greenwich, 9 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 16 Feb.

Pat. 10 *Hen. VIII.* p. 2, m. 17.

18 Feb. 80. For HENRY NORRES, squire of the Body.

S. B. Grant, in tail male of the lordships of Stokebardolf, Shelford, Godlyng, Cropwelbishop, Newton and Carleton, Notts., with appurtenances in the hamlets of the same, and in Elsham, Wraby, Glamfurthbriges, Dodington, Stubton and Westburgh, Linc., Alvaston, Thurlaston and Ambaston, Derb., with advowsons, fairs, markets, &c.; formerly belonging to William late viscount Beaumont, and on his death reverting to the crown by attainder of Francis late lord Lovel. *Del.* Westm., 18 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 10 *Hen. VIII.* p. 2, m. 25.

19 Feb. 81. LEO X. to WARHAM.

Wilkins' Concilia, III. 683. Determining a doubt when the vigil of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist falls upon *Corpus Christi* day. Rome, 19 Feb. 1519.

19 Feb. 82. PONYNGES to WOLSEY.

R. O. Fowler came over yesterday, about 10 o'clock. Called before him the soldiers, and declared to them the King's pleasure according to his instructions, which they promised to obey. Made Fowler pay them conduct money, according to the distance of their dwelling. 29 of the guard, and 121 others, were despatched; chiefly men of Lancashire, Cheshire and the North, Devonshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Wales. Their most direct way was by London. Incloses the names. As no passage came today from Calais, they "shall be departed out of London" before the remnant come from Calais. Dover, 19 Feb. *Signed.*

Pp. 1. My lord Card.

1519.

19 Feb.

83.

ABP. WARHAM.

R. O.

Proceedings in a plea of debt, 19 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII., before John Alyn, sheriff of London, between William archbishop of Canterbury, as administrator of Peter Boushons, deceased, merchant of Rouen, and Peter Chorsy and Bartholomew Salvaty, merchants of Florence. Deposed by one Garnisshe, that long before this attachment Thomas Myrfin, now mayor of London, brought an action against the archbishop of Canterbury as administrator of the said Peter Boushons.

Pp. 3.

20 Feb.

84.

THOMAS SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. i. 247.

B. M.

Wrote on the 5th from Our Lady of Montserrat concerning the news of the Emperor's death, which arrived on the 2nd. The master of the posts being absent, delivered the letters to the audiençer. The King came on the 7th to "a house of plasence" two leagues hence, and staid till the 13th, when he made an honorable and triumphant entry. Duplicate expeditions were meanwhile sent secretly into Almanay and Flanders, "doubting the intercession (intercepting?) of the posts." On the 17th received Wolsey's letters of the 4th, and those of Henry VIII. to the Catholico, containing amongst other things credence, which, after a careful perusal of the former, he delivered to the King in the presence of the cardinal of Tortosa and Chievres. Charles is much pleased with Wolsey's consolatory message on the decease of the Emperor, and Henry's determination to observe the amity, which Spinelly is convinced he is also firmly resolved to maintain. If anything has gone wrong it is owing to Charles' little experience, rather than lack of good will. Charles is satisfied with the accounts from England of the hostages given by the French, though the French tell him they are but four younger brethren, and there are more English gentlemen in the French court, their equivalent. Spinelly has assured the King that, notwithstanding the treaty of amity between France and England, the ancient love of the latter for Burgundy was so rooted that it could not be shaken; that since the death of the Emperor, Wolsey had induced the King of England to delay interfering in behalf of Francis, notwithstanding his assiduity and his affirming that he was sure of four Electors; had advised secret means to be made with the Pope to advance the interests of the Catholico; that none would suit better for this purpose than the cardinal of Sion; and he had written to that effect to the Pope for the Cardinal, and caused Campegius to do the same. This news has been very acceptable to Charles, who has sent to thank Wolsey, and will do so by deeds as well as words. 2,000 florins of gold have accordingly been sent to the cardinal of Sion. The Pope will probably lean to the side of the Catholico, as neither he nor the Venetians, nor any other states of Italy, wish the French king to obtain the empire. If his Holiness decline the mission of the cardinal of Sion, Charles desires Wolsey to instruct the English ambassador to advance his cause with the Pope.

Disputes the asseveration that Francis has obtained four of the Electors, as he has not had time to negotiate, and would not want assistance if he had. Chievres has informed him that, instead of 100,000, as reported, the lady of Angoulême has not laid out 80,000 crowns; and the fellowship of Belzers, dwelling in Lyons, by letters of the 14th, write that a general of France has been negotiating for a loan of 200,000 florins without effect. Dining with the Chancellor he was told that Francis had boasted he would spend a whole year's revenue to secure the election for himself or a friend, who is thought to be the duke of Saxony, favored by the elector of Treves. This will not matter if the four Electors keep their promises,—sc. the cardinal of Brandenburg, the archbishops of Mayence and Cologne, the count Palatine, and Joachim marquis of Brandenburg. The late Em-

1519.

peror had also the voice of the king of Bohemia. According to the latest intelligence they remain firm. By letters since the 8th out of Almain, and specially yesternight, Frederick the count Palatine had written that the Elector his brother should not change his opinion; that Francis had offered him in marriage the lady Rénée and a large pension. Armestorf affirms the same. The cardinal of Brandenburg will answer for the archbishop of Cologne and the marquis Joachim. The lord of Nassau is gone to reside with the Cardinal, to make sure of him; the marquis Cassimirus and the earl of Mansfeld, with the elector Joachim. Cardinal Gurcensis, the Marshal and the chancellor of Tyrol, the lord Zevenbergh, Andreas de Burgo and Felinger will be present at the diet at Frankfort,† with Cardinal Sedunensis and the Lord Mounteyny, to solicit and advance the affairs of the Catholico King. And besides the provisions of money mentioned in Spinelly's letters within these four days, the Fulkers have granted a loan of 100,000 golden florins; so that, as Chievers told him, they have after satisfying all promises, 200,000 golden florins more than they need; and besides have commissioned the councils of Tyrol and Austria to put everything to pledge, in order to accomplish Charles's desire. If the count Palatine desire the restitution of the lordship of Haguo, for which the Emperor had agreed for 100,000 florins of gold, it shall be restored. The elector of Mayence has convoked the meeting for the Sunday Lætare in Lent (April 3). The archduchess Margaret, immediately on the Emperor's death, made arrangements to prevent the interception of letters. The ligu del Bont has raised a band to attack the duke of Viertembergh, who has taken the town of Reeling, and has demanded his contingent of the Catholico, as the successor to the Emperor, who was the head of the league. Charles has sent 600 horsemen accordingly. To secure his friends the men of Brandenburg will muster 1,000 horsemen. The French king has sent the writings for the peace, and taken the oath secretly in his chamber, only before the chancellor of France and Robertet.

This morning, the 20th, the Catholico made the oath interchangeably before the great lords of Spain and the Pope's nuncio. The King has written to lord Berghes "for his coming unto the King's highness" in case the earl of Horne be not departed. Francis wishes the Great Master of France to be present at the meeting. He will not be there before the end of the month. "The cardinal of Tortosa and commonly all the Spaniards be of contrary opinion, and some think for all this bruit yet it shall not succeed. The Chancellor showed me the French ambassador hath"

The rest of the document is lost. The last two leaves have been carelessly misplaced by the binder.

Holograph, cipher, except a few lines at the commencement, deciphered by Tuke; pp. 16.

20 Feb.

85.

MARGARET OF SAVOY and the COUNCIL to CHARLES OF CASTILE.

Le Glay,
Négoc. II. 253.

No time must be lost about the election. Qualified persons must be sent to negotiate. Advise him to endeavor to secure the election of his brother, if he fail himself. Have sent to Jehan Jouglet the letters for the king of England. M. de Hornes is gone to England, as neither Du Rœux nor the bailiff of Haynau were willing to go, to swear to the treaty lately made between England and France. He will return when his charge is executed; and it would be well to send some one to reside there as soon as possible, as Jouglet does not wish to remain. Malines, 20 Feb.

Fr.

† The pages are here misplaced in MS.

1519.

- 20 Feb. **86.** For HENRY NORREYS, squire of the Body.
 P. S. To be engraver of the King's dies for the gold and silver coinage in the Tower of London and in Calais, for life, *vice* Sir John Sharp, deceased. Greenwich, 30 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 20 Feb.
Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 17.

22 Feb. **87.** CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to HENRY VIII.

- Vesp. C. i. 243. Thanking him for his letters of condolence on the death of Maximilian, his assurances of friendship conveyed through Spinely, and for having written to the Pope in favor of his election. Barcelona, 22 Feb. 1519. *Signed.* *Add.*: A treshault, &c. notre, &c. bon frere, cousin et bel oncle roy d'Angleterre.
Fr., p. 1.

22 Feb. **88.** CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to WOLSEY.

- Vesp. C. i. 244. Thanking him for his good offices in promoting his election, and interposing with the King in his behalf. It was a wise suggestion to appoint the cardinal of Sion for that purpose. Barcelona, 22 Feb. 1519.
Added in Charles's own hand: He will always be Wolsey's cordial friend for his faithful assistance in this matter. *Signed.*
Add.: "R^{mo}, &c. Thomæ, &c., cardinali Ebor. ac sanctæ sedis apostolicæ legato."
Lat., pp. 2.

22 Feb. **89.** CHARLES OF CASTILE to MARGARET OF SAVOY and the COUNCIL.

- Le Glay, Négoc. II. 265. Has received her letters of the 8th and 11th, with copies of letters to her from Germany, England, and other places. Gives directions about the progress of the election. Has heard of the king of England's good will from his own letters. He has also written to the Pope in his behalf, and desired Foucker and Villingher to pay cardinal Sion 1,000 fl. g. towards his expenses. Has written a letter of thanks to Henry and Wolsey, and to Jouglet. Wishes Berghes to go to England, as Wolsey has asked for some person to act as deputy in the league, in which Charles is included as principal contrahent. Barcelona, 22 Feb. '19.
Fr.

22 Feb. **90.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

- Galba, B. v. 340b. Credentials for count Hornes, the bearer, sent by the king of Castile to England, who wishes to be included in the treaty between England and France; with other charges for Jehan Jouglet, now in England. Mechlin, 22 Feb. 1518. *Signed.*
Fr., p. 1, mutilated. *Add.*

22 Feb. **91.** ERASMUS to THOMAS PARCIUS,* secretary of Calais.

- Fr. Ep. VII. 41. Is sending John Smith on business to England. Begs him to further his passage, and let him know how he gets on, "cum Mercuriis istis et quid agat tua nympha." Begs his compliments to the deputy. Antwerp, prid. Cath. Petri, 1518.

* Perkins or Parker (?)

1519.

22 Feb. 92. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

After the death of his daughter Louise, had agreed with the King Catholic for a meeting to be held at Montpellier in March next, between Mons. Boiry, grand master of France, and Chievres, to arrange a marriage between the Catholic and his other daughter Charlotte; which Charles has urgently pressed for, especially since the death of his grandfather the Emperor. Desires to know Henry's pleasure by Boulen the English ambassador. Refers him further to De la Bastie, his ambassador "devers vous." Paris, 22 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

22 Feb. 93. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. I. 16.

B. M.

Has written to Henry of the offers made by the King Catholic of his readiness to send Chievres to Montpellier with full powers to treat with the Grand Master for the confirmation of a marriage made long since between his daughter Charlotte and the said King Catholic. Would do nothing till he had devised with Henry on the subject. La Bastie will show him the letters. Paris, 22 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: "[A] Mons. le Legat," &c.

23 Feb. 94. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. I. 6.

B. M.

Credence for the bearer, the sieur de [la Bastie], counsellor and chamberlain. Paris, 23 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: "[A] Mons. d'Ort."

24 Feb. 95. THOMAS SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. I.

255.

B. M.

"and another post is arrived from Flanders and Almayn with news of the good perseverance of the four Electors." The Fulkers have offered the King 150,000 florins of gold. Austria is at peace. Nothing is known of the French proceedings. The Chancellor, the Great Commander of Castile, and Dr. Carvagial will go with Chievres into France. The marshal of Navarra has arrived and been delivered to the keeping of the constable of Castile. Restitution of their goods to the rebels of Naples, amounting to 12,000 ducats per annum, is nearly concluded. No satisfaction is yet made to the French for the 100,000 to be paid for Naples. Has heard by a secretary of the cardinal of Gurcen, that the business of the Catholic in Almayn is in very good training. Cannot believe the Electors will sell their liberties to the French for any sum.

Charles has received letters from the cardinal of Sion, who was coming to Auspurg. Barcelona, 24 Feb. 1518.

Hol., cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 3.

Add.: "[To m]y lord Cardinal's grace."

25 Feb. 96. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.

ii. 251.

Very sumptuous obsequies have been celebrated here for the Emperor. His demise is held in small account. The surrender of Tournay has taken place. Hostages are come hither. Some of the English ambassadors have been detained at Calais by the stormy weather. Those who returned speak of the great honor paid to them, but will not give particulars. The

1519.

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE—*cont.*

French ambassador has daily audience of Wolsey. He is reserved with Giustinian. Dom. Joan Jaghos (Joulet) is come as ambassador from the Catholic King. Campeggio says he has special power to approve the treaty between France and England, because his predecessor left on bad terms with this King, not choosing to ratify the league. Wolsey and Durham were very dissatisfied with him. Lambeth, 25 Feb. 1519.

25 Feb. 97. J. DE BERGHES to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v. 383 b. In behalf of count Hornes sent to England by [Charles.] Malines, 25 Feb., anno *Signed.*

B. M. Would have been glad to go to England himself, as the King his master wished, but durst not stir in consequence of a pain in one leg.

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

26 Feb. 98. ABP. WARHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wolsey's officers, Doctor Dolman and others, disquiet the Archbishop in his jurisdiction, especially in his court of audience in causes appertaining to him in the right of his church, "by reason of the legacy granted to the same, through their inhibitions." If this continue, his jurisdiction will be "extincted." This is contrary to the law, as learned men will affirm if they speak indifferently according to their learning. Wolsey has told him several times that he would take away no part of the jurisdiction of his church at Canterbury. Thinks this is attempted without his knowledge, and hopes the Cardinal will command his officers to desist until he can attend on Wolsey, which will be next term. Otford, 26 Feb. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To the card. of York and legate de latere.

27 Feb. 99. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The prisoners that were sent for from Leicester to be examined on the overture of Sir Ed. Alen, priest, arrived yesternight, and are now, by the King's orders, sent to Wolsey with their confessions taken at Leicester, on words spoken, and a letter subscribed "T. M. D." The King commits the whole case to Wolsey, and desires all three may be heard together. Pace thinks the priest a crafty fellow and a spy to Rich. de la Pole; and the King's servants now come from Leicester testify "that he is indicted of the murder, which he denieth." Greenwich, 27 Feb.

Hol., pp. 2. "To my lord Legate's grace."

ii. Examination enclosed.

1. Ric. Elliott deposes that he asked Alen whether he had written anything against him, because he was afraid of four servants of lord Hastings and Sir Ric. Sacheverell, who brought the priest a shoulder of venison in prison. Shortly after Alen wrote two sheets of paper, and delivered them to Rob. Rede, Rob. Hasarde and Ric. Morgan, the King's servants. Says that he never took a letter subscribed "T. M. D."—2. Rob. Crokker denies the same, but heard Alen charge the jailor with a seal of laten which he used as a papal notary. The priest asked him what "T. M. D." meant. Said he did not know; on which the priest said he would study it all night, "and in the morning remembered that my Lord

1519.

Marquis' name was Thomas, and thereby found out the residue, viz., Thomas marquis Dorset." Then the priest said, "What shall come hereof within this half year?"

In Pace's hand, pp. 2.

28 Feb. 100. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.

93.

B. M.

Wrote last by the French post on the 22d. On Thursday night letters were received by the King from Mons. de la Bastie, his ambassador in England, whereby, as he informed Boleyn next day, he perceived that his ambassador had revealed his purpose touching the empire to Henry, who told him that he declined for his part to advance any claim, though he had been solicited so to do by the cardinal of Sion when he was in England, seeing that it was only "to draw money out of his realm into Almain," and that it might put him to the expense of distant journeys for the affairs of the empire. Francis talked over the matter with Boleyn about an hour, saying he was quite aware that divers of the German princes held it the chief honor of their country that the Emperor had always been an Almain; but as the Emperor is chief of all Christian princes, he should be chosen from the greatest kings in Christendom (and he reckoned Henry and himself the two greatest), instead of from the petty German princes, who could not undertake anything for the weal of Christendom.

"I was so familiar with him that I asked him in earnest, if he were Emperor, whether he would make a voyage against the Infidels in his proper person, as the voice went. He took me hard by the wrist with the one hand, and laid his other hand upon his breast, and sware to me on his faith, if he attain to be Emperor, that within three years after he [would] be in Constantinople, or he would die by the way;" adding that if Boleyn "lived and saw not this proved" he need never trust his word after. He would begin, he said, by an invasion of Greece, leaving his son in France, and trusting to Henry in his absence "that he would never come again into France." His realm was [worth] to him 6,000,000 yearly, and "he would spend 3,000,000 of gold but he would be E[mperor]." He desired but three voices, and "re[cked] not" who had the others, considering the friendship of Henry "the greatest weal that ever [came to] him and his realm." Boleyn perceives he is very much set upon being made Emperor. "A[nd yet though] his desire is great in it, my Lady his mother is much [more]."

By this time the Great Master and others are gone to meet with Chievres, "which go[eth in] five days hence, as he telleth me. I am sure more than . . . nobles and gentlemen of this court be sent about for this." Dined at court on Saturday with the Great Master [and the] duke of Albany, when the latter received news from Scotland, which he said had come in eight days, of "one Ottyrb[urn, who] he sayeth killed La Bastie, his deputy in Scotland," and "wa[s harbored in] England by the lord Dacres of the North;" which Boleyn denied, because he knew well [that Dacres] "is a good justicer and punisheth sore misdoers, whereby he had displeased some Scotchman on the borders which had written so to him." The young king of Scots was in good health; the Queen not in very good accord with her husband. Albany is very familiar with the King here, comes to his privy chamber when he will, and "goeth much in maskyr with him."

News has come from Rome lately of the death of the cardinal of Arragon. The duke of Urbyn has been sore sick, and is recovered. The

1519.

SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY—*cont.*

Cardinal de Medici, the Pope's brother, is gone to Florence, and the Pope himself will go there in Lent or soon after Easter to see the duchess of Urbino, and christen her expected child.

Sends with this a packet of letters from the Great Master to La Bastye, including one to his grace. Thinks he must send them by his own servant to Calais. The posts here demand a crown at every stage between this and Calais, which would cost nine or ten crowns when the French King does not send. Paris, the last day of February. *Signed.*

Add.: To myn most especial and singular good lord, my lord Legate, Cardinal and Chancellor of England.

Mutilated, pp. 3.

Feb. 101. SHIPPING ACCOUNTS.

R. O. Account of money owing to Robert Stilman, John Tybott and other shipowners at Dover and Calais.

For transporting divers persons [in the company of] the King's grace, after his victorious journey into France in Oct. 5 Hen. VIII., viz. 7 ships of divers portage, for one month from 20 Oct., as showed in a bill signed by Miles Gerrard and John Heron, of the customhouse of London, 53*l.* 4*s.* For transporting the duke of Suffolk, bishop of Ely and others into France, 7 Hen. VIII., and for their return in the company [of the French] Queen, as shown in a bill, without date, signed by the said duke and bishop, besides 42*l.* paid by the duke, 42*l.* For transporting the earl of Worcester, High Chamberlain, the bishop of Ely, the lord of Saint John's and other ambassadors to France, in Nov. 10 Hen. VIII., viz. in 26 ships from Dover to Calais, as shown by a bill signed by the said ambassadors, 83*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* For the return of the said ambassadors, 10 ships of Calais 56*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, 11 ships of Dover 32*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, as shown in several bills. For transporting Dr. Knight, late ambassador with the earl of Worcester, into the parts beyond sea, in the year 8 Hen. VIII., as appears by a letter sent by Knight to the customer at Dover, 40*s.* Total, 269*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*

Pp. 2. Endd.

1519.

102.

GRANTS in FEBRUARY 1519.

Feb.
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GRANTS.

1. Wm. Langhton, Ralph Browne, Leonard Morton, Geo. Thomson, Thos. Watson, John Burrell and William Gardner, all of Berwick. Lease of the whole fishery of "the King's waters of Tweed," for 21 years, at the annual rent of 44*l.*, and 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 5.*

2. Peter Johnson. To be bailiff of the manor of Rising, Norf., parcel of the duchy of Cornwall, with 2*d.* a day, *vice* Hugh Parker, yeoman usher. Greenwich, 2 November, 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 2 Feb.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 15.*

3. Rob. Sheffield. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Sir Robt. Sheffield and Ellen his wife, deceased. Greenwich, 9 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 3 Feb.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 11.*

3. Sir John Ogan. Wardship of Joan, d. and h. of Henry and Katharine Ogan, and heir of the fourth part of the possessions (in co. Glouc., and eos. Glamorgan and Morgan, Wales,) of David Mattheu and Alice his wife. Greenwich, 29 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 3 Feb.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 20.*

4. Florence Lady Gray of Wilton, Sir Simon Hercourte, Reginald Gray, and Wm. Webster, chaplain. Lease of the manors of Wilton, Heref., and Kempley, Glouc., held of Hen. VII. by Sir John Gray of Wilton, deceased, and reverting to the crown on the death of Elizabeth his wife, and of Thomas his grandson and heir; to hold to the use of Richard brother of the said Thomas, at the annual rent of 100 marks. *Del. Westm.*, 4 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 34.*

5. Anth. Fitzherbert, serjeant-at-law, and Thos. Rawson, clk., executors of Sir Hen. Vernon. Licence to found a perpetual chantry of one chaplain, in the church of St. Bartholomew, Tong, Salop, for the souls of the said Sir Henry and Anne his wife, daughter of John late Earl of Shrewsbury; also mortmain licence to alienate thereto lands to the annual value of 8*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 5 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 5.*

6. Recognisance cancelled. Made by Sir Gilbert Talbot, senr., and Sir Gilbert Talbot, junr., both of Grafton, Wore. 6 February 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

6. Th. Wyngfeld, comptroller of the port of Sandewiche. Licence to export 600 quarters of wheat. Greenwich, 24 Dec. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 6 Feb.—P. S.

7. Th. Tempest. Wardship of Peter, son and h. of John Frecheville, deceased. *Del. Westm.*, 7 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 20.*

7. John Hunt, one of the King's master cooks. To be keeper of the royal household in Westminster Palace, with 6*d.* a day. Greenwich, 1 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 7 Feb.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 10.*

7. James Worsley, yeoman of the Wardrobe. To be customer in the town of Calais, *vice* John Sharp, deceased. Greenwich, 31 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 7 Feb.—P. S.

7. Rob. Reynoldes, of London, *alias* Rob. ap David. Pardon. Greenwich, 25 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 7 Feb.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 25.*

8. Th. Roche, merchant tailor, of London. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 8 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. S. B.—Fr., m. 5.

8. John Blades, of Grynton, York. Pardon for killing Thos. Wythtendale in self-defence. *Westm.*, 8 Feb.—*Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 31.*

8. Wm. Bell, of Boughton, Kent, "cloyver." Pardon for killing Wm. Beryn, of Boughton, in self-defence. *Westm.*, 8 Feb.—*Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.*

10. Henry lord Clifford. Inspecimus and exemplification of certain documents touching the liberty of holding markets and fairs attached to the manor of Skipton, formerly belonging to the Earl of Albemarle. *Westm.*, 10 Feb.—*Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14.*

10. Th. Mountague. Wardship of John, son of John Dodyngton, and Eliz. his wife, formerly wife of Thos. Mountague. *Del. Westm.*, 10 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 11.*

10. John Philip, groom of the stable. Annuity of 5 marks out of the tolls, markets, &c. of the town of Rayadnour, in the lordship of Milleneth, marches of Wales, *vice* Edward ap Davyd ap Meredith. *Del. Westm.*, 10 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 33.*

11. John Hudleston. Inspecimus and exemplification of a plea before Hugh de Cressyngham, justice of the peace temp. Edw. I., at Carlisle, relative to the claim of John Hudleston to certain privileges in Milum, Seton, Botte, Kyrkfaman, Bretteby, Seltrest (*sic*). *Westm.*, 11 Feb.—*Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 24.*

11. Ric. Pulton, of Tewkysbury, Glouc., waterman. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield, deputy of Calais. Greenwich 3 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 11 Feb.—P. S. Fr., m. 5.

12. Recognizances cancelled. Made by Wm. Balstrode, of Bekenesfeld, Bucks, Ric. Peppes, of our Lady Wulmar, London, scrivener, and John Ravenyng, of St. Sepulchre's, London, innholder, to Sir Thos. Lovell, Sir John Cutte, and John Heron. Greenwich, 12 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B., with two others attached, dated 18 Nov. 11 and 12 Hen. VIII.

1519.

Feb.

GRANTS.

12. Th. Carvanell and Massy Villyard, grooms of the Privy Chamber. Grant, in survivorship, of two corrodiés or annual pensions in the monastery of Abendon, *vice* Ric. Smyth and John Sharp, dec. Greenwich, 5 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 12 Feb.—P.S.

12. Rob. Bailedon, groom of the Privy Chamber. Grant of the corrody in the monastery of Ely, *vice* John Sharp, dec. Greenwich, 5 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 12 Feb.—P.S.

12. Assize, Justices of.—*Western Circuit:* Th. Elyot with John Erneley and Sir Ric. Elyot. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 5d.—*Midland Circuit:* John Jenour and John Felgate with Th. Pygot and Brian Palmes.—*Norfolk Circuit:* Th. Fitzhugh and Wm. Wyat with Sir Humph. Conyngesby and John Carell. Westm., 12 Feb.—*Pat.* 10 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 12d.

15. Albert Garlond *alias* Crans, of Calais, *alias* of London, gold wire drawer *alias* inn-holder. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 8 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 15 Feb.—P.S. *Fr.*, m. 5.

16. John Fysshier. Lease of a messuage and lands in the lordship of Sutton in Colevyle, Warw., parcel of the earldom of Warwick, lately held by John Dyket and John Ward, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *Del.* Westm., 16 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—*Pat.* p. 2, m. 16.

16. Agnes Multon, widow, daughter and heir of Th. Mason. Licence to alienate the manor of Erlham, Norf., to Th. Alen and Margaret his wife, Rob. Norwiche, John Brampton, Wm. Botrye, citizen and mercer of London, John Gilez, and John Shanton, scrivener, and their heirs. Westm., 16 Feb.—*Pat.* 10 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 7.

18. John Treis, yeoman of the jewelhouse. Grant, for life, of the corrody in the monastery of Bermondsey, Surrey, *vice* Wm. Redde and Alice his wife, dec. *Del.* Westm., 18 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

18. Ric. Cecyll. Lease of lands in Marveek, in the lordship of Burne, Linc., parcel of the lands of the late countess of Richmond, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 3*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, and 10*s.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 18 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 18.

18. Walter Broune. Lease of the mill of Cheriell, parcel of the lands of the late earl of Warwick, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 53*s.* 4*d.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 18 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 16.

20. Hen. Parker, page of the chamber. Grant of a stannary work called a "dole," in each of the following places: Lourcecomb, Hele Brigge, Olde Whittendon *alias* Olde Witton Downe, Lytill Witton Downe *alias* Hyer Witton Downe, and Herlys

Parke; also 2½ "doles" in the Lower Whittendon *alias* Lower Whittton Downe, Devon. Greenwich, 29 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 20 Feb.—P.S.

21. Wm. Riggeley, page of the Wardrobe of Beds. To be bailiff of the manor of Shenston, Staff., and keeper of the park, with 4*d.* a day; and with the herbage and pannage, at an annual rent of 110*s.* 4*d.*; *vice* Robt. Littell. Greenwich, 16 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 21 Feb.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 26.

21. Recognizance cancelled, made by Sir John Bothe, of Barton, Lanc., and Sir Ric. Bolde, of Bolde, Lanc., to pay 375*l.* 11*s.* 7½*d.* to Henry VIII., or the receiver general of the duchy of Cornwall. Greenwich, 21 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

21. Nich. Williams. Lease of the site of the manor of Sherston, Wilts, parcel of the lands of the late earl of Warwick, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 8*l.*, and 10*s.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 21 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 16.

22. Rob. Wyngfeld. Lease of the manor of Brodeton, Wilts, parcel of the lands of the late earl of Warwick, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 10*l.*, and 13*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 22 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 18.

24. Th. Marlar and Ric. Mercer. Grant in survivorship (in consideration of Mercer's service in the late wars) of the corrody in the monastery of Serne, Dors., on surrender thereof by Marlar. Greenwich, 3 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 24 Feb.—P.S.

25. Hen. Knight, of Lekehampton, Glouc. Lease of the manor of Purybarre, Staff., parcel of the lands of the late earl of Warwick, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 20*l.*, and 13*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 25 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 16.

26. Rob. Sewey. Lease, for 21 years, of the manor of Bedon, Berks, lately held by Joan lady Howyth, at the annual rent of 17*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*, and 5*s.* 8*d.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 26 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19.

26. Recognizance cancelled, made by Nich. Rydley, of Wyllymonteswyke, Sir Humph. Lysle, of Felton, Northumb., Clement Skelton, of Carlell, and John Denton, of Denton, Cumb., for payment by Rydly in 1507 of 100 marks for the issues of the sheriffwick of Northumberland. Greenwich, 26 Feb. (Year not given.)—S.B.

26. John Speke. Livery of lands as son and heir of Sir John Speke. *Del.* Westm., 26 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 17.

26. Th. Beste, of Stonham Earl, Suff. Pardon. *Del.* Westm., 26 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 15.

1519.

Feb.

GRANTS.

26. Sir Wm. Smith. To be chief steward of the lordship of Shenston, Staff. Greenwich, 17 Feb. 10 Hen.VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 26 Feb.—P.S.

28. Edw. Standebank. To be bailiff of Hollesworthy, Devon, with 4*d.* a day, in the gift of the King by the death of his grand-

mother. Greenwich, 26 Feb. 10 Hen.VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 28 Feb.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 15.*

28. Th. Bell, chaplain. Presentation to the perpetual vicarage of the church of Lyleshull, Cov. and Lich. dioc. *Westm.*, 28 Feb.—*Pat. 10 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 17.*

1 March. 103. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

After despatching his servant with the French king's letters, the King commanded him to send a messenger to Wolsey, and learn what day he thought it convenient that the hostages now coming with my lord Chamberlain should be presented to him. The King thinks that Thursday next is too short to make convenient provision, and prefers Sunday. Greenwich, 1 March.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

2 March. 104. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has received his letters in answer to those Pace sent yesterday, and showed the contents to the King, especially the clause in Wolsey's own hand. He is satisfied that the hostages should be presented on Sunday. He was afraid they would have attempted to be here tomorrow, because of the jousts. Has heard nothing from my lord Chamberlain in this or any other matter. This morning he has written to the King, stating he had received a letter from Wolsey that the King did not wish him to bring the hostages into his presence before Sunday. The King has told him to follow Wolsey's directions. Writes to the Chamberlain today to inform the ambassador. Greenwich, Wednesday 2 March.

Hol., pp. 2. "To my lord Legate's grace."

3 March. 105. IPSWICH, Suff.

S. B.

Grant, reciting patent 12 March 3 Hen. VIII., confirming a grant of certain liberties by king Edward [IV.], subject to a farm of 60*l.*, and, *inter alia*, of the jurisdiction of admiral within the town. A place called Pollesheved, frequently inundated, being in dispute, to be included in the liberty of the town as heretofore. Also to have "wrek, fletson, and getson," and the goods of felons-de-se, and deodands. None but freemen to trade with any stranger in the town. The bailiffs and burgesses to have power to amend the customs or ordinances. *Del. Hampton Court*, 3 March 10 Hen.VIII.

Pat. 10 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 18.

3 March. 106. For the TOWN OF AYLESHAM, Norf., parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster.

S. B.

Licence to Ric. Crop, the bailiff, and the inhabitants, to hold a weekly market on Saturday, and an annual fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Gregory the Pope. *Del. Westm.*, 3 March 10 Hen.VIII.

Pat. 10 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 25.

4 March. 107. ELIZABETH (ISABELLA) OF DENMARK to HENRY VIII.

Vesp. F. III.

746.

B. M.

Hears from John Holm, captain of the castle of Haurow, and Arnold Hake, that the King has promised, at the request of her husband, to release a ship named the "George," taken by his officers. Ex arce Copenhagen, 4 March 1518. *Signed. See also vol. ii. 3984.*

Lat., p. 1.

III.

C

1519.

4 March. **108.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to MAXIMILIAN DE ZEVEMBERGHES.
Mone, Anzeiger, 1836, 121.

Instructions have come for him for the Swiss. 1,000 fl. g. are to be sent to Sion. If those of the Suabian league demand assistance, 600 horse are to be sent under Francis [de Sickinghen], who is to receive 3,000 fl. a year. The king of England has written, and caused the legate to write to the Pope to favour Charles at the election, and request that Sion may be sent to Frankfort in that behalf. Will ask the King to send some one from England. Hears the king of France is going to Lorraine to be nearer the Electors. Malines, 4 March 1518.

Fr.

4 March. **109.** For SIR RICHARD WYNGEFELD, deputy of Calais.

S. B.

Grant, in tail male, of the reversion of the manors of Donyngton, Brundysse, Cretyngham, Clopton Halle, and Ilktytshall, Suff., forfeited by attainder of Francis late viscount Lovell, and granted by patent 6 Dec. 1 Hen. VIII. to John earl of Oxford, deceased, and Elizabeth his wife, now countess of Oxford, formerly wife of William viscount Beaumont. The countess's title confirmed by act of parliament 5 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 4 March 10 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19.

5 March. **110.** DACRE to WOLSEY.

Calig. B. II.
335.

B. M.

Wrote to him in February last how the lords of Scotland then stood, and how long the Frenchman had lain in Edinburgh, "and the cause of the same." Gaultier, at his coming home, brought a credence from Albany, that he would return by the end of the coming summer; on which the lords from both sides the Forth met at Edinburgh on Tuesday the 15th February. Next day the said Frenchman delivered his letters to the King in Edinburgh Castle. The lords had six days communication with Gaultier in the Tolbooth, and told him that they could not enter the comprehension he has brought: (1) Because he brought no writing of Albany's consent to it. (2) The comprehension is so weak that it is void if any Scotsmen, by command of the King or wardens, commit a raid in England, or even without such authority, if restitution be not made in time. They therefore wait Albany's coming or consent before agreeing to it. Wrote secretly in French to Gaultier to know if he had any message for Wolsey. He replied he would be with Dacre in five days; but the lords have ordered him to remain till news come from the Duke; after which, Dacre is informed, he will go by sea. If the lords find that the Duke is not coming they will make peace with England apart from France. If he do, they will be ruled by him. The King's Marches are in good rest, and cultivated beyond past years. The Homes remain at the tower of Cawmills. The Armstrongs and other evil-disposed persons remain in Scotland upon the Middle Marches, robbing, burning, and slaying. Harbottle, 5 March. *Signed.*

Add. at f. 343b: "To my lord Cardinal's grace."

5 March. **111.** SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. VII.
95.

B. M.

Wrote last on the last day of February. The Great Master informed him this day that his departure for the borders of Spain to meet with Chievres is put off for a week, but he will certainly go, and promises to make Wolsey privy to anything that occurs of importance. He also expects the meeting between Henry and Francis to take place in June, and desires to know what number the King and Wolsey will bring over, that he may appoint an equal number to meet them. By the frequent audiences given to the Venetian ambassador these two days past, Boleyn perceives

1519.

that there is news from Venice, the nature of which he cannot find out, except that the Venetian ambassador in England is recalled and another sent in his place. The Queen is very sickly, worse than she has been in any former confinement. The English gentlemen left here by the ambassadors have miscondacted themselves. Brown and Hart have been at variance; the latter is sore hurt on the head, and not likely to be whole before Easter. Young Gifford, whom lord Ferys "put to the King here," is very ill "with haunting of harlots." A Scotch bishop, called the bp. of Rosse, is here, and tells him that a parliament will be held in his country this Lent, where there is likely to be much strife among the lords, as they have no head or governor. He speaks much evil of the bishop of St. Andrew's, and showed Boleyn a letter he had received from James archbp. of Glasgow and chancellor of Scotland, declaring the bp. of St. Andrew's a mischievous person. Paris, 5 March. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

7 March. 112. [JOHN DUKE OF ALBANY] to CHRISTIERN OF DENMARK.

Adv. MS. 23.

Has seen the ambassador sent by Christiern to the French king, and the letters he brought. Sends James Stuart, his servant, born in France, to Scotland, on the subject of his demands. Has written himself to the estates of the kingdom on the subject. They are very well disposed, but find a difficulty in sending forces, in the absence of the governor, during the King's minority. Paris, 7 March 1518.

Lat., copy, p. 1.

8 March. 113. REVELS.

R. O.

Expences of a revel, called a "maskalyne," after the manner of Italy, held on 7th March, and a joust on the 8th, 10 Hen. VIII., at Greenwich.—Apparel for 46 persons; cloth of gold, velvet, taffeta, sarcenet, &c., of various colours. The articles furnished consist of bases, masking hoods, hats, ladies' petticoats of Spanish work, their bonnets, the King's saddle furniture, buskins, and other necessities for tilting: some furnished by Mrs. Christiana Waren; others by Elizabeth Phyllyp. 13 ostrich feathers, beaten with fine gold, 17s. 4d. "8 feltes ostrege woll, the piece 12d." 4 dozen pasteboards to make hoops for the ladies' garments, and for stuffing of bonnets, 16d. 6 lbs. wire for wiring the hoops, 2s. 6d. Expences for lining and embroidering bases. Sum total, 60l. 7s. 3d. *Signed by John Heron.*

Pp. 11.

8 March. 114. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

On behalf of Yvon Lelixandre, a Breton, who was taken prisoner with his ship and goods, and has already stated his case before the English council. Paris, 8 March. *Signed. Countersigned: Charbonier.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

8 March. 115. For JOHN CLERK, LL.D., the King's councillor.

P. S.

Presentation to the parish church of Southmolton, Exeter dioc. Greenwich, 4 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 8 March.*

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 11.

9 March. 116. SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. 1.

257.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 3rd. *The King has been advertised from Rome, by a letter 26 Feb., of the arrival there of two French ambassadors making six in all, who are daily with the Pope to obtain his favor for their*

1519.

SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to WOLSEY—*cont.*

master in the ensuing election, assuring his holiness that four of the Electors were favorable. Don Jeronimo Vik has signified that the Pope knows the contrary and will continue indifferent. The Spaniards are surprised that the Pope should set by one as much as by two, leaving apart the lordship in Naples promised to his nephew. They are afraid of his changing. As Wolsey's despatch had not reached Rome on the 26th, they beg he will write again to the Pope and Cardinal of Sion, that the French may not boast of the King of England's favor. They have already circulated untruths in this respect, and the same is countenanced by information received from Armestorf, Felinger and Sevenberg; adding that the lords of Castile are in rebellion. A French commissary, by letters of the last of February, has negociated for 300,000 crowns of gold to be delivered in Lyons, without effect. The factors of Fulkers refuse, except the French will send ready money, in consequence of the dangerous state of the country.

The admiral of France and the marshal Chastilion had advanced no further than Lorraine, for lack of safe-conducts. No news of the success of De la Guyche in Flanders. The duke of Saxony, instead of being a friend, is a great enemy to France, and refuses to admit their ambassadors. Some think he is finessing. The two brothers of Brandenburg, Palatine and Cologne, stand firm; but the Palatine asks for more money. Believes in the success of Charles, because he is of Almain blood, and has great estates and friends there. Many evils will ensue, and great confusion, if he fails; loss of the sovereign authority, embroilment with the Emperor, enmity with the house of Bavaria in consequence of their quarrels with Austria, defection of the Swiss, Venetians and others. All these circumstances show the undesirableness of the French succeeding. The only method of keeping them in order is a firm alliance between Spain and England. The Grand Master of France has not departed from Paris, and therefore Chievres has not set out. The latter is not pleased with the arrival of count Horn in England, "excusing himself from the Archduchess that the lord Berghes was not sent." The governor of Lyons has refused to let the posts pass, going into Almayn. Barcelona, 9 March 1518.

Holograph, in cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 7. Add.: [To my lord] Cardinal's grace.

10 March. 117.

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 253.

All the English ambassadors have returned, with eight distinguished hostages—four men and four lads of 17 years and under. As it was not believed they were hostages, Wolsey would not receive them till the French ambassador had presented them as such in public to the King. After this ceremony, the cardinal sent the archbishop of Armagh to the Spanish ambassador with this message—"Quæ vos vidistis et audistis potestis scribere." The ambassador said that this fashion of hostages was not customary. Giustinian said it was done for the satisfaction of the English nation, which is not well pleased with the surrender of Tournay. The same day, as Giustinian was accompanying Wolsey to York House, he said, "What think you of this, Domine Orator? Did we not perform this act with honor to ourselves, so that everybody may be aware that this peace will last, and that there is a pledge for its durability, and those who doubted this fact will now credit it?" The Spanish ambassador says that his colleague, count Horn, a German, enters London today. These lords have not made any preparations to do him honor, and the one now here is in little favor.

1519.

The King had determined to cross the Channel for a conference with the king of France, but there has been great difficulty in the matter and diversity of opinion. It is at length settled that the voyage is to take place; and though report varies as to its period, it will certainly be effected at the end of June or beginning of July. The King has made a list of those who are to accompany him, and sent it to France. The lord treasurer, the duke of Norfolk, will remain here as governor, according to general opinion. The king of England will reach the other side five or six days before the French king comes to the appointed place. From what he hears of the preparations, thinks it will be a fine sight. The meeting will take place between Boulogne and Calais; and there is "a difficulty as to whether, after the reception and conference, they are to go back for the night, the one to Boulogne and the other to Calais, or sleep in tents in the fields." The ambassadors to Spain are returned. Fancies they obtained the mission of these ambassadors from the Catholic King to seal and ratify the confederacy. Compared its original clauses with the copies sent to Rome and France, to learn if any alteration had taken place owing to the arrival of the Spanish ambassadors. The merchants are at Hampton for the purpose of loading the galleys. Lambeth, 10 March 1519.

11 March. 118. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.

96.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 5th. Received yesterday a packet from England containing (1) a letter from Henry to the French king; (2) a "qwere" of instructions, signed by Henry, concerning the deliverance of the King's letter, with recommendations and "certain credence of assured amity for the King's advancement here to the empire," and the proposed meeting between the two kings; (3) a schedule of the number of persons that Henry would bring with him; and (4) a letter from Wolsey to Boleyn concerning the measures to be taken in behalf of the merchants plundered in September and October last. Cannot deliver the letters to Francis at present, as the King has been this Shrove-tide sporting six leagues hence. Has been with my Lady and the Great Master here yesterday, and is appointed by the latter to meet the King tomorrow two leagues hence, when he will execute his instructions.

A report has been spread here of the death of my Lady Princess in England, which he had contradicted upon inquiry. Yesterday the Great Master and the treasurer Robertet showed him a packet of letters from Rome, sent by Poton, the French ambassador there, informing Francis that he had seen a letter written by the cardinal of Sion to a secretary of his "to shew to th" that the King and Wolsey had bid him "keep the Swiss in good devotion to go into Almayn, for the l of the Emperor in favor and aid of the King Catholic," and promised them money from England. This Boleyn prayed the Great Master not to credit, as it was contrary to Henry's letter written to the King here. He replied that he believed it not, but prayed Boleyn to show Wolsey by this what manner of man the Cardinal was. The Great Master also had good tidings from his brother the admiral, and says that "if the princes of Almayn go not too much against honours the King his master is sure of the most part of them;" that one of the Electors came 50 leagues to speak with the admiral; that next week in the Ember days his brother will be made legate of Fra[nce] at Rome, and the archbishop of Toulouse cardinal. It was said that the Pope had appointed him legate for two years. "He said also that the bishop of Paris with other shall be made at Whitsuntide, and reckoned by name eleven cardinals to be in F[rance]," and that the king of Spain hath been lately and purposed going to Montpellier with Chievres next week, but expects news from Spain hourly. He marvelled he had no answer to a letter he wrote to Wolsey

1519.

SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY—*cont.*

offering his services to the King. The writer is glad of the arrangement made by Wolsey for sending his letters through Calais, which will expedite them. Paris, 11 March. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.: To myn most especiall, &c. my lord Legat, cardinal and chaunceler of England.

12 March. 119. For LAWRENCE CAMPEGGIO, Cardinal.

S. B.

Grant of an unfinished house at Rome, in the parish of St. Katharine, near the house of the canons and chapter of St. Peter's and the houses of Francis Sodorini, cardinal. *Del. Westm., 12 March 10 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 32.

14 March. 120. WILLIAM [WARHAM] ABP. OF CANTERBURY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has received his letter this day requiring his attendance at Lambeth tomorrow for urgent reasons. Cannot be there in so hasty speed, considering his age, the distance, and that his horses are at livery at Charring. Will be there by Friday or Saturday next. Maidstone, 14 March. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: My lord Cardinal of York, legate a latere.

14 March. 121. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to [HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. vii.
100.

B. M.

Ellis, 1 Ser.
vol. i. 146.

Yesterday delivered Wolsey's letters to the King. When the King had read them, Boleyn declared to him their effect, according to Henry's instructions, and afterwards showed him the great desire Henry had for the increase of his honor, and the service he intended to do in advancing him to "the preferment of this imperial dignitie." Taking off his bonnet the King thanked your highness heartily, saying, as long as he lived he would be at your highness's pleasure; "saying that what with your puissance and with his help, which he saith your grace shall always have ready at your commandment, there is neither honour, dignity, nor other thing in Christendom but that your highness shall order it at your pleasure." In reply to Boleyn's remark, that his master was anxious for the interview, Francis replied, he was "determined to see your grace, though he should come by himself, his page and his lacquey." He will send the Grand Master in two or three days to Paris to arrange with Boleyn for the interview. Paris, 14 March. *Signature burnt off.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

14 March. 122. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.

98.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 11th. The Queen and my Lady left Paris the same day for St. Germain, where the former was to be confined, but was taken ill by the way, and was obliged to rest at the village of La Porte de Neuilly, and that night she was in great danger. False reports were spread, first of her death, afterwards of her delivery; which kept Boleyn away from court on Saturday, when he had appointed to meet the Great Master. He was sent for, however, yesterday, and saw the lodgings of the King and Queen, my Lady the king's mother, the duchess of Alençon, and the Great Master, at the said village. "The Great Master hath no chimney in his chamber, but there is a great oven." If the Queen is strong enough, she is to be conveyed by water to St. Germain's in "close barges with chambers made in them;" if not, she must remain.

Delivered the King's letters to Francis, in presence of the Great Master and Robertet only, and afterwards a letter from Wolsey, expressing at the same time his grace's willingness to do him service; to which Francis replied that he was well assured of it, and that for his part Wolsey should not find him ungrateful. He promised, on the word of a king, that if Wolsey aspired to

1519.

be head of the church he would secure him on the first opportunity the voices of fourteen cardinals, the whole company of the Ursyns at Rome, and the help of one Mark Antony di Colonna, whom he calls a valiant man, and of great reputation there; reckoning that now the King's highness and he were at one, there should neither Emperor nor Pope be made but such as pleased them. Boleyn believes he has the best mind for Wolsey's advancement, and thinks that if the latter do not accept his offer he will do his best for some of his own cardinals.

When he had been an hour with the King the ambassador of Denmark came in, and afterwards the duke of Albany was called. Knew not about what matter. The Great Master told him that Albany would be present at the meeting between Henry and Francis, and also an ambassador from Scotland, when he hoped "some good conclusion should be taken for the duke of Albany;"—also that, but for the Queen's illness, he would have set out tomorrow for Montpellier; that nothing should be treated without Wolsey being made aware of it. He desired a copy of the list of persons coming with the King to the meeting, which Boleyn has delivered to him. He promises also that Boleyn shall have answer within three days of every article touching the meeting and interview, and also the order of redress of the merchants, which he will send to the King as soon as they arrive. Paris, 14 March. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.: To, &c. my lord Legate, &c.

15 March. 123. For the ABBEY OF READING.

Writ to the escheator of Oxon. and Berks, for restitution of the temporalities of Reading Abbey, on election of Th. Worcestour as abbot, whose fealty was taken by John abbot of Chartesey and Sir Ric. Weston. Westm., 15 March.

ii. Similar writs to the escheators of Essex, Herts, Warw., Beds and Bucks, Heref., Kent, Hants and Wilts, and to the mayor (Th. Mirfyn) and escheator of London.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 20.

P. S. b. 2. Petition of Edmund bp. of Salisbury for the above. Remmesbury, 27 Feb. 1518. *In margin: 15 die Marcii.*

16 March. 124. JULIUS DE MEDICI (Vice-chancellor) to WOLSEY.

R. O. Requesting Wolsey to put an end to a suit in which Luke Baptista Spinola is a party. That family has long been on friendly terms with the writer. Florence, March 16, 1519. *Signed and Add.*

P. 1.

17 March. 125. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp. II. 256. An ambassador from the King Catholic has arrived to ratify the league between the princes of Christendom. Yesterday was appointed for his audience, for which sumptuous preparations had been made. A great number of lords and prelates had been convened, "including 17 bishops not usually in attendance at the great court." As the Pope had sent a fresh commission to the legates, in confirmation of what had been done, it was arranged that they were to come to court as if newly sent by him. Accordingly they were met by the King, the prelates, lords and ambassadors, "with all the ceremonies observed on a first arrival." The prothonotary Campeggio, son (brother?) of the legate, delivered an elegant oration, lauding the King for his promptitude in the Christian expedition. Then a Spanish ambassador made an oration, thanking the King for naming his sovereign as a chief confederate, not mentioning the Pope or any other. Pace replied, qualifying the Pope "*tanquam comitem confederationis*;" and, to mitigate

1519.

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE—*cont.*

the arrogance of such an expression, he added, '*comitem* et, quod maxime optavit hic sacratissimus rex, *principem* confederationis.'" The chief author of these proceedings is Wolsey, whose sole aim is to procure incense for his King and himself. He will, in point of fact, make sale of all these settlements, and nothing pleases him more than to be styled the arbitrator of the affairs of Christendom. The French ambassador did not seem pleased. He has inquired whether the Doge would approve of the French King being emperor. Giustinian replied that he would. Lambeth, 17 March 1519.

18 March. 126. ENGLISH MERCHANTS.

Calig. D. vii.

101.

B. M.

A declaration by the sieur La Viste, showing that, at the request of Wolsey, [presented] by Boleyn, the king of France had consented to his wishes touching restitution to be made to the English merchants. The deputies sent to Bayonne estimate the damages at from 18,000 to 20,000 livres. The King trusts that Wolsey will have the particulars of the several demands strictly examined, and consents that the "adjournements" made against Guillaume de la Fontaine shall be made at his own expense. Paris, 18 March 15[18].

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

18 March. 127. ABP. WARHAM to WOLSEY.

Fiddes, C.

p. 178.

Is informed that Wolsey intends to interrupt him in the use of the prerogative of which he and his predecessors, in right of the church of Canterbury, have been possessed from time immemorial, and that Dr. Allen is deputed for that purpose. As by such a step the Archbishop and his officers would be continually inhibited by Wolsey's officers, nothing would be left to the writer but the shadow of jurisdiction. Begs Wolsey will defer this matter until the Archbishop can confer with him, and requests credence for his chaplain, Master Wellis, the bearer. Croydon, 18 March.

Cleop. F. 1.

262.

B. M.

2. An argument to show the limits of the rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as *legatus natus*, touching testamentary jurisdiction, citing a number of authorities.

Lat., pp. 5.

19 March. 128. The TREATY OF LONDON.

Egerton, 990.

f. 286.

B. M.

Ratification by Henry VIII. with Charles king of Spain, as principal contrahent (according to request made by James count Hornes and John Jouglet, master of requests), of the treaty of London, 2 Oct. 1518, including his allies; viz., the Pope, the Emperor, the kings of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark and Portugal, Margaret of Savoy, his brother Ferdinand, the dukes of Savoy, Juliers and Cleves, the bishops of Liège and Utrecht, the Swiss, the German leagues, the Florentines and family of De' Medici, the Siennese and Rob. de la Marck. London, 19 March 1518.

Lat., copy.

19 March. 129. [SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.

102.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 13th. Yesterday had a long debate from 2 till 7, with the Grand Master and others, for redress of the merchants. Has, according to the King's desire, taken for his instructions Wolsey's letter of the last of February, desiring that the master of the rolls and the vice-admiral should have the examination of the cases of restitution. Has, accordingly, drawn out articles in French, and presented them to the Chancellor, who approved of them, but claimed the same justice for the French; but as the redress applied to grievances only in September and

1519.

October, the French will be excluded from that benefit. They pressed that restitution, therefore, should be made according to the terms of the treaty. Boleyn replied, that, considering the outrage done to the English, no man in conscience could refuse the restitution; and so great was the unpopularity of the French, that the general feeling would have prevented the treaty from proceeding had not the King appeased the clamor, "and [caused] to be cried with sound of trumpet that every man that was lately spoiled and robbed by Frenchmen should repa[ir] into France, and there to have immediately restitution." They had acted on this faith, and received neither redress nor pity. On his retiring with Robertet into the next chamber, the Great Master and the Chancellor sent for M[ons.] de Frayne, one of the commissioners, and on Boleyn's re-appearing told him that the demands of the English merchants "mounted not past 20,000 francs," and offered 25,000; which Boleyn refused, saying that the King of England, trusting to the honor of France, had become surety for the whole, whatever it might be. They begged him to retire again with Robertet, and on his re-appearing stated they were willing to comply with your grace's demands, only trusting that if the demands of the merchants were outrageous you would abate them. The Chancellor has promised to draw out the agreement in fair Latin or French. They put no trust in the oaths of the merchants, and openly say that Bay . . . is perjured. He has prevailed on the Grand Master that Guillaume de la Fontaine "shalbe adjorned at the King's cost here." Has written a letter to the King. The Great Master goes to Montpellier on Monday next. Has promised to sup with Boleyn. If the Queen be delivered of a son, Francis hopes the King will stand godfather; if of a daughter, the Queen to be godmother. P[aris], 19 March. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

20 March. 130. SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Vesp. C. 1.

261^r.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 9th. The King has since heard from the Archduchess of the count of Horn's arrival in Calais. News is expected of his entry into the general peace. On the 17th the marquis of Brandenburg consummated the marriage with the queen of Arragon without the knowledge of the French ambassador, who was not pleased on hearing of it, because he had solicited such marriage for the lord Lotrecte. The lords of Spain approved, though the thing was without precedent. To preserve her rank the Marquis is to be created king of Bogya in Africa.

† According to Chievres no arrangement between the Catholico and the French king touching Navarre has yet been made. The marshal of Navarre has refused to renounce his allegiance to France, and on the French ambassador demanding his deliverance somewhat arrogantly, he had been sent prisoner to a castle called Grotta Ferrata, six miles distant. At a second audience between the ambassador, Chievres, and others, he was desired to advertise his master that he need not send the Great Master nor any other to speak of the restitution of Navarre, and that no money should be paid for the last half year due for Naples. The relations between the two kingdoms are very unsatisfactory. The French ambassador complains of Robert de la Marche, Tournay, and the military preparations. Chievres is not favorable to the congress, remembering how John duke of Burgundy was handled; and ten years ago the president of Mechlin and Cortaville, being ambassadors there, were kept prisoners in Lyons. As the election is pending, the Catholico will still more need the amity of the king of England. At the lady Margarel's instance the count of Tisania (Decian), heretofore imperial ambassador, shall be his resident there.

† Commences at f. 263.

1519.

THOMAS SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

The election is reckoned certain for Charles, especially as the French king offered his interest for Don Ferdinand, hoping to marry him to his daughter, and set the two brothers by the ears. Lady Chievres has returned from Portugal, and with her nieces has received in gifts more than 15,000 ducats. The king of Portugal is anxious to promote the marriage of his daughter with Charles, and he will probably succeed, owing to the general inclination of the Spaniards, the great dowry, the establishment of the affairs of Castile in the King's absence, the particular profits of Chievres and others.

By letters from Rome of the 3rd, the King has learned that the Pope will not interfere in his favor, nor write to the cardinal of Sion. "Campegius had only signified of the King's highness' intention, and how your grace cast the stone and led the arm." As the King suspects the Pope's neutrality, he has deferred the gift of the lordship promised to his nephew, and has "increased the house of his brother" (Don Ferdinand?) "of 18,000 florins by the year." Barcelona, 20 March 1518.

Hol., chiefly cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 8.

21 March. 131.

SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.
104.B. M.
Ellis, 1 Ser.
vol. i. 162.

Wrote last on the 19th. Yestereven the Great Master supped at his lodgings, and has ridden this day towards Montpellier. Until he returns, Boleyn is to resort to the King, my Lady or Robertet, and none other. Wishes the dislike of his master to come to Calais may be taken in good part. Thinks that after both kings have spoken together, Francis will come secretly to Calais, or into England, if the King desire it. He said that his master had great confidence in Wolsey, and "it had not been seen nor heard of one man being a cardinal to be in so great esteem, trust and reputation of both the kings of England and of France as your grace is." He said further, if anything were treated or concluded where he is now going, Wolsey should be advertised of it; saying that "if matters trained well" betwixt Chievres and himself, he thought he should go and see the King Catholic at Perpignan. He has above a thousand horse in his train, and a guard of thirty archers, "in goldsmiths' work upon their coats, both before and behind." Encloses a paper in French for the interview, and another paper, signed by M. de F[rayn], for redress of the merchants. Whereas the Master of the Rolls and the Vice-admiral are deputed to examine the English merchants, they have only appointed M. de Frayn for the examination of the French. Is to take up his abode at Poissy, half a league from court, where he purposes to go tomorrow. Paris, 21 March.

Part of the signature lost.

Pp. 2, mutilated.

21 March. 132.

SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to [TUKÉ?]

Vesp. C. i.
265.

B. M.

After closing his last, heard this morning that all the Electors except the duke of Saxony had expressed favor to Charles. The election, however, is not to come off till April. The French suits are cold. The Venetians have written to the council of Isebrook in favor of the peace. Notwithstanding the concord between the duke of Wirtemberg and the league of Sweria, the house of Brandenburg, cardinal Gurk and other the King's friends, have determined to keep his army afoot until after the election. The dowry of the King's sister, who is to be married to the elector of Brandenburg, is augmented to "the sum of 300,000 golden gilders besides her apparel, whereof 100 must be paid in ready money, and the remanent at the consummation of the matrimony, of the which the

1519.

Fulkers shall answer." The Pope is suspected to favor the French.
21 March.

P.S.—*The bishop of Helna is arrived.*

Hol., cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 2.

22 March. 133. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 259.

Visited the Spanish ambassadors, who were pleased with your friendly disposition to the King Catholic. They seem jealous lest Venice should side with France. On the 20th they went to Greenwich. "Cardinal Campeggio celebrated high mass in state, giving plenary indulgence to all present; after which, near the high altar, the two legates, in the name of his holiness, confirmed the league." The legates and the King signed the clauses. Then the Spanish ambassadors read the clause relating to their King and took the oath. A banquet followed. The legates and count Horn sate with the King; the count's colleague, the French ambassador and Giustinian, at another table. A visit was paid to the Queen. Pace has assured him that the conference between the kings of England and France will take place in July. Told the French ambassador that the Doge wished his king to be emperor; but when Campeggio said "Your signory must be in great mental suspense about the election of this emperor," and asserted that the diet was to meet at Frankfort the fourth Sunday in Lent, Giustinian told him the Doge was neutral. The prothonotary Campeggio did not approve the election of either of the kings, and said it would be well to take the king of Poland, an extremely able man. Lambeth, 22 March 1519.

23 March. 134. The UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD to WOLSEY.

Fiddes, C. 1.
38.

Cannot forbear setting their troubles before him. They are constantly infested with the plague, which always returns with the warm weather. They attribute it to the condition of the drains, which they cannot clear because the evil takes its origin out of their jurisdiction. The course of the Thames is dammed up in many places by various obstacles, so the waters overflow, cover the meadows and drown the mills. Beg his interference. Oxford, x. kal. April.

Lat.

24 March. 135. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.
339b.
B. M.

Count Hornes and lord Desmares, ambassadors for the Catholic king in England, have expressed the great diligence and kindness of Wolsey in their behalf. Mechlin, nono kal. Aprilis 1518, *nostrate calculo. Signed. Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.*

136. ii. SAME to HENRY VIII.

f. 340.

On the same subject. Malines, 22 March 1518. *Signed. Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.*

25 March. 137. WOLSEY to the BP. OF WORCESTER.

Martene,
Mon. Ampl.
iii. 1285.

Had received his letters of the 19 Feb. Was sorry to find that Worcester entertained doubts of the King's and the Cardinal's affection, and was annoyed that Campeggio rather than himself had been appointed to communicate to the Pope Henry's resolution touching the imperial crown. The sole reason for this conduct was the vast importance of the imperial election and the present affinity with France. Neither Wolsey nor the King could consent to entrust their opinions on this subject to writing until they had discovered the Pope's inclinations; for if the Pope be inclined to France, and their sentiments were to get wind, it might lead to a rupture

1519.

WOLSEY to the Bp. of WORCESTER—*cont.*

between France and England. The King is entirely of Worcester's opinion touching the letters written by the secretary of the cardinal de' Medici; and as he discovers that the Pope is of the same opinion as himself touching the empire, the negotiation will henceforth be conducted by Worcester solely, with all secrecy.

As the French king is straining every nerve, by art or cunning, to obtain the election and succeed in his unbridled desires, England thinks it expedient that every obstacle should be thrown in his way; for if he were successful he would revive many obsolete pretensions, and endanger the independence of the Holy See. Not that Henry is inclined to Charles, from whose overgrown power, were he successful, as much danger might ensue hereafter and perilous dissensions in Christendom. He admits that this would be the less evil, but thinks it desirable for the Pope to remain neuter. But as the French and the Catholic King may demand letters of recommendation, Henry advises him to use dissimulation, and to qualify any such commendations by trusty and secret messengers, "*ne hujusmodi litteris fides ulla habeatur*;"—as Henry himself intends to do. If the king of France should give up his own pretensions, and favor another candidate, then the King and the Pope might act together and consent to the same. Worcester is to watch the Pope's countenance, and endeavor to discover his secret thoughts.

Campeggio has intimated that Henry might have regard to his own honor, and a way be found to prevent either the French or the Catholic king from obtaining the election; by which Wolsey thinks he means to insinuate that Henry might be emperor. Worcester is therefore to sound the Pope; and if he sees a favorable opportunity, he is to say, as of himself, what immense advantage it would be to Christendom and to the papacy if Henry could be prevailed on to take the imperial crown; but that, as he once refused it when offered him by Maximilian, it is to be feared he could hardly be prevailed on to accept it now, and that the Pope should write to Wolsey to use his influence and persuade the King. But this (says Wolsey) will require great dexterity.

The ambassadors of the Catholic king have been here to have their master included as a principal contrahent in the treaty between France and England. On the 15th (?) they made a splendid oration; on the 12th, after mass sung by Wolsey and Campeggio, the treaty was formally ratified, and they now wait for the Pope's confirmatory letters; "*atque ita fide hinc inde data et accepta, suavissima ac propemodum angelica hymnos canentium harmonia, et laudes et gratiæ altissimo et immortalī Deo actæ fuerunt, quod tam sanctum atque divinum opus principum mentibus infuderit.*"

Requests Worcester to tell the Pope how much Wolsey studies in all things the dignity of the Holy See;—that by his influence Campeggio was admitted legate in England *præter morem*;—that great expenses were incurred in his reception by Wolsey;—that by Wolsey's letters (boasting apart) Christendom has been pacified;—that he has been created legate;—and now, when Campeggio is departing, he requests that he may retain this dignity with increased faculties, not for extorting money, but effecting reforms among the clergy, and advancing the Crusade. If he is now to be deprived of it, to his discredit, he would rather never have had it. Hopes that as the Pope conceded in the case of the bishop of Buri* a similar privilege, he will extend the same to Wolsey, whose services to the Holy See have been much greater. He and Campeggio are expecting the bull for the reformation of the clergy. Out of consideration to the many good qualities of Campeggio, the King has given him a house at Rome. Worcester is to

* Qu. Bussy?

1519.

see that there be no difficulty in investing Campeggio with it. Promises to remember Worcester. London, 25 March 1519.

138. [SIR THOMAS SPINELLY] to [WOLSEY].

Vesp. C. 1. 280.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 22nd. On the 23rd news came that Chievres tarried at Narbona in consequence of the new sickness of the Great Master, then at Lyons, who desired Chievres to meet him there. On his refusal he demanded, by Bale his maistre d'hotel, a prorogation of the safeconduct, in case the meeting should be kept. On it being said before the duke of Alva that the king of France wished to make prisoners of the commissioners, "he showed to the King that no greater adventure might come to the commander his son than to be detained two or three years in France, because by that mean he should spare his revenues and pay his debts." Spinelly hopes that Wolsey will write a favorable letter to the cardinal [of Tortosa], who has always been opposed to this meeting with France, and favorable to the crown of England.

By news out of Flanders the truce with the duke of Gueldres, "who dances with the French pipe," has been prorogued for a month. The cardinal of Brandenburg, the archbishop of Cologne, and the count Palatine have received the cautions and pledges for performance of the King's promises. The archbishop of Treves will not bind himself, nor the elector temporal of Brandenburg, "intending to sell himself more dear," if he may. The count of Nassau has gone to the duke of Saxony, who has hitherto only made fair promises. The Cardinal, in the name of the four Electors assembled at Wesel, has persuaded the bishop of Ursino to go home. The bishop of Seguntine informs him that a marriage is in prospect between the Catholico and the daughter of Hungary.

The successor to the Venetian ambassador is deferred.

Imperfect.

Hol., cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 4.

26 March. **139.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. vi.

14.

B. M.

The King her nephew had intended sending to England Berghes, the governor of Bresse, De la Roche and the Audiencer. De Berghes, however, has caught a catarrh, and the governor of Bresse has not had time to prepare for the voyage. Being assured of Henry's love for her nephew, hopes he will excuse the sending of two persons only. Malines, 26th March.

Hol., Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

26 March. **140.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The King, her nephew, is sending an embassy to England. De Berghes, who was included in it, cannot go at present on account of illness. Sends De la Roche and the Audiencer in his place, with the bishop of Elna and Jehan de la Sau. Trusts, from Wolsey's letters, received through her secretary, that he will order things for the preservation of amity. Malines, 26 March.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. Add.: "A Mons^r le Cardinal."

26 March. **141.** J. DE BERGHES to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.

382.

B. M.

Excuses himself, from age and ill health, undertaking the duty of ambassador to England, to which he had been nominated by his sovereign. Berghes, 26 March 1519. Signed.

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. "Mons. le cardinal d'Angleterre."

1519.

26 March. 142. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to [WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.
104.B. M.
Ellis, 1 Ser.
i. 150.

Wrote last on the 21st. Yesterday, Lady Day, was at St. Germain's, "where the Queen and my Lady lieth, but the King rode on Our Lady's even eight leagues hence; and, as my Lady telleth me, it is in a doubt whether he cometh again before the Queen here be brought in bed or nay, for she looketh her time every hour." Is to resort to my Lady whilst the Great Master is away. The King desired her to show Boleyn a letter from his ambassador in Spain, in which it was stated that Henry had sent a letter to the King Catholic, advertising him that Francis had desired the king of England to write in his favor to the Electors of the empire, which the King had refused to do, and had expressed a wish that Charles should be emperor, and not Francis. This letter was stated to be in the hands of the bishop of Burgos. Boleyn begged she would not believe it, saying it was a plot to sow discord between the two princes. She said she had so much trust in England that she gave it no credence, and her son did but laugh at it. Boleyn thinks they do not believe it. She desired that, as he was anxious to have information of all that affected his master's honour, she might be informed of all that affected her son. On expressing her wish for the interview, Boleyn urged her to use her influence to have the lodgings at Calais. She said, after one meeting, all would be well enough; and it was more "triumphant to be lodged in summer in the fields in tents and pavilions than it should be in any town." She often asked about the princess Mary, and whether she had been sick lately. The duchess of Alençon "lately hath been and yet is very sick." Poyssy, 26 March. *Signed.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

27 March. 143. JAMES V. to CHRISTIERN KING OF DENMARK.

R. MS.
13 B. II. 300.
B. M.
Ep. Reg. Sc. I.
313.

Received on 21 March, by Alexander [Kington], M.D., the Danish ambassador, his letters of the 19th Jan. from Copenhagen, demanding the aid of 2,000 foot against the Swedes, to be sent at James's expense to Copenhagen about Easter, and to be supported by Christiern for 4 months. Notwithstanding the rebellion of the Isles, and the attacks of the English, of which doubtless Christiern has been apprised by Denmark king-at-arms, would do all he could to satisfy him, but is unable to promise any certain aid. His ambassador will inform him what efforts he has made to obtain soldiers and ships for him. Edinburgh, 27 March 1519.

Lat.

27 March. 144. For JOHN SMALL.

P. S.

Licence to export from Norfolk and Lincoln 600 quarters of barley for victualling the household of the queen of Scotland. Richmond, 26 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 27 March.

Fr. 10 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

28 March. 145. SIR THOMAS [BOLEYN to WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.
106.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 26th. Yesterday was with my Lady at the court, who informed him that the Admiral had been with the archbishop of Mayence and the marquis of Brandenburg, whom she considers sure for the King; also, that on the 26th there was a meeting of four Electors in Almayne on this side the Rhine, which will probably determine the election. M. De la Bastye has written from England of a great feast lately kept at Greenwich, "where the Pope's legate that came from Rome sang a solemn mass," and his brother made a declaration in Latin of the admission of the Pope and the King Catholic into the league; that after dinner the King talked with Bastye of his favor towards France, and how he said

1519.

"that for the election of the Emperor, if his grace had two voices, the King his brother here should have both." When the Flemish ambassador expressed a fear that the duke of Gueldres had been instigated by Francis to move against the King Catholic, Henry denied it. He also assured La Basty that he had never thought of writing "into Sowysser," as the cardinal of Sion reported and Poton had written from Rome. She is rejoiced at this, and much desires the interview between her son and the king of England. When the Legate came in she took him "[by the] right hand, and me on the tother hand, and brought us [to the] Queen, where she was accompanied with 14 or 15 [lords and] gentlewomen, in a nightgown, and nothing [upon her] head but only a kerchief, looking always her ho[us]e when she shall be brought in bed." The duchess d'Alaunson is well amended. Poissy, [28] March. *Signature burnt off.*

Pp. 2.

28 March. 146. SIL. BP. OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has obtained for him, on his own suggestion, a confessional "in forma brevis multarum facultatum." Has received no answer to his numerous letters. Begs credence for his sub-collector Sylvester Darius, to whom he has given a message for Wolsey. Rome, 28 March 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

29 March. 147. JAQUES DE HORNES to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. III.

341.

B. M.

After he had taken leave of him, paid his respects to the Cardinal, from whom he received a handsome present in the King's name. On his return hither received letters from M[adame], who also writes to the King. Jean Jouglet, his fellow ambassador, is commanded to return and communicate with the King on matters "de par le Roy nostre maistre." Begs he will bear in mind the affair which he recommended, and show the King his master, "votre bon nepveu," the same regard he has always done. Dover, 29 March. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add. Endd.: Letters to the King's highness from sundry lords and noblemen as well out of Flanders as France.

29 March. 148. JAQUES DE HORNES to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Today on his return to Dover received letters from Madame, who also writes letters to the King and Wolsey, which his colleague Mons. Jean Jouglet will present. She need hardly have written, as De Hornes knows Wolsey's mind already on the subject; but, in order to fulfil her commands, Jouglet will return. Dover, 29 March. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: Le Cardinal d'York, legat en Angleterre.

29 March. 149. SIL. BP. OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. IV. 3.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 19th of the ratifying of the five years' truce. Has urged the Pope, according to Wolsey's desire, to enlarge the bull "reformati cleri," and remove the prohibitions to his legatine authority. Hoped to have completed the business 25 days since, but the Pope was long about it, and would not be disturbed in the carnival. Sends the declarations now in the form which the Pope thinks expedient. Has forborne to confirm, as he was commanded in Wolsey's letters of the 2nd Feb., the five years' truce, as it is not quite according to the King's intention. The French ambassador has not yet received any instructions from his King for co-operation with Worcester in this matter, and does not expect any so long as the Spaniards refuse to observe the treaty of Noyon. The Pope will not comply with Worcester's importunity touching the limitation of the legatine letters, nor consent to the reformation of the clergy, as it would supersede

1519.

SIL. BP. OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY—*cont.*

the authority of the bishops. When Worcester alleged the ample legatine authority granted to cardinal de Bussi, the Pope replied that such legations were not usual in England, and that he did it out of gratitude to the French king, from whom the court of Rome received an equivalent. He is dissatisfied at not having received the half disme so often promised him, especially as he has never refused any of Wolsey's requests. Worcester told him that the clergy were powerful in England, and it was not possible to extract money from them as from the clergy of other countries. The Pope was dissatisfied, and said he might have had 30,000 crowns to have saved cardinal Hadrian, but he refused them to please the King. He is also surprised, when other princes responded to his demand for aid against the Turks, that no reply has yet come from England, or from the Convocation held at London in the beginning of Lent. He intends to recall all his legates, Campeggio among the rest. Cardinal Medici has returned from Florence.

With regard to the news of the imperial election, it is quite certain that Francis is using every effort to obtain it. He is favored by the Pope, who cannot decide which would be the less evil. He has never been able to obtain specific promises from the King Catholic. Every two or three days there come letters and messages from France, soliciting the business; and a short time since the French king wrote to the Pope, that the king of England had offered him for that purpose 200,000 nobles, and said that he had had a promise of the empire, but declined it. The Germans are much divided. They do not wish to see the empire always in the house of Austria, but can come to no firm resolution. The Pope desires the opinion of Wolsey in a matter so perilous if the election should fall on either candidate. Excuses himself for speaking so freely.

P.S.—Letters of Campeggio have come from England long after date, signifying the King's wish that the election should not fall on Francis, but that he should send Fra Nicolas to the Swiss. The Pope declines to interfere ostensibly, and thinks the king of England should use all efforts to have one of the Electors declared Emperor. It would be perilous for him to interfere, as he will learn from the letters of De Medici. News has come from Genoa that the king of France is equipping a fleet. The Pope is now resolved to send Fra Nicolas into Germany, and hinder the election falling on either competitor. To mask the design he is to be sent first to Hungary. Rome, 29 March 1519. Signed.

Lat., mutilated, partly cipher, pp. 8.

Vit. B. IV.
23 & 9.

Decipher of the above in the hand of Vannes.

Pp. 3, mutilated.

29 March. 150. [F. GONZAGA MARQUIS OF MANTUA] to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. IV. 2.

Informing him of the death of his father. Mantua, 29 March 1519.

B. M.

Signature burnt off.

Lat., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

151. The ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

R. O.

"Names of persons put out of their rooms," others being appointed in their place.

Carver, Sir David Owen. Gentlemen ushers, Sir Jo. Gyfford, Will. Coffyn and Will. Knyvet. Sir Jas. Worsley. Sewer for the King, Sir Hen. Penago, two sewers of the Chamber, one yeoman usher, seven grooms of the Chamber.

For the Queen's side:—Two yeomen, two grooms, and two yeomen "paid out of the counting house unchecked, after the rate of 3½d. the day."

P. 1.

1519.

152. HENRY COURTENAY EARL OF DEVON.

R. O.

"Liber batellariæ (?) expensarum cum comite Devoniz, incipiente iij^{to} die Januarii, anno x. regni regis Henrici VIII^{ti}."

3 Jan. Boat hire for my lord from Greenwich to my lord Cardinal's place at Westminster, 12d.; thence to Powles, 8d.—11 Jan. Boat hire over the water when he went to dine at lord Darcy's at Stepney. For Benett's boat hire from Stepney to Greenwich when he came for my lord's nightcap, 4d.—26 Jan. For my lord's boat hire when the King and Queen dined at the duke of Norfolk's.—28 Jan. For Willm. Turke's boat hire from Greenwich to London, sent on an errand to Dr. Mychell and Mr. West.—21 Jan. For Willm. Yerde's boat hire to London when he went to look out for the arrival of Mr. Collis.

1 Feb. For Willm. Yerde's boat hire from Lambeth to London when he went to lord Burgeny for a saddle.—19 Feb. For Benett's boat hire from Greenwich to London and back to get a valentine of gold from the goldsmith's for my lord, "to be set on his cap."—21 Feb. For my lord's boat hire from Paul's Wharf to the Crane in the "Vyntre," 1d.

4 March. For Yerde's boat hire from Greenwich to London when he went for spears to run withal.—5 March. For my lord's brother at Greenwich at the same (?) time he awaited for my lord Chamberlain's coming (?) and the Frenchmen when he went in his masking gear.—8 March. For Wm. Gryffyth's boat hire from Greenwich to London and back, against the coming of the ambassadors from the king of Castile.—9 March. For my lord's boat hire from Ratlyf to Greenwich the same day the ambrs. of Burgoyne came to London, when he dined at lord Darcy's. For my lord's boat hire from Greenwich to London when he went to the Savoy for confession, thence to my lord Chamberlain's to dine, from thence to lord Winchester's at St. Mary Overey's, from thence to my lord Cardinal's at Westminster, and the same day boat hire for my lord and servants from Lyon-kave to Greenwich.—16 March. For my lord's servants' boat hire from Greenwich to London and back when my lord dined with the Frenchmen.—17 March. For the same when my lord dined with my lord Marquis.—19 March. For the same, to fetch the ambassadors to the court.—20 March. For ferrying 6 horses over the water to Kewe, when my lord dined at Mr. Belknap's place with the ambassadors of Burgoyne, 6d.—22 March. For Mr. Antony's boat hire over the water at Sutton Court to Richemount.—26 March. For my lord's boat hire from the Old Swan to Westminster, and from thence to London again.

(Here follows a blank page.)

ii. 3 Jan. For 4 of my lord's servants' suppers at Westminster on the same night he supped at my lord Cardinal's, 10d.; also for drink for 2 of my lord's servants at their lodging in Trelany's house in London.—8 Jan. For Willm. Gryffyth's dinner in London when he went to buy velvet to make my lord a partelet, 2d. To the keeper's wife at Greenwich, for "a pot of ale" for my lord, 1d.; and also to the keeper's wife, for drink when my lord played tennis with Mr. Harvey, 4d.—10 Jan. For Wm. Gryffyth's dinner in London when he went with my lord's "backe" velvet gown to be mended, 2d.—12 Jan. For my lord's and his servants' breakfasts at Dr. Smythe's, 18d.; also for butter to dress my lord's meat with, at Dr. Smythe's, 1d. For Wm. Yerde's dinner, 2d.; also for the said William's breakfast, the 10th Jan., at Greenwich, when my lord went hunting in Mortelake Park, 2d.—21 Jan. For Willm. Yerde's breakfasts and dinners when he went to London at my lord's request to enquire after the coming of Mr. Colys, 4d.—18 Jan. For Blackesley's supper in London when he went to John Matte for my lord's black satin doublet, 2d.—26 Jan. For Bennet's supper in London when he went to Matt for my lord's arming doublet, 2d.—31 Jan. For pippins and wine at Dr. Smythe's house at London, 6d.—31 Jan. For 5 of my lord's servants' dinners in Southwark when he dined with the duke of Suffolk, 12d. For ditto, suppers at Trelany's house when my lord was at my lord Marquis's, 10d.

1 Feb. For meat and drink at Croydon, 6 days, 5s. 6½d.—12 Feb. For eggs and

1519.

HENRY COURTENAY EARL OF DEVON—*cont.*

butter unto my lord's chamber for himself, on his coming to Greenwich from Croydon, 4*d.*—17 Feb. For supper at Dr. Smythe's house, 7*s.* 5*d.*—19 Feb. At night, for eggs for my lord into Mr. Treasurer's chamber, 6*d.*—22 Feb. Dinner at Dr. Smythe's, 3*s.* 3*d.*—24 Feb. Oranges for my lord, 1*d.*; pippins, 2*d.*—26 Feb. For Willm. Gryffyth's costs between Croydon and Greenwich when the King was at Mr. Carew's, 4*d.*—27 Feb. For eggs, bread, drink, and oranges in my lord of Burganye's chamber for my lord when they were there masking before the King, 12*d.*

5 March. For Yerd's and 2 horsekeepers' drink at Eltham when my lord did run with Parkar at the tilt, 4*d.* For drink after he had run at the tilt, 2*d.*—9 March. For my lord's drink at Crayeford when he went to meet the ambassadors of Burgoyne, 2*d.*—10 Mar. For bread and drink at Coppyn's house in Greenwich when my lord was there "arming," 2*d.*—10 Mar. For Willm. Turke's dinner at London when he carried my lord's "shemewe and his shoes to shift withal" on the same day the ambassadors of Burgoyne arrived in London, 3*d.*—11 Mar. For the servants' dinner at London when my lord was confessed at the Savoy, 21*d.*—18 Mar. For Yerde's dinner in London when he went to the saddlers and Gilliam, bitmaker, for my lord, 3*d.*—19 Mar. For my lord's drinking at the king's armoury at Greenwich, 2*d.*—20 Mar. For Harpyn's costs from Hyllesdon to Greenwich, 9*d.*—20 Mar. For Wm. Griffyth's costs at Greenwich for 2 days at the time the King removed from thence to Richemount, 8*d.*—22 Mar. To Elderton's wife, of Greenwich, for meat and drink for my lord's servants for 13 weeks and 3 days, 7*s.* Also to Symond Symmes, of Greenwich, for the board of 2 of my lord's servants for 12 weeks, at 16*d.* a week each.—25 Mar. For Anthony's breakfast at Richemount, 1½*d.*—For herrings into my lord's chamber for his servants, 3*d.*—31 Mar. At Dr. Smythe's house, for an eel for my lord's supper, 5*d.*; a dish of "almone" butter, 4*d.*; a playse, 3*d.*; pippins, 1*d.*; wine, 4*d.*

iii. Rewards and Fees, viz. :—

3 Jan. To my lord Cardinal's porters at Westminster by way of reward, 20*d.* To a priest, for singing a mass before my lord, 4*d.* To Elderton's wife, for bringing oranges unto Dr. Smythe's to my lord for his new year's gift, 12*d.*—5 Jan. To Willm. Harte, keeper of the king's place at Greenwich, 4*d.*—7th Jan. At Greenwich, reward to a hermit of the Isle of Wight, 8*d.*—8 Jan. To Willm. Holmes, servant at Greenwich, for bringing a flagon of wine to my lord's chamber, 4*d.* To one of the confectionery for a dish of wardons into my lord's chamber at Greenwich, 4*d.* To Benson and his fellow in the king's chamber at Greenwich, 8*d.*—25 Jan. To a lad at Charleton, for lending his cap to my lord when the King and his lords threw snowballs, 4*d.*—27 Jan. To a yeoman of the guard in the king's chamber, "for keeping of gages when my lord played at shoffull a borde," 4*d.*—30 Jan. To a minstrel at my lord John Marquis's place by command of my lord, 4*d.*—12 Feb. To a priest, for singing a mass before my lord in Powles Church, London, 4*d.* To a priest, for singing of evensong before my lord, 4*d.* To Wm. Small, for the king's stalking horse, 8*d.*—3 Feb. To one of the coursersmen, for bringing a horse when my lord ran in the tiltyard for his pleasure before the King, 12*d.*—7 Feb. For walking my lord's horses at Croydon when the King was at Mr Carew's place, and stayed there a se'ennight, 1*d.* For mending 2 of my lord's shirts, 3*d.*—18 Feb. To a friar at the Blackfriars, for saying a requiem for my lord's father, 4*d.*—27 Feb. To Grenewaye's servant, for bringing my lord a black visor (?), 8*d.*—1 Mar. To lord Harbard's servant, for bringing a steel saddle for my lord at Greenwich, 20*d.*—5 Mar. To a poor man at Greenwich, for helping to walk horses on the day my lord rode at the tilt at Eltham, 1*d.* To Bawdwyn Copyn's servant, for arming my lord at Eltham, 12*d.*—7 Mar. To a tailor at Greenwich, for mending my lord's doublet, 4*d.*—9 Mar. To a poor man, for walking horses at Crayford when my lord met the ambassadors of Burgoyne, 1*d.*—13 Mar. To my lord's confessor at the Savoy, 12*d.*—19 Mar. For washing my lord's cloak at Greenwich, 4*d.*—26 Mar. To a porter, for carrying a barrel of "puffynnes" from Lombard St. to the Goat at the Stronde, 4*d.*—30 Mar. To a priest, for saying mass before my lord at Powles, 4*d.*—31 (?) Mar. To the lawnder, for a quarter's rent due at Lady Day,

1519.

5s. (?) To Symond Symmes, of Greenwich, for carriage of my lord's arms from Greenwich to Eltham, going and coming, 20d. (?)

iv. Jan. Various amounts of alms, generally 1d.—1 Feb. Given in alms to poor folks at the Blackfriars when my lord went to mass there, 2d.

v. 3 Jan. Ribbon for my lord's garters, 17d.—28 Jan. For 2 dozen arming "poyntes" for my lord, 20d.—7 Mar. Account for gloves, ribbons, &c., viz., a "Melen" (Milanese) bonnet, 6s. 8d. A dozen of black ribbon points, 8d. Black, red, white, and russet ribbon. A pair of Spanish gloves, 5d. A yard and half of English ribbon, 2d. Ribbon for a dog chain, 2d.

vi. 3 Jan. My lord's offering at Powles to the "Roode of Nordour," 4d.—31 Jan. My lord's offering at Westminster to Our Lady of Pewe, 4d.—12 Jan. For my lord's offering to St. George in Southwark, 4d.—10 Feb. For my lord's offering to Our Lady of Crome, 4d.—13 Feb. For my lord's offering on Candlemas Day at Greenwich, 8d.—18 March. For my lord's offering at the Savoy, 4d.

vii. Account of meat for my lord's horses, viz.:—5 March. When at Eltham running at the tilt with Mr. Parkar, 10d.—17 March. On going to my lord Leonard's house at London, 8d.—20 March. For horse meat when my lord met the ambassadors of Burgoyne against their going to Greenwich, 2d.—12 March. For four loads of hay to John Towler, of Lewisham, at 7s. 7d. the load.—5 Jan. For two quarters of oats at 2s. 4d. a quarter, to Wm. Gossyp of Wrytelmarche.—12 Mar. For the same at Lewisham, 2s. a quarter. For a load of garbage, 4s.

viii. 8 Jan. For a yard and a half of black velvet bought by Wm. Gryffyth in London at 15s. a yard, for a partelet for my lord.—3 Jan. For 7 yards of black satin at 7s. 6d. a yard. A new year's gift for my lady's grace, and 6 yards of yellow satin at 7s. 6d. a yard for my young lady. To my lady Herbert, 6s. 8d. To Mr. Skwys, 6l. 13s. 4d. For 26 yards of black velvet for a gown and frock at 10s. a yard.

ix. Jan. For my lord's costs on playing tennis at Greenwich with lord Rose and lord, 2s. 4d.—13 Jan. For my lord's losses at cards, 11s.—27 Jan. Delivered to my lord in the King's chamber when he played "shoffulborde" with my lord Richard, Mr. Arthur Pole and Mr. Darcy, 6s. 8d. Delivered to my lord in the Queen's chamber when he played [with Sir] Christopher Garnyshe, Sir Harry Sherbo[urne and] Mr. Darcy Various sums for playing money.—10 Jan. To Benett, to give my lord when he hunted with lord Rose, 4s. 4d.—13 Jan. To Wm. Welshe, for my lord's losses at shooting in Greenwich, 13s. 4d.—4 Feb. For playing money in the Queen's chamber, 40s.; at "shoffulborde," 2s.—7 Feb. At Mr. Carewe's place, for playing, 20s. 8d.; ditto, on the 8th, 19s.; on the 9th, 10s.; on the 10th, at Mr. Carewe's place near Croydon, 3l.—18 Feb. For costs of the King's tennis court at Richmond when my lord played there with young Mr. Care, 2s. 8d.; to young Care for my lord's losses at tennis, 8s.—16 Feb. At the King's tennis court with young Care, 2s. 8d.—26 Feb. To lord Rose, 16s. 8d.; for playing money, 6s. 8d.—15 March. Delivered at Greenwich to lord Leonard Graye, 7 crowns.

x. Sundry payments for my lord, viz.: for visors; . . . cotton, 7s. a yard; shoes, masking garments, shirts, a Spanish cloak, a ring, a "Colen clyff," spears, saddles, and boots; 2½ quires of paper, 8d.

xi. Sundry payments for boots and shoes for my lord and his servants, viz.: for 2 pair black shoes, 2s.; 1 pair velvet shoes, 1s.; quarter shoes, white shoes, side shoes, "black boyded," white Spanish leather, all at 1s. a pair; 1 pair white buskins, 8d.

75 folios; some pages blank; the whole badly mutilated.

March.
R. O.

153. ACCOUNTS FOR TOURNAY.

1. A Memorandum.—To ask Arthur Lovekyn and Matthew Haul for the journal books from 19 March 7 Hen. VIII. to 28 March 8 Hen. VIII. for the first year's account of emptions for the works at Tournay, containing the expences for the passage over, for building

1519.

ACCOUNTS FOR TOURNAY—*cont.*

materials, the King's limekilns, &c., which by your declaration should amount to 2,653*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*

On the dorse: A list of prests amounting to 167*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*, and a list of payments; total, 444*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* Lime burnt, 312*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*

- R. O. 2. Account of Arthur Louffkyn, clerk to Wm. Pawne, master of the works at Tournay.

From 29 March 7 to 28 March 8 Hen. VIII. Money received of Sir John Heron. Sir Edw. Bentstede, late treasurer of Tournay, and Sir Ric. Jarnyngham, deputy and treasurer. Payments by the said Arthur and Matthew Haul, clerk to Mr. Pawne.

The amounts received and paid every four weeks are given.

Total of receipts, 20,400*l.*

Total of payments, 19,854*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Roll.

- R. O. 3. Expenses for building the King's citadel at Tournay in 1516.
A roll. Add.: To the lords of the King's most honorable council.

4. Abstract of the preceding.

P. 1.

- R. O. 5. Pawne's Memorandum.

"The book of anno primo where they have set divers parcels, and none thereof of none money that they paid."

At the first stone laying, 4 royals out of my purse, 2*l.* Wages of Jaco, Adrian Carlisle, John Conyngham, John Foster, Andrew Horkule and Hewe Frenche. Wm. Tomson is charged in the laborers and in the lime makers, and other items occur twice. Wages of carpenters, masons working at the citadel, the miners of the towers, &c. are unpaid. Matthew Hall's horse and those of his son and allies were not checked. Half of this at least went to his profit. Paid to the abbot of Mersyn for 950 great faggots, 25 Sept., anno 9, 4*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Mem., paid Mons. Barbanson for the iron with my own money. More iron was put down than was received, by the falseness of Hugh Frenche, Arthur and Thos. Hall. This is clear from the book, and from the search Jaco made. Mem., whereas Arthur Louffkyn discharges himself by the payment of 48*l.* 2*s.* for stone of white gree, it was not paid by him, but by me, Wm. Pawne.

Pp. 3.

- R. O. 6. Similar Memorandum.—Total delivered to Frenshe, 73*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*

Pp. 3.

- R. O. 7. Receipt, dated 17 Aug. 10 Hen. VIII., by Arthur Lovekyn, Matthew Hall and John Fenne, for 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* lent by Wm. Lelegrave.

Signed. Endd.

- R. O. 8. "The Book of Account, anno 10 r. R. HEN. VIII."

Money received by the hands of William Pawne, "this accountant," and his deputies and clerks, of Sir Richard Jernyngham, deputy of Tournay, from 1 May to 31 Jan. Total, 1,549*l.* 20*d.*

Emptions of necessities; viz., ash, ashen poles, bricks, hurdles, nails, handbarrows, wheelbarrows, board, iron shovels, necessities for pumps, stone and pirage, 379*l.* 12*s.* 23*d.*

Wages, from Monday 29 March to 13 Oct., of carpenters, sawyers, smiths, masons, dykars, labourers, masons strangers, "carpenters under byrde with watching by night," timbrels, lime slackers, "herdhewers," mortar makers, and of the accountant and his clerks; total, 1,105*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

The receipts exceed the payments by 64*l.* 4*s.*

Pp. 12. Endd.

1519.

R. O.

9. Accounts of Matthew Hall.

Received from Arthur Lufkyn, at my master's departure into England, 18 Aug. 10 Hen. VIII., for artificers and laborers, and prests to Thos. Horwood, myself and others, 20*l*. From Mr. Deputy by the controller, 10*l*. From Wm. Lelegrave, 176*l*. 19*s*. 4*d*. Total, 206*l*. 19*s*. 4*d*.

Payments to various persons. Lost at the exchange of pence for groats at the clock-house, 1½*d*. in every groat,—5*s*. 6*d*. A "dry frotte" to carry my master's stuff in, 2*s*. 4*d*. To the baily who came from Mownce, for the matter between my master and John Mawde, in the presence of Philip Seller and Jaco Buissard, 8*s*. 4*d*. For wheat money, 20*s*. Thos. Rogers, his expenses going to and from London with my master's letters, 40*s*. "For thande of brasse," 6*s*. 8*d*. 6 hats, at 16*d*. 6 bonnets, at 2*s*. To Overton, for his cart, 13*s*. 4*d*. A purse of black tuke for my master, 16*d*. To the drapers for my master's coat cloth, 22*s*. 9*d*. Matthew's uncle, for velvet and silks, 5*l*. 15*s*. Hugh French, for the costs of the wood sellers, 23*s*. Coppin and other laborers, for the month ending Jan. 10 Hen. VIII., 5*l*. 12*s*. 6*d*. Wages of laborers from 16 Aug. to 12 Sept., 116*l*. 15*s*. 4*d*. Total, with 3*l*. in hand, 190*l*. 4*s*. 7*d*.

Various expenses for "my master." For getting up the boat in the citadel ditch, 2*s*. 1*d*. To my master at St. Nicholas' Church on Candlemas Day, 6*d*. When he rode with my lord, 2*s*. To laborers, for carrying timber to the buyers, for the month beginning 31 Jan., 6*s*. 8*d*. To John Bruer, for a cart to the kilns, 1 cr. = 5*s*. 4*d*. To the wife, for the forge and garden, 2 cr. 50 fagots, 33 patters = 3*s*. 8*d*. "For potts and peres and browmes," 10*d*. To Nicholas the tipstaff, for Matthew, 2*s*. 8*d*. Sum total, 194*l*. 1*s*. 1*d*.

The remainder, 12*l*. 18*s*. 3*d*., is due to Wm. Pawne, in addition to 31*s*. gained upon the 200 guilders of gold.

"Mem.—Due to me for Horwood, that ye paid Horwood without commandment, and did not restaynyd it in your hands at your reckoning with him last at Tournay," 5*l*.

A roll.

R. O.

10. French's Accounts.

"Hugh French's book of payments of money made to him, with other his advantages in the same book, with a reckoning betwixt him and me" (William Pawne), 10 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII.

For his cart, 6*l*. 4*d*. ; for 40,000 bricks, 6*l*. 4*s*. 5½*d*. ; "for the processe at Mounce," 3*l*. ; for conducting the master mason and master carpenter to Mounce, 26*s*. 8*d*. ; for his costs going into England in anno 9, 40*s*.

Part paid by Arthur Loffkyn, Pawne's clerk :—"Paid to the said Hugh when he went to Helayn," 12*s*. ; "delivered to him for pledging out of his stuff at the Lumberts," 40*s*. Also payments to his creditors Collyn Raynarde, Thos. Hungerford, John Brewar ; "for his costs from London to Tournay with Thos. Rogers the last day of September anno 10, as well for horse hire from Gravesend to Dovor as for his horse hire from Calais to Tournay, with his expences," 23*s*. 4*d*., &c. Besides rewards received "of me, William Pawne, and of John Burge of Doway, with divers other merchants ; and also advantages had by buying of lime at Valenshan, Mounce and other places in Hainault, with the increase of coals and other necessities bought by him, and rewards taken by Mons. de Barbeson."

Pp. 8. Eadd.

R. O.

11. "Money due to Hew Frensche," 51*l*. 3*s*. 2*d*.

"Delivered, as appeareth by Hewe Frenssys book aforegoing, into England, the 6th day of October, as he knoweth himself, 9*l*."

*P. 1, large paper. On the dorse: Paid to John Brewar for Hugh Frensche, 37*s*.*

R. O.

12. Memorandum sent to my Lord Chamberlain (Worcester).—As there will be no spare time to make sale of the King's stuff, he is desired to obtain safeconduct for William Pawne and his deputies. Desire that the arrangement about certain oaks bought of John Russell may stand.

Contemporary copy, p. 1.

1519.

ACCOUNTS FOR TOURNAY—*cont.*

- R. O. 13. Receipt, indented, for 89*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, levied of certain victual in the custody of John Dymok, late victualler at Tournay. Dated 6 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.
- R. O. 14. An Abstract of the money due to Englishmen and strangers.
274*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* due for the wages of William Pawne, his clerks and purveyors, from 29 Mar. 9 Hen. VIII. to 5 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII.
"Sum due unto Englishmen being soldiers, 232*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*" "Sum due unto Englishmen not soldiers, 260*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*" "Sum due unto divers strangers dwelling within Tournay and Tournesis, 418*l.* 4*s.* 0½*d.*" "Sum due unto divers strangers being under the obeisance of the King Catholic, 234*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*" (*Names given.*)
In form of a roll, beginning mutilated. Endd.: The copy of the debts of Tournay, shewed unto my lord Chamberlain and other ambassadors, with the oversight of Mr. Belknapp and divers of the with the 1,000 marks, and some of them yet unpaid and pricked.
- R. O. 15. A Reckoning between Wm. Pawne, Esq., and Hugh Frenshe, 9 March 10 Hen. VIII., for debts owing by Pawne to Frenshe at the receipt of Mr. Belknapp's letter from Antwerp.
For carriage of stone and sand; 40,000 bricks, at 3*s.* 1½*d.* a thousand; for "riding about provisions;" "for his (Frenshe's) wages" for a year and a half; "for that Gossett Plateaw ought the said Hugh;" for his costs when in England with letters. Total due to French, 61*l.* 16*s.* 5¾*d.*
Payments by Pawne to French in money, and in salt, timber, bricks and coals, &c., 80*l.* 14*d.* Also paid him on 27 March 1518, in presence of John Cokeson, waterbailiff of Calais, 12*l.* 0*s.* 5¾*d.*
In form of a roll. Endd.
- R. O. 16. Accounts of William Pawne's clerks.
Pp. 10.
- R. O. 17. Money received by Matthew Hall, of persons who were owed money in the King's books. Total, 86*l.* 6*s.*
P. 1.
- R. O. 18. Accounts of Wages, &c.
Allowance asked for, 13,578*l.* 13*s.* Whereof to be abated for the accountant's and clerks' wages, 243*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
- R. O. 19. Accounts for Materials.
For lime, "stone crossyde," ash and ash poles, cables and ropes, bricks, trays, &c.
P. 1.
- R. O. 20. Money received from the Deputy.
Total, 1,104*l.* 7*s.*; and so remains of the 1,200*l.* appointed by the King's letters for his works, 76*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*
- R. O. 21. Accounts for Stone, &c.
6,883½ ft. white gre stone, 2¾*d.* the ft. For "stone a skuew," 444 ft. at 3*d.* Total, 93*l.* 7*s.* 10¾*d.* 2 anvils. 2 pair of bellows, &c., worth 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*. 500 mallees of lead, at 2¾*d.* the malle. 218 keverons of timber, at 16*d.*
P. 1.
- R. O. 22. Money due for three months.
14 Sept. to 11 Oct. Carriage of stone from the ditch of the citadel to divers places on the wall of the citadel, "with the two little water mills devised by Master Candishe" to

1519.

convey water out of the ditch. To John Demolyns, for keeping the great waterwheels. To Ric. Candishe, for another waterwheel, 28*l*. Total, 195*l*. 8*s*.

12 Oct. to 6 Dec. Continuation of expenses for the same.

Total for three months, 1,066*l*. 2*s*. 3½*d*.

A roll. *Add.* : To my lord Cardinal's grace.

R. O. 23. William Pawn to Rob. Russell.

Orders him to hire two "dornekins," and lade them to Antwerp with the stuff rejected by the captain, viz., "blew stone hewen" for gates and windows, a gate of stone ready made, white stone of avayne wrought for the tablements and garnishings of roses and crowns, the King's arms of stone of gree, iron wrought with chains, forelocks, plattes, bolts and all other iron that the captain will not have, masons' tools, masons' trowels, puncheons, smiths' bellows," and other articles, including "medler trees and cranes, with the two great mill-houses." From Antwerp they are to be sent to Calais by a hoy. If the captain will not let him take it, he may have it for what price Russell thinks reasonable. In taking down the mill-houses every piece must be marked to be put up again at Calais. "Bring with you my hawks, my black velvet jacket and my hosen to wher (wear) within my hose." Guisnes, 10 April.

Hol., pp. 2.

R. O. 24. Articles to be shown to Arthur Lovekyn and Matthew Hall.

20*l*. lent by Hall to Plompton, a merchant of York. He carried a "male" from Tournay with 160*l*. in two bags, "which he said was two pieces of camlet." Chr. Langton and John Mauncell carried it, and it was brought to my nephew's house at St. Mary Overey's, where I handled it, and could not lift it. Maunsell afterwards took it to a house in St. Thomas Spetell, Southwark, and the money was changed at Mr. Barton's, in the Riall, and Hall paid several debts in the north with it. When Ric. Finsh left Tournay, he called him to his room, and gave him five marks for his wife in the north, out of a bag of 300*l*. or 400*l*. When he left London on Good Friday, he carried two little bags of gold, and between Stangate and Huntingdon put them into the saddle of one of the horses, pulling out the stuffing on both sides of the panel. He bought in London for his wife two gown clothes, a scarlet kirtle cloth with satin linings, furs, at Bougerawe and at the stone-house in Eastcheap, demysains, ribbons, girdles, &c. Lovekyn lent Roger Wessington 20*l*., for which he would have troubled him afterwards. He gave Frenshe 40*l*., probably to keep his counsel. When he rode with me he had gold trussed upon him, and would not lie with me because of the weight, but lay alone in his doublet.

ii. The confession of Edw. Hall, Thursday 21 March, in the parish church of Westhorpe, Suff., in the presence of Wm. Pawne, John Maunsell and Wm. Fynche.

The stuff within the dry fatte, two feather beds and bolsters containing four bags of money. In the coffer, diaper, sheets, satin doublets and jackets, a vestment of cloth of gold, &c. He gave 100 cr. to his son Thos. Hall when he went to lord Barmeston in Hennaalde, who sold us the iron; and 10*l*. to Edw. Hall, to carry to his wife at Shorborne, Yorkshire. He gave a banquet, costing 20 marks, to Thos. Hall's lady and her ladies, at the north door of Our Lady Church in Tournay, where the King lay. He lent money to Edw. Hall to purchase a house, and 8 mks. of land. Edw. Hall confesses that himself, Matthew Hall, Arthur Lufkyn and Roger Wessington were present at the trussing of the fatte and the coffers.

Mem. A horse and money given to Leonard Cokks to convey stuff from Tournay to Antwerp. A horse given to Berde, bought from Maunsell for 4*l*. 10*s*. Money given to Leonard Cox, Shurland the jester and gunner, and to Matthew's brother at his going to school at Paris. Plate bought at Antwerp by Arthur when he went to search the coffers that were drowned after my leaving Tournay. Hall has lent his brother the priest sums of money on his benefices at Lyston in Devon, and elsewhere.

Pp. 4.

R. O. 25. Memorandum of a dry pipe, with two coffers, which were taken to Antwerp and shipped to Ipswich, containing plate, tapestry, silk apparel, saye and other valuables. In

1519.

ACCOUNTS FOR TOURNAY—*cont.*

the pipe were three feather beds, in which John Mauncell and Edw. Hall found four bags of 16*l.* each, and a bag of 16*l.* or 18*l.*, which was Hall's. These bags were put under Hall's bed in the straw. The cart arrived with the goods on Our Lady's Eve, in Lent, 9 Hen. VIII. I arrived at Calais from Tournay on Shrove Tuesday, with the master mason, Philip Seller and Matthew Hall; and on my coming to London, Matthew Hall asked Mauncell to take a letter to his brother for his stuff, promising to reward him, and saying that if the stuff was lost he should be utterly undone.—Mem. The sayings of Hugh Frenshe.—Mem. The sayings of Thos. Horwoode on his death bed, with the report of Sir John Bird, his ghostly father that gave him his rights of the church, and others.—Mem. The saying of Ric. Bowdon at Calais.—Mem. The cost by Mr. Hall done upon his son's mistress.—Mem. How Edw. Hall brought his mistress, the day after Mauncell came, to show her the stuff, and said to Mauncell, "I would Mr. Arthur were sure of her."—Mem. A marriage bought for his son.—Mem. After Mauncell's coming back to Matthew Hall, Hall said, "I have a tablecloth which passes for mine estate, wherefore I would gladly give it to some great man to get or help me in some good office now."

P. 1. *Endd.*: The confession of Edw. Hall at Westhorpe in Suffolk, anempst his brother Matthew Hall.—John Pullevyre the younger.

- R. O. 26. Memorandum.—In February, when Matthew Hall went with me to Calais, he sent his brother Edward and Roger Wessington to Antwerp with stuff, which Edward took by water to Hull. John Calswell, hosier, and John Price, took Arthur's stuff after Christmas, and went by water to Antwerp and then to England. Hall had 30*l.* of me to pay the carriage of lime, &c. French had 20*l.* of Arter on Christmas eve, besides other sums, at my coming from the King from Woodstock. When I went to England to "fette the first remain," Hall went with me, and there was carried behind Chr. Langton a heavy "male" containing money. Edw. Hall crossed with us, and went over at Tilbury Ferry. Afterwards Lovekyn made several journeys to Our Lady of Grace or to Edw. Hall, and sometimes to Bery, for the master of the horse; "all which cometh to one effect, that some hath made their hands." I paid Wm. Lylgrave, for Lovekyn, 20 marks, and John a Pole 5*l.* Matthew Hall owes me 20 mks. and 5*l.* for Thos. Horwodde.

Pp. 3.

- R. O. 27. Matthew Hall to Wm. Pawne.

I received your letter to my cousin Arthur and myself last Monday, the vigil of the feast of the Conception, and, by order of Hugh Frenche, the bearer, showed it Mr. Deputy, by whose advice 4 kilns are kept burning, while the other 4 are extinguished. The Deputy says he would gladly have you h[ither]. On Saturday last the watermills were discharged, and on Lady Day the ditch was filled from end to end with water. Mr. Candisshe says that in summer the water will not be deeper than 3 or 4 feet at either end, "for it is now at the height of the level marked by Mr. Carpenter with chalk upon one of the strotts of the bridge going over the ditch, and yet the water is not above 1 ft. deep." On Saturday next Mr. Deputy will discharge the company, according to your letter. Your household is merry and in good health. We will make up your books with all speed. Tournay, 10 Dec. I wish to be recommended to "my good maistres your bedfellowe."

Hol., p. 1. Add. Endd.

- R. O. 28. Matthew Hall and Arthur Lovekyn to Wm. Pawne.

My mistress and all yours are well. The Deputy had a letter from Lelegrave on Thursday 16 Nov., saying that you have overcome and got all your offices of Geo. Lawson, with power to receive money and pay wages yourself, and that he is to meddle with nothing but the garrison. He told us therefore to write to you for money, as we should get none from him. We have had no answer to our three letters for the last two months' payment, and now send Hugh Frenshe to ask your pleasure. The men call fast for money. We send them to the Deputy, and he sends them back to us. They say that we have it, and

1519.

keep it from them. "In this wise runneth the clamor, that we unneth dare go out of the doors to church." The limeburners will not work, and the merchants will not bring merchandise, without money. The Deputy says he will shortly discharge more than 100 laborers. We cannot pay them, and he will not. He has already discharged 400 men. The report here is that we and all your clerks are discharged, and only wait to be sent for. The merchants therefore press us for money, fearing they will not be paid. The master mason and master carpenter left without taking leave of the Deputy, with which he is displeased. Since he heard that you would receive money yourself, two or three of his servants are daily riding between him and the Cardina!. Your oxen are not fit for meat. We can get nothing for them but hay and straw. Tournay, 16 Nov. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: "To myn especiall and singular good maister, Mr. Willm. Pawne, mr. of the King is [works in] his cit[y of Tournay], be this [delivered at] Newingto[n near] Stepneith in haste." *Endd.*

154.

GRANTS in MARCH 1519.

March.

GRANTS.

1. Thomas, prior, and the convent of Holy Trinity, Michelham. Inspecimus and confirmation referring to numerous other confirmatory documents granting lands and licences to the above house; viz.—

i. A charter, 14 Edw. II., reciting three charters 16 Hen. III., one of which grants the manor of Chintinges.

ii. A charter, 18 Hen. III., confirming a grant by Wm. Pedefor.

iii. Patent, 9 Edw. I., licensing Ric. de Pageham to grant land.

*iv. v. vi. vii. viii. Patents of Edw. II., being mortmain licences to the above monastery.

ix. x. xi. xii. Patents of Edw. III., to the same effect.

xiii. Patent of Ric. II., also to the same effect.

Windsor, 1 March 9 Hen. VIII. (*sic*).—*Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 28.*

1. Sir Ric. Weston. Wardship of Rob., son and heir of Wm. Lytton of Knebworth, Herts, and Ethelreda his wife; with custody of the profits of the manor of Knebworth as held by Sir Rob. Lytton or the said William; and with reversion of that part of the manor which is held by Ann, widow of Sir Th. Bourchier, sen. Greenwich, 22 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 1 March.—P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 20.*

2. Sir Wm. Tyler. Annuity of 100*l.* out of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage in the port of London. *Del. Westm., 2 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 2, m. 14.*

2. Roger Hawes, of London, merchant of the staple of Calais, *alias* merchant of the English company of Andewarp in Brabant. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 18 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 2 March.—P.S. Fr., m. 1.*

3. John, son of John Moyle, Falk Medilton and Margaret his wife, and Ellen Doone, mother of Falk. Lease of the manor

of Astret and possessions in Kymersehe, Wenonok Canon, Seygroyt, Issalet, Ughalet, and Istulas, in the lordship of Denbigh, and now or formerly in the tenure of John Rymnour, Rob. Dolben, Th. Pygot and Ric. Skynner. *Del. Westm., 3 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 16.*

3. Th. Smyth, chaplain. Presentation to the church of Comberton Parva, Wore. dioc., *vice* Th. Skelton, resigned. *Westm., 3 March.—Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 11.*

5. Ric. Sydnor, clk., king's chaplain. To have the canonry in the collegiate church of St. Mary and St. George in Windsor Castle, *vice* Wm. Creton, clk., deceased. Greenwich, 4 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 5 March.—P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 17.*

5. Sir Edw. Greவில். Wardship of Elizabeth, Anne and Blanche, da. and hs. of Edw. Willoughby. Greenwich, 30 Nov. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 5 March.—P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 25.*

11. Thos. Hall, clk., minister of the Chapel Royal. Grant of the free chapel or prebend in Dover Castle. Greenwich, 2 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 11 March.—P.S.*

12. Rob. Dane, of London, sherman. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 26 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 12 March.—P.S. Fr., m. 5.*

16. Ralph Deane. Lease of the manor of Newenham Moreyn, parcel of the lordship of Ewelme, Oxon, part of the lands of the late earl of Suffolk, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *Del. Westm., 16 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 19.*

16. Ric. Dewbery. Lease of the manor of Tornours, parcel of the lordship of Ewelme, Oxon, part of the lands of the late earl of Suffolk, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 102*s.* 11*d.*, and 12*d.* of increase.

* The preamble to these patents erroneously assigns them to Edward I.

1519.

March.

GRANTS in MARCH 1519—*cont.*

GRANTS.

Del. Westm., 16 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 19.*

16. Laurence Eglesfeld, yeoman usher of the Chamber. Annuity of 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* out of the farm of the herbage and pannage of Shirefhoton Park. This grant is made because patent 11 June 5 Hen. VIII., granting him the said herbage and pannage, is invalid, as patent 6 May 15 Hen. VII. granted the same to Sir Tho. Darcy, knight of the body, at the same rent as previously paid by the then earl of Surrey or John Dawny. Greenwich, 9 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 16 March.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

16. John Francis de Dottys, native of Genoa, Italy. Denization. *Westm.*, 16 Mar.—*Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 15.*

17. Miles Brykehed. Lease of a water mill and certain parcels of land, called Conygarth, Lyttlyholme, "le parke," Willougholte, and Chekergarden, in the lordship of Thorp and Achwich, Northt., parcel of the lands late of the countess of Richmond, at the annual rent of 6*l.* 10*s.* *Del. Westm.*, 17 Mar. 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 25.*

17. Th. Riche, M.A. Presentation to the chantry called le Prince's Chauntry, in Christchurch, Canterbury, *vice* Jas. Curson, deceased. *Westm.*, 17 March.—*Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 17.*

18. John Nauseglos. Lease of the fulling mill called Feldemyll, in the lordship of Bargham, Stowe and Depyng, Linc., parcel of the lands of the late earl of Warwick, at the annual rent of 53*s.* 4*d.* *Del. Westm.*, 18 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 33.*

20. Edm. Treyforde. Annuity of 20*l.** —S.B. (*Undated.*) *Pat. p. 2, m. 10.* *Westm.*, 20 March.

22. Edw. Forest, page of the Chamber, and his brother Miles. Lease of the manor of Shyrbourne, parcel of the lordship of Sherefhoton. *Del. Westm.*, 22 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

23. Wm. Hord. To have the canonry of Erdynton in the church St. Mary Magdalene, Briggennorth, Salop, *vice* Edm. Hord, doctor of decrees, resigned. Greenwich, 20 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 March.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 25.*

23. Roger Peynton *alias* Botte, of London, tailor. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 19 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 March.—P.S. *Fr., m. 5.*

26. Adam Grene, of Fallingworth, Linc., cooper. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 21 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. . . .*, 26 March.—P.S. *Fr., m. 1.*

28. Joan Salesbury, widow. Lease of the water mill in Kyllsforde, parcel of the lordship of Denbigh, lately in the tenure of Ric. Smith, at the rent of 20*s.* *Del. Westm.*, 28 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 25.*—Vacated on surrender, 5 May 29 Hen. VIII.

29. Griffin Ap Roger. Lease of three mills and the pastures of Rakwarth and Constablewarth, in the manor and borough of Kaerlion, at annual rents amounting to 16*l.*, and 13*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 29 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 30.*

2 April.

155.

ERASMUS to FISHER Bp. OF ROCHESTER.

Er. Ep. vi. 8.

Thanks him for his letter. Has been much occupied. Has only dipped into Fisher's book, *De Magdalena unica*. Stephen Poncher bishop of Paris has been created archbishop of Sens, and is despatched on an embassy to Spain. Has made some mention of Fisher in the last edition of his *Enchiridion*. Deplores the evils of Christendom, and believes that if they are not remedied the rule of the Turks would be less intolerable. Antwerp, postridie kal. April. 1519.

2 April.

156.

CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. i.

168.

B. M.

Credence for his ambassador, Claude de Botton lord de Corbaron. Barcelona, 2 April MDX[I]X, "regnum nostrorum quarto." *Signed*: Yo el Rey.

Lat., p. 1. Add.: Domino Thomæ cardinali, &c.

1519.

2 April

S. B.

157. SUTTON COLEFIELD, WARWICKSHIRE.

Licence to the inhabitants of Sutton Colfield, in the bounds of the chase of Sutton Colfield, Warw., to hold a weekly market on Monday, and two annual fairs, one on the eve, day and morrow of Holy Trinity, the other on the morrow of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, and the eve and day of SS. Simon and Jude. *Del. Westm., 2 April 10 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 25.

4 April

R. O.

158. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Wrote on the 1st by the King's posts. The bearer is Mons. le maître d'hôtel Bowton, ambassador to England. Has signified "*of as much as the lord Chievres, Chancellor and Audiencer had showed me concerning the matters given in commission to Botton, with whose I have this morning spoken again, and perceived no further. The lord Chievres shall depart at aster (after) noon towards France, and saith continually he wol not pass Perpignan without safeconduct, which, considering the great instance made by the Frenchmen for meeting, is to be supposed they shall grant, and that the lord Chievres shall accomplish his journey, not sticking for other surety or cautions, as the Chancellor and all the wise men of Spain going in his company would, showing thereto many reasons and causes.*"

"*The Commander of Castilla, that is of much experience and an excellent wit, said yesterday to me, on his faith, to know no further of their business to be communed and treated with the Frenchmen then I have by my divers writings advertised, and that, being the parties so far from the concord, he find but a small occasion to assemble, though it [w]ere, without some secret intelligence be betwixt the lord Chievres and Great Master.*"

"*And when all is spoken, argued and debated, every man conclude the lord Chievres is only moved unto the said meeting of an excessive ferd of the war, and for none other cause. I shall write from time to time of all occurrences coming to my knowledge, though for the absence of the King's council I shall not have such commodity as I have had.*"

"*The Cardinal* declared me in great secret, that the sum of 11,000 cr. g. be given of yearly pensions in France, but as yet I can not know how it is reparted. By conjectura, may be thought the Great Master, the bp. of Paris, the president Oliver, Robertet, Villaroy and the ambassador resident here been the parteners.*"

"*Moreover, I signify unto your grace that I am also credibly informed how the Guardian of the Observance of Meklins, that was accustomed to preach before the King, is come hither from Roma, unther the color of a certain confirmation for his religiouses, for to persuade the restitution of Navarra, and put the keeping of it unto the King's his great charge of conscience. Howbeit he is despatched, but under what forma I know not, nor at which instance he was sent. The said restitution in no manner of the world might be good, first for the King's honor, and secondly for the surety of his other realms and succession. The King's highness also, after my poor mind, could win nothing by the bargain, for the minishing of the authority and strength of his true friend and ally; and over that, by cause, ceasing the quarrels betwixt the Catholico and the French king, they both shall the less need and esteem the King's highness. Wherefore, your grace, with your accustomed prudence, must look to the matter, promising continually the inviolable observance of the last treaties, with such other convenient circumstances that be unto your grace thought*"

* Adrian.

1519.

SPINELLY to WOLSEY—*cont.*

better; and this is the best remedy that I can see for the cowardice reigning at this time here.

"If any conclusion be taken betwixt the lord Chievres and the Frenchmen, as for my part I believe, suffering no reason the meeting of such personages upon uncertainty, the Great Master in such case shall come to the King's presence. Wherefore I desire to know under what forma it please your grace that I shall order my self with him." Barsalona, 4 April 1519.

"By letters dated at Roma, the 26th March, the Pope favored the French king's promotion to the empire, and the archbishop Ursin is in Almany, and passed torow Hispruk. Moreover, the cardinal of Boisi is made legate de latere in France. I put no doubt the Catholico, for to be not inferior to the French king, shall demand the lord Chievres' nephew, for the which consideration, his honor and authority, the King's highness can do no less as to obtain the semblable for your grace."

Hol., mostly cipher, undeciphered, pp. 4.

- 4 April. 159. WM. AYLYSBERY, Prior, and the Convent of ST. SAVIOUR'S,
P. S. b. BERMONDESEY.

Petition for a congé d'élire *vice* John Marlow, their abbot, who died 3 April last: to be presented by Wm. Chirche and Th. Gaynesborough. 4 April 1519.

- 4 April. 160. FOR ANNE SEYNTLEGER, widow.
P. S.

Licence to found a perpetual chantry for one chaplain in the chapel of St. Mary, called "Hangfordis Chapell," in the church of St. George, Monklee, Devon, to pray for the King and Queen, and for the said Anne, Sir George Seyntleger, Thomas Seyntleger, clk., and Margaret Boleyn, widow, and for the souls of Sir Thomas Ormond, late earl of Ormond, and lady Anne his wife (father and mother of the said Anne Seyntleger), James and John, brothers of the said earl, William Hangford, Richard Hangford his son, Sir Richard Hangford, son of the said Richard, and James Seyntleger and Ambrose Griseacre, husbands of the said Anne Seyntleger, and James Seyntleger, her son. Also licence to alienate possessions to the annual value of 10*l.* for the said chaplain. Greenwich, 12 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 4 April.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 32.

- 5 April. 161. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.
Calig. E. i. 10. Wishes to know if he thinks the King will lend him 100,000 crowns.
B. M. Begs him to communicate his opinion to the sieur de la Bastie. St. Germain en Laye, 5 April. *Signed.*
Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: A mons. le Legat, &c.

- 5 April. 162. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Ginst. Desp. The Spanish ambassadors, having left this city, werè met at Dover
ii. 262. by letters from their king and from Flanders. One of them returned. It is reported that they have news of an attack by the duke of Gueldres, which may be true, an embargo being laid on all vessels in Spain. This is calculated to frustrate all that Wolsey has done to effect peace. Nothing further has been done about this King's voyage across the Channel. Is unable to give any news, for the Cardinal has been extremely occupied in taxing the prelates and clergy, with the Pope's sanction. Lambeth, 5 April 1519.

1519.

5 April. 183. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. vi.
16.
B. M.

In behalf of the count de Faulkemberges, who sends the bearer to England to ask some recompense for Mortaigne. Malines, 5 April. Signed.

Fr., p. 1. Add.

6 April. 184. CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. 1.
268°.
B. M.

Thanks him for the interest England has taken in securing his election. Claudius de Botton lord Corbaron, is sent with these credentials. Barcelona, 6 April 1519. Signed.

P.S. in his own hand, requesting Wolsey's good services.

Lat., p. 1. Add.

8 April. 185. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The French ambassador wishes to know Wolsey's pleasure, and whether he is to remain till Wolsey has seen the King. Has declared to the King Wolsey's mind anent the queen of Scots, in the largest manner. He is satisfied with Wolsey's arrangement, and will not have her come into this realm if it can be avoided. The more he remembers it the less he likes it. The King will speak to Wolsey on the supplication of the passengers of Dover. He feels pity for them, "though he would have no such new accustoms for to lay money out of his coffers." Richmond, 8 April.

Hol., pp. 2. "To my lord Legate's grace."

186. QUEEN MARGARET to HENRY VIII.

Calig. B. 1.
232.
B. M.
Mrs. Green's
Letters of
Royal and
Illust. Ladies,
1. 228.

The King her son is in good health. Has been badly treated since leaving him, but did not wish to trouble him. Has obtained only 2,000*l.* Scots since her departure, though her income should be 9,000*l.* a year; "and this is not to me to live in honor, like your sister nor like myself." Asks him to see to it, and not to believe the fair words of the Scotch lords. Will be forced to give away the jewels and other things she had from him. Has none to help her but him. Wishes for leave to come into England, or else she will be compelled to "give my living at the pleasure of the Duke and the lords, and they to give me what they please, which would be of little valor to me." Has taken the advice in his last letter, not to give up her conjunct feoffment for a sum of money. Henry may reasonably cause Scotch ships to be taken, as she has suffered so long, and he has foreborne to do evil. Knows she will never get good from Scotland by fair means, and will never willingly stay here with those who do not love her. Has been much troubled by Angus since her coming to Scotland, and is so more and more daily. They have not met this half year. When she last came to Scotland, Daere and Magnus made a writing between her and Angus to prevent him from making away with any part of her conjunct feoffment without her will, but he has not kept it. The bishop of Dunkeld, his father's brother, and other kinsmen, have caused Angus to deal sharply with her to make her break this bond. On her refusal he took away what she was living upon, and her house of the Nue Warke, in the forest of Etryk, which should bring her 4,000 marks a year. Will send a servant to tell the King his other misdeeds, which are too long to write. Will part with him, if she may by God's law, and with honor to herself, for he loves her not. Asks Henry to be kind to her when it comes to that point. Will not marry but where he wishes, and will never part from him. Asks him to let her know his pleasure by the bearer. Cannot send by land, for causes she will explain. Edinburgh.

Hol., pp. 3. Add.

1519.

8 April. 167. JAQUES DE HORNES to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.
16**.

B. M.

Has reported to Madame, on his return to Mechlin, the good reception he has met with in England, and the good will Wolsey entertains towards the King Catholic. Mechlin, 8 April. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. "Mons. le cardinal dYorck."

8 April. 168. G. DE CROY (LORD CHIEVRES) to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. v.
382*b.

B. M.

Understands by his letters and Francis Philip the good health of him and his queen. Has done all that he can to despatch his business. A la Roche, 8 April '19. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

8 April. 169. ANCHISES VISCONTI to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has returned to his country in safety. All Germany is in arms; Switzerland is furious. He who in his life distracted it, dying has disturbed it, dead has destroyed it. The election of the Emperor is protracted. Merchants of great wealth enhance the price of things. Hopes the King will be chosen. They say a great army is coming from Spain to Naples. There is a general expectation of war; where, with whom, by what means, no one knows. Milan, 8 April 1519.

Hol., Lat., p. 1. Add.

9 April. 170. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.
108.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 5th. Received from Wolsey on the 7th, dated the 1st, a letter stating that Windsor will be sent with gifts to be presented at the christening of the King's child. Yesterday received from York a salt, a cup, and a "leyar" of gold, and 100*l.* in nobles and ryalls. The leyar and cup had been injured by a fall which York had. Received at the same time a letter from Wolsey, of the 2nd, informing him how much should be given "if it be a man child, or a woman child." Delivered yesterday evening to the French king the letter from Wolsey. He begged Boleyn to write, and say that his grace should "find him (Francis) as ready as any friend ye have living." He has heard good news about the election. M. de Nassau has made many great offers in the name of his master, but has left in discontent. He thinks himself assured of the election, and has sent one of his generals into Almayne with a large sum of money. He says that if the six Electors do not name the Emperor before the 6th June next, the right of so doing will be transferred to the Pope. He told Boleyn, on his enquiring, that the christening of his son should not be till after Easter, because the chyl[d hath] a disease in his eyen, as he saith all his chyldren h[ave] shortly after they be born; saying "also it was my lad[y his] mother's mynd that the chyld shuld be clene hole of t[his] dysease afore the crystenyng, whose advyse he sayd he [would] follow therein." He has gone to Bryon for five or six days. He told Boleyn lately, that he intends to bring to the proposed meeting his harness for justs, and he "woll have the fayrest ladys there that he can get." He has also chosen his best horses for tilt and tournay, "and some high bounding and stirring horses, which he will give at that time to the King." Though he reckons surely on the election, Boleyn does not believe it, because Lantrec, who was coming hither, has been countermanded and ordered to be ready for war.

Peter de Navarre has arrived. He is to have the command of 8,000 adventurers. Frere Barnardin tells him that he is charged to have ready 24 "gallerres." "He shall have with him out of the prisons of Paris the number of 200 to row perforce in the gallerres." It is supposed these pre-

1519.

parations are intended against Naples. The marquis of Man[tua] is reported to be dead. Poissy, 9 April. *Signed.*

Pp. 4, mutilated. Add.: "To myn most especiall and singular good lord, my lord Legate, Cardinal, and chancellor of England."

9 April. 171. ALFONSO DA ESTE [DUKE OF FERRARA] to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Was glad of the visit of Gregory Casalis of Bologna, who came to buy war horses for the King. Was grieved that he had none fit for that purpose. Showed him his stud, and allowed him to choose what he pleased. The two that pleased him most were of the breed of Isabella duchess of Milan. One, he thinks, will please his majesty. The other is not so well broken. Would gladly have sent better, but the breed of horses in Naples and in Italy generally is very much degenerated. Had given him 200 patterns of bridles ("frena multiformia") to take to his majesty. Ferrara, 9 April 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add. and endd.

9 April. 172. ALFONSO DA ESTE [DUKE OF FERRARA] to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Could not allow Gregory [Casalis] of Bologna, an accomplished man and friend of the King's, to return without a letter. Is grateful to Wolsey for his numerous services, and desires to signalise his gratitude, as Florianus of Modena will inform him. Ferrara, 9 April 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add. and endd.

9 April. 173. SION to WOLSEY.

R. O.

So long as peace was everywhere talked of, had no news to write about. The death of the Emperor has set afloat rumors of war, and broken his elegant silence. As soon as the duke of Wirtemberg heard of his death, he assembled the French adherents, and attacked Ruttlingen with great barbarity; but the Swabian League, which had been summoned at Augsburg, levied an army to oppose him. By French money and influence the duke collected 10,000 or 12,000 Swiss. On the arrival of Zevemberg, ambassador of the Catholic king, the Swiss lords resolved to defend the empire, recall the volunteers, and proceed against the duke. They expect before Palm Sunday to reduce him, and set up his sons in his place. They are excessively angry at the designs of the French king on the empire. Sends a copy of the answer given to the French ambassador at the diet. If Francis does not desist, there will be a torrent of bloodshed. Charles's agent has procured the confirmation of the alliance between the Swiss and the house of Burgundy and Austria. They are strongly inclined to favor the election. The imperial and Swiss armies are to be kept on foot through the whole of May and June, even though the duke of Wirtemberg be defeated. Would be glad of the support of England. Zurich, v. id. April. 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 3. Add. and endd.

10 April. 174. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has received his letter by count de Hornes in favor of the eldest son of Sir Edward Guldeford. Has written to the King, her nephew, to recommend the young man for the establishment of Don Fernando. Mechlin, 10 April. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

10 April. 175. MARGARET OF SAVOY to ———.

Galba, B. vi.

143.

B. M.

Has received his letters by the count de Hornes, for whose cordial reception she thanks his majesty. He will always find a firm ally in the King Catholic. Mechlin, 10 April. *Signed.*

Fr., pp. 2.

1519.

10 April. 176. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.
184.
B. M.

Count de Hornes on his return has reported how well he has been received by the King and Wolsey. The principal matter of his charge, which was the confirmation of the league, has been accomplished. Begg Wolsey will urge the King to write to the Electors in favor of the King Catholic's promotion to the empire. Jean Jouglet, councillor of the King Catholic, writes to tell her how much Wolsey has at heart the interest of her nephew. Mechlin, 10 April. *Signed*.

Fr., pp. 2, mutilated. Add.

10 April. 177. CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has received his letters by Fras. Philips, servant of queen Katharine. Sends compliments by him in return. Barcelona, 10 April 1519. *Signed*.

Lat., p. 1. Add.

10 April. 178. ALPHONSO TROTTUS to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. iv. 7.
B. M.

Having heard from Gregory of Bologna that the King took great pleasure in horses, sends him one, and offers his services. Was formerly in the retinue of the duke of Ferrara when he visited England. Ferrara, 10 April 1519.

Hol., Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

11 April. 179. For JOHN LONGLOND, clk.

S. B.

Grant of the canonry and prebend in the collegiate church of St. Mary and George, in Windsor Castle, *vice* Wm. Butler, deceased. *Del.* Hampton Court, 11 April 10 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 25.

12 April. 180. MARGARET OF SAVOY to CHARLES OF CASTILE.

Le Glay,
Négoc. entre
la France et
l'Autriche,
II. 425.

The 1,000 fl. g. given to Sion are not thrown away, though the Pope will not delegate him to be present at the election, as he is doing good service with the Swiss, and has caused those who went with the duke of Wirtemberg to return. Has written to Jouglet to ask Henry to send some one to the election in Charles's favor. He has several times written to say that, from indisposition and other reasons, he cannot remain longer. For this reason, and because Wolsey has professed his zeal in Charles's service, has written to him to return. Thinks some one should be sent in his stead. The king of England has sent to ask that the eldest son of Sir Edw. Guilford may be retained in the service of Charles's brother. Encloses the letter. The king of Denmark has written to say that no pains shall be spared in the election. The deputies at Utrecht for the prorogation of the truce have prorogued it for eight days, to commence on the 7th. Malines, 12 April, avant Pasques.

Fr.

12 April. 181. [ALPHONSO TROTTUS] to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. iv. 22.
B. M.

As Gregory of Bologna had left Ferrara, judged it best to send his groom, Jo. Antonius Scaticia, with the horses, to teach their manage. He is the most skilful rider in Italy. Ferrara, 12 April 1519.

Lat., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

1519.

12 April. 182. JULIUS [DE' MEDICI], Vice-cancellarius, to WOLSEY.

R. O.

John Cavalcant, of Florence, has suffered losses in the alum trade in England, as he will explain to Wolsey. Hopes Wolsey will procure him compensation. Rome, 12 April 1519.

Hol., Lat., p. 1. Add.

13 April. 183. LEO X. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Thanks him for his hospitality to cardinal Campeggio, and his noble present to him. Rome, 13 April 1519, 7 pont.

13 April. 184. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. i.

136.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 1st and 4th of this month (April). On the 7th, at the hasty departure of a post, advertised Brian Tuke of occurrences there. *The 18th and 23d of March the King Catholic received news from his ambassador,—that the king of England had proclaimed in the cathedral church of London, with much solemnity, the acceptance of the Pope and the king Catholic into the general peace, and taken the oath. The same day the count Hornes dined with Wolsey, and many good communications were had between the King his grace and them; and on their desiring letters in behalf of their master to the Pope and the Electors they were told it had been done secretly, but in consequence of the late amity with France, any other demonstrations were inconvenient, the French king desiring the same;—that the king of England showed discontent on being informed of the invasion of M. de Floranges, and the behaviour of the duke of Gueldres for the prorogation of the truce, saying it was a French touch, and that he had been informed that the Great Master had been sent by France to meet Chievres at the king Catholic's instant desire;—that on his demanding the reason, the French ambassador replied it was for the restitution of Navarre, in which his master was bound to assist; on which the king of England answered, "that as much he is determined to do for the Catholico, wherefore he should the better look that he make none evil bargains."—All this Spinelly was told by the governor of Bresse and the Master of the Horse. The Audienccr confirmed the same, and that the King had written to Henry and to Wolsey with some lines of his own hand, which letters were sent and directed to Bouton to be delivered.*

They are dissatisfied with the answer touching the election, saying that a letter from the king of England with his own hand would secure it for the king Catholico. Spinelly answered, that when his master wrote, the Emperor was alive, and there was no rivalry for the election between the Catholico and the French king; and there was no reason why the King should move further in it, as Chievres was going to treat with the French king, and that this was approved of by the Cardinal, who objected to the meeting as needless, and as serving to bring the king (Catholic) into worse bonds with the French, and create suspicion.

Chievres and his company left Figuera, 18 leagues hence, yesterday the 12th, but had not yet received safeconduct from the French. If it comes it will be no honor to Francis, as showing that he desires the meeting, and not the King Catholic. The only object of the former is to separate England from the Catholico, as the best means of compassing his purposes. Though no amity can last long between France and Spain, Spinelly thinks it were better if this meeting could have been stopped; for the less these two Kings communicate the greater will be the authority of England. If the Spaniards think themselves fast anchored in England they will forsake all others, following it voluntarily, France by necessity. 50,000 crowns of gold were to be paid at Easter in Lyons for the half year last past due for Naples. On the 5th Francis wrote to the Catholico of the Queen's

1519.

SPINELLY to WOLSEY—*cont.*

deliverance of a son, and that the king of England should be godfather. The French marvel at the demand for safeconduct. The Audiencer of Flanders thinks it will be granted if Chievres, who is now in Perpignan, go forward to Montpellier; otherwise not.

The duchess of Savoy wrote on the 1st, that the duke of Gueldres had prorogued the truce only ten days, demanding a certain thing in Friesland. These "cavellations" proceed from France. The duke of Bourbon's gentleman had been paid 10,000 francs for his first term of 100,000 francs granted in lieu of his demand made of Naples. They anxiously expect the arrival of Berghes in England, thinking that his plain doing will establish perfect amity between the two kingdoms. Barcelona, 13 April 1518.

Hol., cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 6. Add.: [To m]y lord Cardinal's grace.

14 April. 185. For CHARLES DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

P. S.

Authority to appoint officers in the lordships of Bromfeld, Yale, Chirk and Chirkland, and Kenleth Owen, parcel of the said manor of Chirk. Richmond, 7 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 14 April.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 24.

15 April. 186. LEONARDO LAUREDANO, DOGE OF VENICE.

R. O.

Rym. XIII.
696.

Letters patent to Sebastian Giustinian, expressing the gratification of the signory at being comprehended in the league with France and England. Ducal palace, 15 April 1519. *Signed.*

Latin. Vellum, sub plumbo.

15 April. 187. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 263.

The French ambassador has assured him that these two kings will confer together in July; but common report says nothing of this interview. He understands that the return of the Spanish ambassador is caused by the preparations which the duke of Guelders is said to be making, his king desiring support from England. He also said that the election of the French king would be favored by the Pope, Venice, the Swiss and this King. Thinks it will receive neither favor nor disfavor from England. Lambeth, 15 April 1519.

16 April. 188. CHARLES OF CASTILE to his DEPUTIES in GERMANY.

Le Glay,
Négoc. entre
la France et
l'Autriche,
II. 431.

Has heard from Armestorff of their proceedings with the archbishops of Treves and Cologne. Has deputed Nassau to be present at the election. The late league between France and England, with the Pope and himself as principle contrahents, has been concluded in England. Henry told Charles's ambassadors that he had delayed writing in his favor to the Electors, as the king of France has earnestly desired him to do the same, but that still he had secret intelligence with the Pope to favor him at the said election, and intended to write to Sion on the matter. Entered Catalonia four days ago. Barcelona, 16 April '19.

Fr.

16 April. 189. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.
110.
B. M.

Wrote his last on the 9th. Yesterday was a solemn procession in the court, attended by the King and his mother, in honor of the holy cord with which our Lord was bound to the pillar, with other relics sent to the Queen on her delivery, from an abbey in Poytow. The Pope's legate, the cardinal of Boysy now legate, and the cardinal of Bourgy, the Pope's ambassador, and eleven other bishops, first went to the Queen's chamber; to them twenty

1519.

archers of the guard were sent, each with a torch. On their returning to the chamber the ecclesiastics carried a little cushion with the relics on them, which was borne to the chapel, and placed on the high altar. Mass done, the King's confessor preached a sermon on the words, "*In reliquiis tuis preparabis vultum eorum.*" The King attended the procession all the time, bareheaded, with one usher only before him. [Then came the queen mother], "an owlde gentilman beryng her trayn; a lytell behind her the duchesse Dennemours hir syster, having her train lyke[wise];" all the rest without any order.

The King told him yesterday that the Admiral was on his way to Frankfort, to be present at the election, which takes place in the beginning of June. He greatly dislikes the marriage of the queen of Arragon to a near kinsman of the marquis of Brandenburg. Thinks it is done for his hindrance in the election. Says he shall know by this who are his friends, and who his enemies, and will requite them accordingly. Denies that the journey of the Great Master has been countermanded. Told Boleyn that Chievres, in company with his own ambassador, was on the road to meet the Grand Master. The King's mother says that the christening shall be in the Easter holidays. Shortly after the King intends to have in readiness 16,000 foot. The sickness is raging in Paris. Poissy, 16 April. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

16 April. 190. HESDIN to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has requested Sir Edward Belknap to explain to him what he has done to induce De Linge to restore Mortaigne. Don Fernando, "votre bon nepveu," was much pleased with Henry's present of a gelding, and the two hobbies sent him by the Queen. He intends sending in return two Spanish horses received from the King his brother. Thanks Henry for recommending him to Madame his mistress by Mons. de Hornes. Malines, 16 April 1518, avant Pasques. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

16 April. 191. HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Vesp.C. i. 134*.

B. M.

Has requested Belknap to make his respects; and begs Wolsey to intercede with the King to grant him some recompence for the trouble he has taken with De Ligne in procuring the surrender of Mortaigne. Malines, 16 April 1518, "avant Pasques." *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: [A tresrev]erend, père, &c., le Cardinal, &c.

20 April. 192. CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to HENRY VIII.

Vesp.C. i. 269.

B. M.

Has received his letters by the count de Horne and maistre Jehan Jouglet, his late ambassadors in England. Has already taken the oath for the observance of the league, in presence of Henry's ambassador, to satisfy the king of France, but will take it again as often as required. Has thanked him already for the favourable report made to his ambassadors of the intentions of the Pope to aid his election, but hears to the contrary from his ambassadors in Germany;—that his Holiness has sent the archbishop of Ursino to practise against his election; declaring his wish to Charles's ambassador at Rome, that, if possible, neither he nor Francis should be elected. Begs that Henry will write to the Electors in his favor, and commission the cardinal of Sion to act on his behalf. Bouton will communicate thanks. Barcelona, 20 April 1519. *Signed.*

Endorsed in a hand of James I.'s time: "All French letters here were in one bundel about the years 1513 to 1522."

Fr., p. 1. Add.

1519.

193. ROLL OF ATTORNEYS.

S. B. b.

I. "The names of the pleaders or apprentices of the King's courts supposed to be present at this term."

II. "The names of the pleaders or apprentices of the King's courts, supposed now to be absent from this term."

The names of Thomas More, John Rooper and others appear in these lists.

Signed: T. car^{lis} Ebor.

194. For JOHN RAWSON PRIOR OF ST. JOHN'S OF JERUSALEM in IRELAND.

Licence to absent himself from Ireland for three years, and take with him any horses, hawks and other goods; also to execute citations of Leo X. and the general master of Rhodes, for the assaults committed by Edm. Seys and Ric. Fitz-Morice, brethren of the said order, against the prior.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 23.

22 April. 195. SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to HENRY VIII.

Vesp. C. I. 271.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 19th. News is come that the archbishop Ursin, in the Pope's name, has made use of his influence with the Electors against the king Catholic. He has written to his ambassador Bouton on the subject. The interference is ill received by the Almain. The duke of Vyer-tenberg, who had begun the war at the French king's instance, has been effectually checked by the liga del Bont. The Pope has declared to the Spanish ambassador, "that the promotion of his master unto the empery is not convenable to the weal of Christendom, nor for the Oly Roman Church, and that he favoereth therein the French king for to come to another of a lower degree; the which colour hath but a small justification or reason." *The Pope is instigated to this by desire "to increase the dominion of the duke of Urbin and his."*

The commander of Castile and Dr. Carvagial will not be included with Chievers in the commision, but the Grand Master of France has a particular commission for himself and Chievers and others. The safeconduct is dated the 6th, and will last one month. The ambassadors are expected to be at Montpellier before Saturday. Lotrect, lieutenant general of Milan, who was at Lyons to marry the daughter of lord Dorvale, has suddenly returned to his post, pretending a suspicion of the Swiss. The king's army will depart within 15 days by way of Barbary to Naples, regulating their movements by the successes at Montpelier. The Pope is not pleased to have it in Italy. The count de Carp, hitherto a faithful servant of the Emperor's, has received the order of St. Michael's, and entered the French service. Barcelona, 22 April 1519.

Hol., partly cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 5.

Add. by mistake: "[To my lor]d Cardinal's grace."

24 April. 196. DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

R. O.

Recognizance of 500 mks. entered into by Sir Thos. Gamage, of Coyty, Sir John Raghan, of Carnlloyd, Sir Wm. Bawdrip, of Penmarke, and John Turberville, of Tythegeston, all of co. Glamorgan and Morgan, 24 April 11 Hen. VIII., at Kaerdiff, before Sir Matthew Cradoke, deputy of Chas. earl of Worcester, chancellor of the said county, for the appearance of William Vaughan late of Talgarth, before Wolsey, on the last of April. Meanwhile he is not to come within Talgarth, or any town or lordship of the duke of Buckingham within Wales. Another recognizance of 200l., the same date, &c., entered into by Hugh Carne, of Cowbridge, Wm. Basset,

1519.

of Cowbridge, Thos. Bassett, of Llanryryd, and Christ. Flemyng, of Flemyngston, co. Glam. and Morg., for the appearance, as before, of Roger William, Roger Thomas and Ric. Madoke, late of Talgarth. *Endd.*

P. 1, large paper.

25 April. 197. PRECEDENCE OF AMBASSADORS.

Add. MS.
21,116, f. 45 b.
B. M.

On Monday in Easter week, 25 [April] 11 Hen. VIII., the earl of Worcester the chamberlain dined in the great chamber at Richmond; with him Mons. la Baty, ambassador to the French king, sitting directly on the outside against the said Earl, and the ambassador of Venice next the Earl, on the one side; the earl of Westmoreland on the outside, next to the French ambassador; the earl of Kent on the inner side, next the Venetian ambassador; and the earl of Devonshire on the outside, next the earl of Westmoreland.

On the Tuesday following the Chamberlain dined in the same room. La Batye on the outside, against him; Claud Boton, amb. of the king of Castile, next to the Earl, and the earls of Westmoreland and Kent.

Copy, temp. Car. I.; p. 1.

27 April. 198. REGINALD POLE to HENRY VIII.

Nero, B. vi.
118.
B. M.

Has arrived at Padua, where he has been sent by the King, by whose liberality he is much obliged. Has spent much on his journey. The magistrates at Padua, instead of allowing him to live in retirement, have, out of respect to Henry and his intention, treated him with great respect, notwithstanding Pole had assured them he had been sent there merely to study. Will not permit the nobles and bishops who are there, among others a brother of the duke of Bavaria and the marquis of Saluzzo, to outdo him in diligence. Hopes that the King will not allow him, for want of money, to abandon Padua for some obscure place in Italy. 5 kal. Maii.

Hol., Lat., p. 1. Add.

27 April. 199. HENRY VIII.

Rym. xiii. 696.

1. Letters patent to Sir John Peeche, deputy of Calais, Sir William Sandys, treasurer, John Bunoult, secretary there, and Robert Fowler, to arrange for the payment and receipt of the 1,000,000 gold crowns at different periods agreed upon by Francis I. Westm., 27 April 11 Hen. VIII.

2. Similar commission for the receipt of 600,000 gold crowns for the surrender of Tournay. Westm., 27 April 11 Hen. VIII.

3. Acquittance for 50,000 francs, part of the 1,000,000 g. cr. 5 May 1519.

4, 5. Acquittances for 25,000 francs, part of the money for Tournay, and for 1,000 g. cr. due from the inhabitants. 5 May 1519.

Lat.

French roll, 11 Hen. VIII. m. 5, 7, 9.

S. B. 6. Same as § 1 and § 3.

27 April. 200. ANTOINE DE LIGNE to WOLSEY.

B. O.

Desires to continue in Henry's service, and sends him a letter by the bearer. Asks Wolsey to recommend him, as he is more able to advance him than any other person, and has formerly done so. Hopes to have an opportunity to show his gratitude. Asks credence for the bearer. Belloel in Haynault, 27 April 1519. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. mons. le cardinal dYorck.

1519.

27 April. 201. ANTOINE DE LIGNE to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Offers his services. Asks Henry to pardon him for not having come to England. Was unable to do so for causes which he has already stated in other letters. Asks credence for the bearer, his maître d'hôtel. Bel-loel in Haynault, 27 April 1519. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: Au Roy.

28 April. 202. SIR THOS. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

* * * The Pope's legate has taken leave of the King, and purposes to depart next week. He has had no reward as yet. If means be found to satisfy the bishop of Helna by giving him a new bishopric, which he demands, he will "come thither again for to be resident." Has recommended him, and continually made due report of him to Wolsey. Fransysque Phelypp, with all his minstrels, has been robbed near Narbona, in the French jurisdiction. Lord Cherves gave him money to bring the whole company into England. The admiral of France is in Lorraine "laboring toward the Electors, by writing and message, to impeach the King's election." It is said his diligence causes but small profit. He cannot yet obtain their good will to come to their presence. Tomorrow and Saturday the King will keep the feast of St. George. Barsalona, 28 April 1519.

Hol., p. 1. Commencement lost. Add.: Cardynalls grace.

29 April. 203. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
ii. 264.

Has received his letters dated 25 March, with mutilated copies of the acts, so that he can make no use of them. A fresh ambassador from Spain is arrived, named Bartholomew, steward of the king Catholic. "He came post in eight days, and has complained grievously" of the king of France's warlike preparations. The lords here seem to lament this contention, and the marquis [of Dorset] told the French ambassador that he much regretted it. Is told that Venice favors the French king's undertaking, and has made preparations to facilitate it. —, 29 April 1519.

30 April. 204. FOR FERDINAND DE VICTORIA, the King and Queen's physician.

S. B.

Licence to export yearly, during the time he remains in the Queen's service, 500 woollen cloths of a certain length, subject to the usual customs. *Del. Westm., 30 April 11 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

30 April. 205. ST. SAVIOUR'S, BERMONDSEY, Wint. dioc.

Assent to the election of Robert Shulldham, monk of the exempt monastery of St. Edmund's, Bury, as abbot of St. Saviour's, *vice* John Merlow, deceased. *Westm., 30 April.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2.

P. S. b.

2. Petition for the same. Bearers, William Church and Thomas Gaynesburgh. 27 April 1519.

206. GRANTS in APRIL 1519.

April.

GRANTS.

1. Rob. Croxton, of London, barber, *alias* sherman. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfeld, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 22 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 1 April.—P.S.*

7. Anth. Cariswall, clk. Presentation to the church of Hanworth, London dioc. *Westm., 7 April.—Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 25.*

1519.

April.

GRANTS.

10. Rob. ap Reynoldes, of London, draper. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir. Ric. Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 30 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 10 April.—P.S. *Fr.*, m. 1.

11. Sir Anth. Ughtred. Grant in reversion of the offices of steward, constable and gatekeeper of the castle and lordship of Bamborough, Northumb., which offices have been granted, in survivorship, to Thomas lord Darcy and Sir George Darcy his son. *Del. Hampton Court*, 11 April 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2*, m. 27.

12. Sir Anth. Poyntz and Joan Guldeford his wife. Grant, during the life of the said Joan, of a tun of Gascon wine annually, free of all duties, out of the prizes of wines in the ports of London, Bristol, and Southampton, by the hands of the chief butler of England. Richmond, 26 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court*, 12 April.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2*, m. 27.

12. Jasper Penne and Ric. Philips, leathersellers of London. Licence to import 300 gross of hats and caps. Richmond, 4 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court*, 12 April.—P.S. *Fr.*, m. 4.

13. Hen. Cotton and Wm. Horseley. To have the office of a gunner in the Tower of London, with 6d. a day, during pleasure, *vice* William Ive, deceased. Richmond, 5 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court*, 13 April.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2*, m. 27.

14. Ralph Cooke, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumb. Licence to hawk pewter wares in cos. Northumb., Cumb., Westmor., the bishopric of Durham, Richmond and York, notwithstanding the Act of 4 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 14 April 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2*, m. 26.

16. Feodaries of crown lands. Appointment of Ralph Pokesale as feodary and receiver general of crown lands in *Hants*, during pleasure; with authority to deliver all minor heirs to Sir Th. Lovell, treasurer of the Household, and Sir Richard Weston, keepers of such heirs.

Similar appointments as under :

Hunts, Linc., and Camb. : Th. Hall.

Heref., Glouc., Worc. and Marches of Wales : Th. Baskerville.

Notts. and Derb. : Humph. Hersye.

Wilts. : Rob. Larder.

Signed : Thomas Lovell, Rychard Weyston.

Del. Westm., 16 April 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

16. Albert Newchurche, of London, pewterer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Anthony Ughtred, captain of Berwick. Greenwich, 1 March 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court*, 16 April.—P.S. *Fr.*, m. 1.

17. Wm. Bartron, of Kyngston, Surrey, brewer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Richard Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 2 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 17 April.—P.S. *Fr.*, m. 1.

18. Th. Dey, of Thetforth, Norf., inn-keeper, *alias* mercer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Richard Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 8 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 18 April.—P.S. *Fr.*, m. 1.

18. John Garrard, of London, draper *alias* vintner. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Richard Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 13 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 18 April.—P.S. *Fr.*, m. 1.

21. Wm. Lloid ap John ap Meredith, sewer of the chamber. To be keeper of Postey Park, Denbigh, N. Wales, lately held, by grant of king Henry VII., by John ap Meredith ap Jevan Lloid, deceased, father of the said William, with an annuity of 4l. 11s. *Del. Westm.*, 21 April 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2*, m. 27.

VARIOUS DATES, 10 HEN. VIII.

Reversals of Outlawry :

London. To Sir Chr. Warde, of Rypon, York, sued for debt by Alice, widow and executrix of John Akechyn, of London, tailor. 16 June.

[*York?*] To Rob. Myddylton, of Ripon, York, sued for trespass by Marmaduke, abbot of St. Mary's, Fountains. 9 Oct.

[*London?*] To John Parker, of London, sued for debt by John Savell and Rob. Melton, of London, goldsmith. 13 Nov.

[*Suffolk?*] To Th. Heyrison, of Rykyng-hale Superior, Suff., sued for breach of peace by Wm. Rowte. 27 Nov.

[*Warw.?*] To Th. Eton, of Alston, Warw., husbandman, sued for trespass by Sir Rob. Throkemerton. 26 April.

[*Devon?*] To John Smale, of Plympton Earl, Devon, laborer, sued for trespass by Wm. Strode. 6 July.

— To Mich. Somerise of St. Peter's Port, Guernsey, merchant, sued by Walter Ayleward, of Totton, for assault at Totton, and false imprisonment both there and at Lustwythiall, Cornw. 20 Oct.

[*York?*] To Sir Chr. Ward, of Gevendale, York, sued for debt by Th. Langley, olk., executor of Ralph Langley, prebendary of Gevendale, in the church of Ripon college, 5 June.

[*Cumb.?*] To John Mayes, of Elleworth, Camb., husbandman, sued for debt by Th. Eyton. 7 Nov.

Pat. 10 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1.

Thomas Brewster, of London, mercer. Lease for 20 years of four messuages in the parish of St. Sepulchre, in the ward of Faryngdon, London, three of which are bounded by the highway leading to Newgate, a hospice called Warwykys Inne, a messuage of Wm. Storkey's, and a messuage of Wm. Mosman's, and the fourth is situated in a lane called Tuttysshaly; at the annual rent of 104s. 8d. The former tenants were Th. Brewster, Beatrice Gyrle, Rob. Adams and John Norton.—S.B. (*Undated.*)

1519.

GRANTS IN APRIL—*cont.*

April

GRANTS.

VARIOUS DATES, 10 HEN. VIII.—*cont.*

Miles Forest. Lease of the pastures and meadows called le Nobbes, Northingis, Sydhynghis, and Marshall Nabbes, parcel of the lordship of Sherephoton, York, at the annual rent of 22*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—S.B. (*Undated.*)
Pat. p. 2, m. 26. Hampton Court, ———.

Ric. Norris, *alias* Rice, of Scottour, Linc., *alias* of Potton, Beds, *alias* of Everton, Hunts. Pardon.—S.B. *Pat.* 10 *Hen. VIII.*
p. 2, m. 7.

11 HENRY VIII.

28. Peter Dutton, of Hatton, Cheshire, squire of the Body, latemayor of Chester, *alias* of Holt, of Hawerden, of Bloxwich, and of London. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 28 April 11 *Hen. VIII.*—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 23.*

28. John Rawson, scholar. To have the pension which the abbot of Barmondesey, Surrey, is bound to give to a clerk of the King's nomination. Richmond, 28 April 11 *Hen. VIII.*—P.S.

1 May. 207. HEW VAUGHAN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Is commanded by a writ of subpoena, at the suit of Helier de Carteret, to appear personally before the King and council *in tres septimanas Pasche*. Cannot conveniently do so, as Carteret has obtained a writ ordering the bailiff and lieutenant, without whom no justice can be administered, to appear in Chancery at the same time, and he as captain must remain till they return. Asks leave to wait till Michaelmas term. If he come before, must return after Midsummer, and it would be injurious, as he is an old man, "to come up so far of every term." Mounte Orguyl Castle, Jersey, 1 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Legate's good grace. *Endd.*

3 May. 208. ST. MARY'S, LESNES.

R. O.

Grant by Wm. abbot of the Augustine monastery of St. Mary and St. Thomas, at Lesnes, Rochester dioc., to John bp. of Rochester, John Metcalf, doctor of theology, John Rooper, Wm. Draper and Th. Draper, of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, to be paid quarterly during the life of Henry Blackmore late abbot. 3 May 11 *Hen. VIII.*

Lat., copy.

3 May. 209. For SIR WILL. FITZWILLIAM and MABEL his wife.

Grant, in survivorship, of the manors of Weston near Baldok, Herts, Hoton Panell, York, Edyngworth, Somerset, Bedon, Berks, and Roughton, Norf., with appurtenances, and remainder for life to their eldest son, at the annual rent of 7*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*; on surrender of patent 13 March (*sic*, for May) 7 *Hen. VIII.*, granting them an annuity of 100*l.* Hampton Court, 3 May.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2.

5 May. 210. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.

112.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 29th April. A gentleman called Le Barroys has brought despatches this day "that pleased nother the King nor my Lady." After long consultation with him they resolved to send off immediately M. de Souliers to the Swiss; who departed on Sunday last. He told Boleyn "that the King here is nothing so eager nor so desirous upon the empire as he was heretofore, and said he had charge by his instructions so to show the Swisses." The bastard of Savoy and others of the council will be satisfied "if some small duke of Almaine" be chosen, provided the election fall not on the king of France or Spain. They blame the King's mother for her eagerness in this matter as tending to make the Swiss and others their enemies, and thus incur the danger of losing Milan. She has no confidence in the bishop of Mayence. She says "how
 for the empire than ever he did, and how my Lady
 . . . extremely for the King Catholic and more than she hath"

1519.

.. as my Lady here sayth." M. D. [is] still in Almayn, making all the labor that he can for the King his master. She considers all Christian princes are bound to help her son, if he happen to obtain "as many or more voices" than any other at the election. There is no likelihood of war, and the King is not going to Lorraine. An ambassador has arrived from the duke of Savoy to settle the differences between him and the bastard of Savoy, who has done him ill services with the King, inducing him to withdraw from the Duke a pension of 40,000 francs. The duke of Savoy had been [robbed ?] by his subjects in Geneva. The King thinks he leans too much to the Swiss. Poissy, 5 May. *Signed.*

Add. Pp. 3.

6 May. 211. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
ii. 266.

The King has written to the king of France to desist from hostilities, and to seek the empire by other means, according to the new peace. The two Spanish ambassadors have departed. Neither the King nor any great personage of this realm wishes the French king to obtain the imperial crown. Campeggio has said that the Swiss have written to Francis desiring him to desist from the attempt, and that one of the Electors whom Francis boasts of having at his beck has no intention of complying with his wishes. There are no indications of the conference, touching which a reply, but not definitive, has arrived from France. For some days past the cardinal of York has been indisposed, and he is much reduced by dysentery. Has this day received the state's missives of 11 April, with news from Hungary, which Giustinian will communicate to Wolsey and Campeggio. Lambeth, 6 May 1519.

6 May. 212. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.
114.
B. M.

Wrote yesterday of the suits of the English merchants. There have only been two since Easter, *sc.* Nicholas Wetherys, factor for William For[man ?] on London Bridge, and John Gybbe, of Dertmouth. The former has been allowed 4,827 francs, 3s. 8d. Tournois. Boleyn had much ado with the Chancellor, the bastard of Savoy, the generals of Normandy and Languedoc, and others, to get the payment allowed. The Chancellor took out of a casket the treaty of October last, made in England, with the seals of my lords of Norfolk, Durham, Ely, and my lord Chamberlain, and said that unless a new treaty were made they were not bound to restitution. He has also spoken to the Chancellor for John Gybbys, who brought a certificate from Wolsey of the losses he incurred by De la Fontaine. The Chancellor objects to the formality of the proceedings. Gives an account of the method in which the merchants must pursue their suits against the said Fontaine. There is great delay in the business. Tomorrow Richmond with the King's letters rides post to Bayonne to adjourn the said William. Poissy, 6 May. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

7 May. 213. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. v.
377.
B. M.

The maître d'hôtel Bouton has returned from England, and declared his business, of which she has advertised the Catholico, who resolves to be faithful to the King. The league of Swabia, of which he is the chief, has totally conquered the duchy of Wurtemburgh. The Duke has disappeared; his children are taken, and in the hands of duke William of Bavaria, the captain general of the army. The Swiss have confirmed their alliance with the houses of Austria and Burgundy, and will assist the king Catholico in his election as king of the Romans. Malines, 7 May xv^{cx}[ix]. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

1519.

8 May.

P. S.

214. For SIR CHRISTOPHER GARNEYS.

Wardship and m. of George, s. and h. of Thomas, s. of Henry Kebill, alderman of London. Richmond, 30 April 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 May.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

11 May.

215. HENRY VIII. to the ELECTOR OF SAXONY.

Spalatin's His-
torische
Nachlass.
Ed. Neu-
decker, 108.

Has spared nothing to show his good will towards him. Thinks that such a king of the Romans should be chosen who will be for the good of Christendom. Begs credence for Richard Pace his secretary, who will explain to him the King's mind touching the election. Greenwich, 11 May 1519.

German.

11 May.

216. HENRY VIII. to the ELECTORS.

Bucholtz, Ge-
schichte Ferd.
des Ersten, III.
673.

A great responsibility has fallen upon them by the death of Maximilian. They will have to elect an emperor favorable to universal peace, and competent to protect Christendom. Germany has always been a bulwark against those who were covetous of power. Hopes, therefore, they will proceed unanimously and with a view to the public weal. Offers to aid them in maintaining their rights with all the resources of his kingdom. They will learn his mind further from Ric. Pace. Greenwich, 11 May 1519.

Lat.

11 May.

217. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 267.

Inquired of Campeggio how the king of England would act if these sovereigns came to blows. He answered that according to the fresh peace "all are to retain their actual possessions, even if obtained by conquest, and, should the original possessor attempt their recovery by force, the occupant is at liberty to demand aid from the confederates." Yesterday, as these lords were unusually occupied, and Wolsey had gone twice to Greenwich in three days, denying audience to Campeggio on two occasions, and receiving no one, Giustinian went to the French ambassador, and acquainted him with this King's intention. The announcement proved very agreeable to him. Will keep on the watch to learn the cause of these frequent cabinet councils.

Whilst writing has received three missives from the state, one being a patent ratifying the confederacy, the others indicating the mode of executing the ratification, and enjoining him to await his successor till 2nd June. It is left to his option whether he ought to communicate with Wolsey or not. "Now the fact is, as I have informed the signory at least a hundred times, that it is necessary to address oneself to him about every thing; and, were it a question of neglecting his majesty or his right reverend lordship, the least injurious course would be to pass over the former. I shall therefore impart it to both, but first of all to the Cardinal, lest he resent the precedence conceded to his majesty." The Doge doubts the erasure in the clauses of the paragraph referring the disputes between Venice and the Emperor to the Pope and the kings of France and England. Repeats that the paragraph was inserted twice, but that he had it cancelled each time. Lambeth, 11 May 1519.

12 May.

218. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wishes to know how he shall order himself with the count of Nassau, now resident in Almayne for the King Catholic; that is, whether he shall disclose to him as much as Pace does to my Lady; for if she tell

1519.

Nassau, as is likely, of the overtures which Pace is making to her, and Pace has not said as much to the count himself, he will suspect him as double. On the other hand, if Pace makes like overtures to him, he may perhaps so publish it for the advancement of his master's cause that it may set jealousy between England and France. Will hear from Wolsey in time, as he left a servant in Flanders for the letters which Wolsey promised to send him last night. London, 12 May.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Legate's grace.

12 May. 219. The HENRY GRACE DE DIEU.

S.B.

For William Bonde, late clerk of the poultry, surveyor and payer of expenses for the construction of "le Henri Grace de Dieu," and the three other "galeys" at Woolwich and Erith. Release of 8,745*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* received from Sir John Daunce and John Heron, treasurer of the chamber, spent in wages for the workmen, and purchase of materials for the said ships. Also release of 300*l.* received by him from Sir John Daunce, and of the 8*l.* 5*s.* arising from the sale of hides and tallow expended by him on repair of decks and overlops. *Del.* Westm., 12 May 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 21.

12 May. 220. For SIR ARTHUR PLANTAGENET and ELIZABETH his wife.

Livery of lands, the said Eliz. being daughter of Edward Grey viscount Lisle, father of John Grey viscount Lisle, father of Elizabeth countess of Devon and viscountess Lisle, viz., of all possessions in England, Wales, and Calais lately belonging to the said countess and viscounts, and of which Thomas duke of Norfolk, Thomas earl of Surrey, John Bourghchier lord Berners, Thomas Fynes lord Dacre, Sir Richard Wentworth, Oliver Pole, clerk, and Henry Chauncy, were seised to their use. Westm., 12 May.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 6.

12 May. 221. For ISABELLA HATTECLIFF.

S.B.

Release, as widow and executrix of Wm. Hatteclyff, clerk of the accounts of the household, *alias* of Leuesham, Kent, *alias* of London, victualler of the King's forces, of 24,630*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* received by him for victualling the King's forces sent into Guyposte (Guipuzcoa), or upon the sea in the S., N., and W. of England; and for expenses of certain Scotch pirates taken by Thomas earl of Surrey; also release of 1,039*l.* 4*s.* 9½*d.* arising from hides, tallow, &c. sold for the King's use. *Del.* Westm., 12 May 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 11.

14 May. 222. PACE to WOLSEY.

R.O.

Arrived today at Calais, and though he had been very sick at sea, lying there by the space of 10 hours, is now "very whole by the reason of the same sickness," and endeavours to remain so, as it is not now time to be sick. Supposes Wolsey remembers proposing to get Pace a commission, declaring him the King's orator with sufficient authority. Has not obtained it, as he forgot to remind Wolsey of it. Has no excuse, except that two days before his departure all his wits were in Almayne. It will be in time if sent by the post. It is necessary to have it, as such commissions are looked for more in Almayne than elsewhere. Found at Dover a French post, who said that the hostages had despatched him to fetch the money. Believes he was sent to inform the French king of Pace's departure, and put suspicious bruits in his ears. Caused him to be detained at Dover until he had crossed by secret means, not meddling with him himself, to avoid suspicion. Meanwhile has written to Sir Thos. Boleyn, that, if he hear of any sinister report of his journey, he shall say that Pace is only sent to be

1519.

PACE to WOLSEY—*cont.*

present at the coming imperial election, and if he does not hear anything Boleyn is to keep quiet. Did this for the safety of his own person, for if the French king should by evil information suspect his journey, he might intercept him, and perhaps destroy him. Intends to depart tomorrow. Wishes to hear from Wolsey from time to time. Calais, 14 May.

Hol., pp. 3. Add.: My lord Legate's grace.

14 May. 223. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has received his last letter by York the herald, which states that Sir Thos. Lovell is intending to give up the treasurership of the household on St. George's Feast, 29th inst.; and that, notwithstanding his promises to Boleyn, the King thinks "that without greatly discouraging Sir Edw. Ponynge, he can do no less for the laudable service which the said Sir Edw. hath done than to advance him for a season." Wolsey, however, informs him, on the King's behalf, that before long he will create Sir Edward a baron, and will then undoubtedly make Boleyn treasurer. He intends to appoint to the controllership one with whom Boleyn will agree when treasurer, and has desired him to let Wolsey know his mind by letter. Four years ago, when he first sued to the King in this matter, said that he wished to serve the King in the court all his life, if on Lovell's leaving the office of treasurer he would appoint him to that place or to the controllership, and that if he would grant him that he would never sue for any higher place. The King then faithfully promised that when Lovell should quit his office Ponynge should be treasurer and Boleyn controller; and at Boleyn's last departing from him, he bade him undoubtedly trust thereto. Perceives now that the King will appoint some one else to the controllership, and wishes him to live in hope of the treasurership. Requests Wolsey to assist him in obtaining the fulfilment of the King's promise. Asks him to consider what a discouragement it would be to him and his friends, to whom he has disclosed his hopes, to be thus disappointed. If the fruit of his service is the prolonging of the King's promise, and if his absence is to be accounted a hindrance because he may not occupy the office without being there, he had better have stayed at home. Supposes Wolsey has perceived some fault in him, and therefore will promote a worthier man. If he will favor him this time, will take care that neither the King nor he repent themselves of it. Poissy, 14 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. Add.: To, &c. my lord Legat, Card. and Chaunceler of England. Endd.: 14 May.

14 May. 224. G. DE CROY LORD DE CHIEVRES AND GATTINARA to HENRY VIII.

Calig. D. vii.

116.

B. M.

Although the King their master has, by Bouton his maistre d'hotel, advertised his highness of the charge given to them for the meeting at Montpellier, and that no subject would be touched upon that was not included in the treaty, they have thought it right before their return to give a full statement to Madame l'Archiduchesse, that he may receive the information without delay. No conclusion has been come to, in consequence of the death of M. de Boisy. Pesenatz, 14 May 1519.

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.

225. ii. The SAME to WOLSEY.

Ib. f. 117.

To the same effect. Pesenaz, 14 May 1518 (*sic*).

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: "Mons. le cardinal d'Yorck."

1519.

15 May. 226. ERASMUS to HENRY VIII.

Er. Ep. vi. 12.

The morals and prosperity of nations depend upon their rulers. Henry, more fortunate than the Pope, has brought about universal peace, though no King was better prepared for war. Praises the vigor of his rule, which had repressed robbers; "a quibus nihil hactenus tutum erat in Anglia;"—his efforts for advancing learning among the clergy, of which the King himself is no mean example;—his fidelity to his marriage vows;—the order observed in his household. Speaks of a disputation the King had with some eminent theologian, in which he had defended mental and extempore prayer:—"a laicis non exigendam preceationem præter eam quæ mentis cogitatione Deum alloquitur." Antwerp, idibus Maii 1519.

227. ERASMUS to WM. MOUNTJOY.

Er. Ep. vi. 27.

Envies England its numerous scholars;—not a recent acquisition, as its ancient universities show. Dearly loves Fox for the magnificent college he has founded; and still more the heroic courage of Wolsey, to whom Oxford is so much indebted for its improvements in study, learning, and discipline. Cambridge had long since risen to eminence under the fostering care of Fisher. Much of this is due to the King. Peace universally prevails; as Erasmus would fain hope, to prevail for ever. Can scarcely help envying Mountjoy the enjoyment of so many blessings, and yet that he should have no part in them who once shared with Mountjoy his good and evil fortunes. Erasmus is only prevented from rushing into controversy by the Homeric goddess, who plucks him by the hair as he is clapping his hand to his sword. Antwerp 1519.

15 May. 228. ERASMUS to SIR HENRY GUILDFORD.

Er. Ep. vi. 26.

Is aware of the friendship Guildford entertains towards him either from reading his works or the report of Colet. Laments the persecution to which learning is exposed, and the luxury and dissipation of the times. Praises the court of Henry VIII., and regrets that he cannot live in it in consequence of his feeble health. No King is more dexterous in war, wiser in his laws, more penetrating in his councils, more circumspect in the choice of his officers, more successful in forming alliances, than the King of England. Sends compliments to my lady his mother, with whom Erasmus had conversed on one or two occasions. Antwerp, id. Maii 1519.

15 May. 229. For SIR JOHN PECCHE, knight of the Body.

S. B.

To be deputy of Calais, during pleasure, with 100*l.* a year out of the lordships of Mark and Oye, and 100*l.* a year for "spyall money," appointment of officers and forty-one soldiers, and power to grant safeconducts; *vice* Sir Ric. Wyngfeld. *Del.* Westm., 15 May 11 Hen. VIII.

15 May. 230. For SIR EDWARD GULDEFORD, knight of the Body.

S. B.

To be marshal of Calais for life, *vice* Sir William Meryng. *Del.* Westm., 15 May 11 Hen. VIII.

15 May. 231. For SIR RIC. WYNGFELD, knight of the Body.

S. B.

Annuity of 200*l.* for life. *Del.* Westm., 15 May 11 Hen. VIII.
Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

16 May. 232. ENGLISH MERCHANTS.

Lansd. MS.
171, f. 95.

B. M.

Treaty between John temporal lord of Barrowe and the borough masters, skipins and councillors of the said town on one side, and John Hewster, governor, and the elders of the English merchants on the other,

1519.

ENGLISH MERCHANTS—*cont.*

concluded by reason of certain controversies which have sprung up between them. Arnold de Werma, knight and borough master, and Jas. de Terlingen, pensionary of Barrowe, were sent to London to treat of the matter. The privileges granted by the lord of Barrowe, 16 May 1470, 7 Sept. 1469, and in 1480, are confirmed, and the following new privileges granted :—

1. The English merchants shall enjoy all old privileges granted to them ; and if there be any impediment, or if they desire increase of their privileges, the town of Barrowe shall appoint men to go with their deputies to the King, and shall pay their expenses. 2. All processes shall be determined in six weeks. 3. They promise to observe all “intercourses” between the King and other princes. 4. The duties on oil, soap, wine, &c. bought by English merchants in Barrow shall be paid by the seller. 5. The town will assist the English governor or lieutenant in bringing to justice English merchants who rebel and come thither. 6 to 10. Regulations for the sale of cloth, for the making good of false measurements, faults, &c. Signed by the lord of Barrowe, &c. Under a penalty of 1,000 guilders, at 4s. apiece. 16 May 1519.

Translation, pp. 16.

16 May. **233.** For RICHARD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

S. B.

Licence to him and his successors to hold a weekly market at his manor of Overton, Hants, on Monday, and an annual fair there on the eve of St. George the Martyr and the two days following. *Del. Westm., 16 May 11 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 22.

17 May. **234.** PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Today, on his arrival at Burgis, despatched a letter to the cardinal of Sion, according to Wolsey's orders. Trusts it will be conveyed safely. Has written it in such manner that, if it should be intercepted, no one will “perceive any speciality thereby.” The court is at Brussels, whither he is going with all convenient haste. Will send news “of everything at large.” Burgis, 17 May.

Hol., p. 1. Add. : To my lord Legate's grace.

18 May. **235.** SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 269.

Yesterday Pace departed on his way to the Electors of the empire. Campeggio does not know for certain the cause of his mission, not having had any interview with the Cardinal for four days. The French ambassador, who had been with Wolsey the day before, thought it was to thwart the projects of his king. The lord Treasurer (Norfolk) said that his majesty is taking steps to secure the freedom of this election, which he thinks will not fall on either of the two kings, but on one of the princes of Germany.

“Within the last few days his majesty has made a very great change in the court here, dismissing four of his chief lords-in-waiting, who enjoyed extreme authority in this kingdom, and were the very soul of the King. He has likewise changed some other officials, replacing them by men of greater age and repute,—a measure which is deemed of as vital importance as any that has taken place for many years. The King, indeed, has given employment *extra curiam* to the parties dismissed ; some at Calais, and some in other parts of the kingdom, assigning them titles and considerable appointments ; which is a proof that this change was not owing to any

1519.

fault of theirs." Having heard a rumor of this, desired Memo to investigate the matter; he came to Greenwich, and reported what is stated above. Some maintain that the change is made because some of these individuals, having accompanied the ambassadors who went to ratify the peace, are too partial to the king of France, or have been suborned. Others say it is because they had been the cause of the King's incessant gambling, "which has made him lose of late a treasure of gold; and that, on coming to himself and resolving to lead a new life, he of his own accord removed these companions of his excesses: this is the opinion of the lord Treasurer." But the French ambassador and the hostages think it took place either from suspicion about the affairs of France, or at the instigation of Wolsey, "who, perceiving the aforesaid to be so intimate with the King, that in the course of time they might have ousted him from the government, anticipated them under pretence of their being youths of evil counsel." This opinion is grounded on the fact that these individuals have been replaced by creatures of the Cardinal. The French ambassador says he told Wolsey that such a stir would not have been tolerated at the French court, "even if countenanced by all the cardinals and chief lords of the kingdom." Wolsey replied that "the French followed their own fashion, and the English that of England." Coupling this with the mission of Pace, considers it very important, but will say nothing to Wolsey, although the lord Treasurer urges him to laud these proceedings. It is believed that the interview between the two kings will be deferred. Lambeth, 18 May 1519.

18 May. 236. CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to the BP. OF WORCESTER.

Mart. Amp.
col. III. 1307.

Has frequently been told by Thos. Spinelly of the good services rendered him by Worcester in all things pertaining to the imperial election. He advances the authority of the king of England when he advances that of Charles. Was especially pleased with what Worcester had done in the affairs of cardinal Sion. He has doubtless heard that Francis has declared that if he cannot obtain the empire by policy, he will have recourse to arms. Charles will take care that the votes of the Electors are not coerced. Barcelona, 18 May 1519.

18 May. 237. DE HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.
380.
B. M.

Has sent to the Chamberlain and his colleagues their . . . touching the reduction of Mortaigne, in which the writer has been at much trouble and expense. The sieur de Ligne has sent his servant to the King to be paid his expenses. He thinks that Hesdin ought to have some gratuity. Had thought of going to England, but has been detained. The election will take place on the 24th of [next] month. He who is elected will not have it all his own way. Brussels, 18 May 1519. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. "Mons. le [car]dinal dYorek."

18 May. 238. THOMAS LORD DACRE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has met the wardens on all the three Marches. Agreed very well, and has made reformation of injuries. Met the earl of Arran, the lieutenant of Scotland in the Duke's absence, at Coldstream, and adjusted certain difficulties that he had with the warden of the west march. Said he wondered they showed so much respect for the Duke, and so little for their King's security, seeing that the truce expires on St. Andrew's day next, and that there was no alternative but to make suit to Henry, or be comprehended with France. They have appointed a parliament to meet on 24th June, when they will send to the Duke to return before St. Peter's ad Vincula [1 Aug.] Lord Shrewsbury has agreed to marry one of his daughters to Dacre's son. Desires a licence to alienate all his inheritance

1519.

THOMAS LORD DACRE to WOLSEY—*cont.*

to certain feoffees to his use during life, and to the use of his son and daughter and the heirs male of their bodies ; with a proviso that it be not to the King's prejudice. Morpeth, 18 May. *Signed and sealed.*

Pp. 2. "To my lord Cardinal's grace."

20 May. 239. COMMISSION to PACE.

Vit. B. xx. 111.

B. M.

"Commissio Ricardi Pace secretarii adeundi post mortem Imperatoris Electores imperii."

The Holy Roman Empire, in consequence of the death of Maximilian, having been deprived of its governor, unless the Electors supply the vacancy, the peace of Christendom may possibly be endangered, especially as the sole object of the Turk is to enlarge his dominions, now nearly doubled by the accession of those of the Sultan. To preserve union, therefore, among Christian princes, and to remove any new cause of discord which may arise in the election of the future Emperor, Henry has thought it his duty to send an ambassador to persuade the Electors of the Roman empire to concord, which he does the more willingly, as he understands that the Pope holds the same opinion as himself ; in fact, Henry has been moved to do so by papal briefs. Appoints Richard Pace, his chief secretary, his ambassador. London, 20 May 1519, 11 Hen VIII.

Lat., pp. 2, mutilated.

240. PACE'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Vit. B. xx. 153.

B. M.

"And over thys, forasmuch as the King's grace provide
 . . . doing unto hym this pleasour in hys advauncement to this
 to be rewardyd and recompensid for thayr gratitude, therf[ore] . .
 after he shall feele the towardly myndes of the said Electors . .
 rewardes thay schall loke to have for thayr benivolence may
 thayr with goode hope of such reward, so it exceed not
 the summe it is the King's pleasure that no communica-
 tion, writing or instrument [whatever] shall pass his said ambassador,
 but only conditionally ; that is to say, [should the] King's highness be elected
 to that dignitie and really attay[n thereto,] then to pay such a sum as
 shalbe agreed bytwyxt thaym." The said ambassador is to declare the
 manifold gifts of grace, fortu[ne] and nature which be in the King, and
 his fitness to ta[ke] upon him so great a dignity. Is to abstain from all
 promises until he is assured that the Electors will elect the King. Is to
 take the King's letters of credence to the Swiss, and according to the
 premises declare the cause of his coming to the assembly for the election
 of the Emperor, assuring them of the continuance of the King's benevolent
 mind, and sounding them as to the election ; and he is to "ensearch, as
 well by [his] own acquaintance among the Swiss, as by the drifts of the
 cardinal Sedunensis, w[hat] ways they intend to take," and whether they
 may be induced to f[avour] the preferment of the King. "And it is sup-
 posed that, inasmuch as they will in no wise condescend to the
 prefe[rment of] the French king, as they have expressly declared" * * *
 [*A line or more lost.*]

In Ruthal's hand, mutilated, p. 1.

241. PACE'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Vit. B. xx. 157.

B. M.

"Byfore which general overture of the foresaid credence to the said
 Electors he shall by the most politique drifts
 and inquire which of the electors leane and incline to [the Catholic]

1519.

King's preferment, and which unto thadvancement of the [French* king] ; uppon knowlege whereof he may in such wyse order the decla[r]ation of the same,] that when he speketh with the favorars of the Frensche kyng he may [employ] words to sehew the Kynges inclination to that partie, if they schall think [it fit] for thayr wealis, the suertie and conservation of thayr anxient [rights and] liberties, and in semblable maner to use hym self to such of thelectors as inc[lined] to the kyng of Castylis part, so that the Kyng's highness be not noted to [favour] or advance the oon partie more than thother, but to use pleasaunt w[ords] foundyd upon indifferencie to the frynds of both, as the case shall require ; fores[eeing] always that, byfore he enter communication with any such as pretend themselves to be friends to either the Frensche kyng or kyng of Castile, he may be well assured that they be no dissemblers, nor such as by crafty means would search the secrecy of his mind and declare the same to the contrary part, whereunto the King's said ambassador must take special regard."

The same order is to be taken with the French ambassadors and those of the king of Castile, "shewing himself favourable to the advancement of the Frensche king when he speaketh with his friends or ambassadors," and to the king of Castile with the ambassadors of the king of Castile. With the Pope's ambassador, however, if he find him a substantial and sure man, he may communicate on the premises, and also upon the contents of the letters lately sent, by the Pope's command, by the bishop of Worcester to Wolsey; copies of which he is to take with him to induce the Pope's ambassador to join with him in the advancement of the following matters : 1. To disappoint the election of the French king and the king of Castile, and to find means, "by provident and circumspect drifts," to drive the Electors to elect Henry VIII., "which is of the Germany ton[gue]", or else to choose [one of] their own, and not to translate the empire, which has been in Ger[many] seven hundred years, to a strange nation, for if it were eftsonys so [translated, it] schuld never return to them again, as they can . . ."

Corrected draft, mutilated, p. 1.

20 May. 242. MORE to EDW. LEE.

Jortin, III.342.

Had received two letters by Geoffry Lee, dated respectively Louvain, 10th and 20th April. Deeply regrets Lee's dispute with Erasmus, and thinks no advantage will come of it. Had known and loved Lee as a boy before he was ten years old. 20 May 1519.

20 May. 243. ERASMUS to ALBERT CARDINAL AND ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE.

Er. Ep. VI. 19.

In recommendation of Pace, who is going as ambassador to Germany. Antwerp, 16 kal. Junias 1519.

244. SAME to ANTONY DE BERGIS.

Ib. 20.

To the same effect. Has great hopes of Prince Ferdinand. Charles is away. Chievres is not friendly to literature. Cardinal Hadrian (Tortosa) has never been well disposed to letters, although he is not so averse as some are, who imagine that they cannot be safe unless literature be put down. Antwerp, 13 kal. Jun. 1519.

* The word "French" is struck through with the pen just before the mutilation.

1519.

20 May. 245. EARL OF ARRAN to [CHRISTIERN KING OF DENMARK].

R. MS. 13.
B. II. 301.
B. M.
Ep. Reg. Sc.
I. 315.

Received his letters by Dr. Alex. Kingorne, stating that he was preparing to make war against the Swedes, and desired the aid of troops from Scotland, and especially of Arran's followers. Is unable to serve his majesty in consequence of the charge he has in the state. Edinburgh, 20 May 1519.

Lat.

20 May. 246. [BOLEYN] to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.
118.
B. M.

Wrote last on the 17th. The King has not come abroad till today, since the Great Master's death, when he called for Boleyn, and said he had heard from England that master Secretary and Clarencieux had been sent to Almaine; that Henry had put out of his court "divers that were his minions and of his chamber," *sc.* Carewe, Bryan, Nevell, Guyllford and Guyllford, Peeche, and Poyntz, and one whose name he could not tell; that the King and his council one day at Greenwich sent for them, and said "how the bruit was that they after their appetite governed the King;" that they should no more come to the court, but Weston and the deputy of Calais, Kingston and Jerningham, were put in their place. Every man's tongue in Paris is full of it. Had said nothing to the King of the interview, because the King's mother begged him through Robertet not to speak of it till she was present. She thinks it would be better that La Bastye should arrange it in England.

The Venetian ambassador who is coming to England presented this day to the King "a great letter in parchment, sealed with lead." Seyntmesme has been sent post to the admiral to announce his appointment as Great Master, "if he woll leve the admirallship," and to be governor of, as his brother was before him. Either he, or the bastard of Savoy, who has been sick, will have chief credit with the King. Chievres has returned from Montpellier. The christening is still delayed under pretext of the child's eyes;—really because of some variance between the King and the duke of Savoy. To withdraw him from the Swiss it was proposed to invite him to stand godfather, but he declines. York remains till the ceremony is over. Has received from Wolsey a letter desiring the return of Anthony Browne and Percival Hart; has obtained the King's consent. Sends this letter to Calais by a Frenchman for 5 crowns; therefore does not write all that he sees. As the archers of Calais have gone home, "which ran but slowly when they were here," desires to know how Wolsey will have his letters sent. Poissy, 20 May. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

20 May. 247. FOR NICH. CAREWE.

To be lieutenant of the tower of Ruysbanke, on surrender of patent 17 May 1 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Sir John Pette. Westm., 20 May.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 5.

20 May. 248. FOR SIR RICHARD JERNEGAN, knight of the Body.

S. B.

Grant, for life, of an annuity of 100*l.* *Del.* Westm., 20 May 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 15.

1519.

- 20 May. 249. For SIR WILLIAM KINGSTON, knight of the Body.
S. B. Grant, for life, of an annuity of 100*l.* *Del.* Westm., 20 May
11 Hen.VIII.
Pat. 11 *Hen.VIII.* p. 1, m. 11.

- 20 May. 250. For SIR JOHN TREMAYLE.
Annuity of 50 marks, for life, out of the issues of the town and
marches of Calais, from 10 Feb. 10 Hen.VIII. Westm., 20 May.
Pat. 11 *Hen.VIII.* p. 2, m. 7.

- 21 May. 251. ERASMUS to JAQ. DE BANNISIIS.
Er. Ep. vi, 21. Rejoices at his promotion. Speaks of the tumults occasioned among
the theologians by the publication and sale of the New Testament.
Literature would flourish if they had such a sovereign as the king of
England. Henry is no inconsiderable scholar; openly patronizes learning;
has enjoined silence upon the wranglers. The cardinal of York has done much
to restore all good studies, and by his bounty invites all men to the pursuit
of them. Campeggio does the same. There are more men of learning to
be found in Henry's court than in any university. The German princes
also honor letters. Prince Ferdinand thinks highly of Erasmus, and studies
his book *De Principe*. The ill health of Erasmus prevents him from
becoming the prince's tutor. His Paraphrase on the two Epistles to the
Corinthians and the Epistle to the Galatians has appeared, and is popular
with all classes. Begs his commendations to Fred. duke of Saxony.
Recommends to his acquaintance Rich. Pace, the English ambassador, an
excellent scholar in both tongues; a favorite for his unspotted character
with King, cardinals, and even the Pope. Brussels, 12 kl. Junii 1519.

- 21 May. 252. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.
Galba, B. v. 379. Has received his letters written to her by Pace his principal secre-
tary and ambassador. Cannot be too grateful for the King's friendship to
her and her nephew. Intends sending an ambassador to England, and will
give order that the King's ambassador be conducted to Germany. Has deli-
vered to his ambassador certain letters of Chievres, Marquis Darscot,
mentioning the death of the Grand Master of France. Bussels, 21 M[ay]
15]19. *Signed.*
Fr., mutilated, pp. 2. Add. at f. 380.*

- May. 253. PACE to WOLSEY.
Galba, B. v. 233. Has had an audience with the lady Margaret at Brussels. Hopes
to despatch a courier tonight. Yesterday, being at Antwerp, an order was
taken between himself and Philip Gualterotti for the payment of money in
such places as he shall need. Has received of him 1,000 florins. Rumor
says the affair will succeed. Mechlin, this x . . day of May.
Hol., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: "To my lord Cardinal's grace and legate."

254. PACE to [WOLSEY].
Galba, B. v. 391. Had this day an audience with my lady Margaret. She cannot ex-
press her joy at the King's loving mind towards the king of Castile. She
said that he and the whole house of Burgundy were greatly bound to be
grateful for Henry's labors in these matters. She, De Montag[ny] and
the Vice-chancellor have told him all the secrets for the election of the
Emperor. They said the count Palatine, the abps. of Mayence and Cologne
had faithfully promised their voices; but Pace perceived by their coun-
tenances and their vacillations that it was not so certain, and they pretended

1519.

PACE to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

it only to make him believe that the king of Castile's election had attained the end they desired. * * * * * My Lady will certify the King of other news. "Brussels, th midnight."

P.S.—The Great Master of France is dead. "My said La[dy delivered] me these said letters this night."

Hol., badly mutilated, pp. 3.

255. [PACE] to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx. 155.

B. M.

* * * "deade I do not jugge to be c that the bushoppe of Trev[ers] hymselfe neutrall and yitt doith dis unto the sayde King off at the last he must bi necessitie be [compelled] to favour the said king of Castell [in the] forsaid election, because that all hy[s lands] doith lye in the confines of the countie [of] Lucemburge apparteygnyng unto the sayde [King], and myght therfore be destruede if he sho[uld] not shew his favor unto the said ky[nge] of Castell." It is said that the duke [of the] Saxons is in the same case, and labors to be Emperour himself, "in like man[ner] as the marquis of Brandeburge haith hys owne brodre adversary here. Furthermore they have s[howed] unto me that the French king ha[th] desired that [the] young king of Bohemia [should ob]tain the imperial dignity hy[mself, be]cause that the said French [king doth now] despair of the same. And [d]oth labor therefor effectually as they but in case he cannot obtain he hath then promised to give his therein unto the said king of Castile. [My l]orde, when all the premises be put together, [and] well pondered and considered, no manner of certainty can be gathered out of them, after my judgment; but he that shall come last after the great practices passed shall be in as good and peraventure better case than they that came long afore." As yet, therefore, cannot see but our matters may come to good effect.

Is informed by my lady [Margaret] and others that the arch[bisho]p Ursinus, the Pope's ambassador, has not behaved discreetly in Almayne, speaking too much [in favor of] the French king's election, and "depraving" the king of [Ar]ragon shamefully, saying " natura stolidus et etiam habere nescio [The said] archbishop is he that put the good men great trouble by his rebellion fra to the late king Lewis of Fra[nce. The lord] Montagny hath shewed unto me [that the Pope] hath lately changed his mind tow[ards the] king of Castile, and where that he ha[th in time] past openly shewed favor to the sai[d French] king, his Holiness now intends to adva[nce the] king of Castile to the empire. Mr. Bon hath kept me here verraye lovyng cumpan[y by] my Lady's commaundement." He has showed Pace a great delay is likely to be [taken] in the election. Perceives clearly from him that the King's causes are in no surety. It was known here, at Pace's coming, not only in the court, [but in] all the country, "that the French [king] had demanded of the King [to send] 6,000 archers and a grete summe of [money] unto him; whereunto I made ans[wer, and told] my said Lady that they should b[elieve] rather his] grace's deeds more than the fle the French [a line or lines lost] one affairs. I showed unto them also [that wha]tsoever they should hear spoken [the Kin]g my master would faithfully observe and [keep] all manner of amities and confederations [con]cluded and established with his ancient [f]riends, and they might thereof be well assured." When my Lady had heard that the French king's mother said she labored more than she was commissioned to do for the king of Castile, she laughed, and said "that thys

1519.

warre betwixte ladys is a swete warre, because they do not stryke icho othre," and that she would do as much for her ne[phew] as the French king's mother for him. My Lady told him of a practice lately begun by the [French] king; viz., that whereas the king of Denmark pretends a title [to the] realm of Scotland, "and next unto hoste of the same cun[trey]" * * *

Fragment in Pace's hand, mutilated, pp. 4.

22 May. 256. THOS. LORD DACRE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

In behalf of the bearer, who is sued before Wolsey in Chancery, by a *subpana* for lands, to which one Lilburne asserts a title. Hears from many honest gentlemen that the tail by which he claims it was never executed, nor livery nor seisin given thereupon. He will show Wolsey copies of depositions under oath, of honest gentlemen, friends of Lilburne, taken under the writ of *dedimus potestatem*, directed to lord Ogle and Sir Edw. Radcliffe, and which are certified by their seals. The bearer was with Dacre at Brankstone field, and there wounded and taken prisoner. The lands for which he is sued were burnt and destroyed, and he is not able to sustain the suit in his defence. Asks either that he may be dismissed from that court, and the matter committed to common law, or that Lilburne may be compelled to prove his title. Morpeth, 22 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 1. Add.: "To my lord Cardinal's good grace."

22 May. 257. CARDINAL SION to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Received yesterday his letters from London of the 5th inst. If anything in his letters offended the King or the Cardinal, it was through inadvertence. "Quod autem ad negotia et istarum partium tractabilia et quomodo pendeant attinet, diffuse ex introclusa communi scriptura contexta P.V. intelliget cedula; ea itaque quæ divinitus sibi præstita prudentia, immo prophetico quodam spiritu, luculentissime disseruit, si Gallus idem [Imperator] esset, ut libidine imperandi omnibus [viis] pollutus contendit, et prævidit, et Sedunensis paratissimi servitoris debile iudicium querit; ita attingo et absolvo. Existimo imprimis, R.D.V., quia Deus optimus maximusque superbis resistit, honorum distributor et bonorum dator est, cujus consilium semper manet, hactenus quævis quæ per Gallorum regem in provinciam hant (hanc) consequendam tentavit, sive per ducem Wirtemberg viginti mille avidis [Helvetiis] habendis, sive irritandis ad invicem Suevis cum avidis, incendiumque non modicum succenderat, in nihilum redegit, ut nec homo occubuerit; insuper ut tam senes quam pueri inter Suives (Suevos) et in avidis [Helvetiis], et melius dixerim in tota Germania, omnia obire pericula, quam Gallum eo pertingere aut sibi dominari pati, parati et uno animo existant ac voto; quod a Domino factum, nemo est qui dubitet; tyrannidem Galli et conatus ejus et scandala suboritura cavebit, ut id pertimiscendum quasi ultro non veniat. Quod autem R.D.V. me ut pro solito reipublicæ Christianæ libertati modis omnibus elaborem et Gallo obsistam hortatur, qui et viribus et ingenio exiguus sum ut tantam molem vel nec attingere ausim, et maxime hactenus quia Gallus Potest [Christianissimum regem] communem quæ sibi toto posse, et ducentis milibus scutis mutuo non deesse, et auxiliari passim jactitabat; unde etiamsi minus illis faveam continentius tamen egi; proinde autem pro virili mea ultro in hujusmodi jussis exercebor. Fateor enim Potest [Ch. regi] me gemino, ob fidei præstitæ pignus et animi mei devotionis fervorem, ex suæ majestatis intuitu, quo quidem supra humani numinis relucet conceptum, taceo pro beneficentia illius et R.D.V. in me collata, vinculo derinctum; ut per omnia suis inservire velim commodis, et

* In MS. (:); qu. cum?

1519.

CARDINAL SION to WOLSEY—*cont.*

R.D.V. hortatibus obtemperare cupiam; commemorat siquidem R.D.V. quanta humani sanguinis et Christiani profusio, eo quod nescit [Carolus] in idem [Imperatorem] sublimari et malus [Gallus] eo contenda[n]t; immineat suggeritque, nec insipienter, quendam cavendi modum, quem et nihil [papam] cupire et excogitasse non ignorat R.D.V. nec ego, et de meis mei calce litteris posito admonet, operamque et consilium exposcit, et secretam servari, quod et ante omnia erit, rem utique grandem, et quæ insipientiæ meæ major est, exposcit; qui nunc non ut quondam prior factus, sed longe sum. Novit R.D.V. quo modo nescit [rex Catholicus] potest [Ch. regem] ut mihi pro eodem ad principes Electores commissionem daret attentius sollicitasse, quod et mihi nuntiis et litteris aliquotiens insinuavit, cui me nihil horum a Potest [Ch. rege] expectando inservire et insistere obsequiis devovi, qui sollicitudine et impensa jam Electores perlustravit, nec ut creditur quicquam quod ad rem pertinet intemptatum dimisit, et sperat totis quasi portum contingere velis. Vereor equidem eam nos, de qua inquit Apostolus, in novissimis diebus instare tempora mala, et erunt homines cupidi, elati, avari, a maximo ad minimum, a rege ad sacerdotem, omnes student avaritiæ, quæ sua sunt quærentes, et quia auro omnia obediunt, attigisse tempestatem. Sed ut paucis concludam, novit R.D.V. quid ex præmissis eliciat consilii, amplius autem ex nihil [Papæ] animo examplar quasi in monte monstratum, si forte huic intendere libeat. De me quid dicam nescio; fidelis sum, fallere neminem novi, nec decet; pollicita autem servare convenit; neque quo res tractabuntur nisi forte a Potest [Ch. rege] vocatus ut sperat nescit [Cath. rex] adesse me continget; verum et quia in incerto ob varietates animorum, quia et forte auri fames est magna, negotia vertuntur, et juxta poetæ dictum, ubi intenditur ingenium valet, posset vel disjunctive quæ in altero saltem impletur sine cujusquam fraude pertemptari, ut si in nescit [Cath. reg.] proveniat, postulationi ejus satisfacisse, sin minus nec sortem propriam neglexisse pæniteat Potest [Ch. rex.] vel R.D.V. Dignabitur igitur P.V.R., quæ Dei dono reliquis prudentia præeminet consummatissima, et ex his, etsi inculcate positus quæ ego velim, possim vel sentiam, et quibus opus erit comprehendere, et citissime agere, et meis insuper pro libito utatur obsequiis, et me Potest [Ch. regi] paratissimum servulum comendatum facere." Ex Thurego, 22 May 1519. Signed.

Cipher, undeciphered, pp. 3. Add. Endd.

258. [CARDINAL SION to WOLSEY.]

R. O.

A summary of occurrences. At the Swiss diet held at Zurich after the second Sunday in May, the French ambassadors stated that their master would not aspire to the empire by bribery or other means, nor would have thought of such a thing had he not been solicited by many Christian princes;—that though the Electors were German, they might choose a non-German emperor. They enforced this by various examples. They stated that the Catholic king was not a German, and therefore the Swiss ought to observe the same conduct with regard to him as they had to Francis, and require him to desist, and leave the election free, for he had armies ready in Naples, Navarre, Arragon and Germany. They then asked for a levy of Swiss foot. These arguments were confuted by the agents of the King Catholic, who stated, among other things, that the German army collected by the League was only there to secure freedom of election from the attempts of the French, who had tampered with the duke of Wirtemberg;—that the dukes of Mecklenberg, Lunenberg, Saxony and Gueldres, and the landgrave of Assia (Hesse), had been asked by Francis, as reported, to disturb the election. The Swiss resolved not to allow the Frenchman to be emperor on any conditions, but would be satisfied with the election of the King Catholic. Seeing the favor with which Charles was received as

1519.

duke of Austria, his ambassadors demanded a body of foot, and were referred to the next diet: and, in opposition to the French, the Swiss have resolved to hold any power as an enemy who shall employ their troops without their consent. They have confirmed the ancient league with the Emperor in defence of the house of Austria. The King Catholic is in hopes of obtaining two other articles at the next diet after Ascension day.

"*Si Duces, de quibus supra, ad mali (i.e. Galli) instantiam copias in Assiam cumularerint, ordinata sunt duci de Brosuil* sex millia peditum et mille gravis armaturæ cum quibus invadat terram illorum ut se contineant. Citra vigesimam futuri mensis erit electio facta, et con-Rhenales Electores, et maxime Mogontinus, sunt pro Nescit (i.e. Catholico Rege) dispositissimi. Omnia pro Catholico Rege sperantur.*"

Lat., pp. 4, partly cipher, undeciphered.

23 May. 259. SIR JOHN PECCHE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

According to the King's and Wolsey's orders, met the master deputy of Calais at Osprynge last Tuesday night. He told Peeche that Wolsey would send his patent by post with the letters appertaining to it, and the same night he rode to Dovor, and passed the sea on Wednesday last. Peeche and the master lieutenant of the castle came on Thursday. Master Tylford and Master Nic. Carewe came to Calais on Friday. Master Treasurer has tarried here, and has delivered the keys to Mr. Deputy, according to Wolsey's letter. He has stayed, as the King commanded, until today, waiting further orders. None have come. Asks that the master porter may remain; for, in the absence of the deputy, the treasurer and the comptroller, "there is none here of the council that is perfect of the statutes and good order of this town." Does not wish to be left "so bare," until at least he has sure experience and knowledge of what he ought to do. Calais, 23 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal, his good grace.

24 May. 260. ERASMUS to WARHAM.

Er. Ep.
xiv. 19.

Has heard from Zach. Phrysius, his old pupil, now in Warham's service, of the Archbishop's favor towards him. Speaks of his pension, and the loss he has sustained by the extortions of the money changers. Regrets the violence of Luther. Is very desirous of seeing the Archbishop. Antwerp, 24 May 1521.

24 May. 261. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote yesterday to inform him of Mr. Treasurer's departure. Wingfield's servant, whom he left to attend upon Wolsey, arrived about 7 o'clock this morning, with the letters patent of Sir John Peche, Mr. Guylford and Mr. Nicholas Carewe, and also the letters for Mr. Treasurer, which Wolsey devised while Wingfield was there. Brian Tuke, who had the charge at that time from Wolsey for making it, has sent Wingfield a minute of it, by which he sees the King's pleasure, directed to the treasurer. Will not fail, in this his absence, with the others of the council, to take such order for that behalf as is contained in the King's letters today; and tomorrow will "be ready to depart hence with the passage." The cause of his servant's lateness is that he tarried at Dover since Friday, and could not cross till today. Calles, 24 May, at 7 o'clock in the morning. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: My lord card. of York, chancellor, &c.

* Sic in MS.; *qu.* Brunswick?

1519.

25 May. **262.** ERASMUS to FOX BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Er. Ep. vi. 22.

Begs Fox not to give ear to ill reports spread abroad by his maligners. If Lee can give better reasons for his views, Erasmus will take no offence, though Lee circulates unfriendly reports in all directions. He is a young man fired by the love of fame. If Fox can induce Lee to desist from spreading reports more injurious to himself than Erasmus, it will be the better for Lee's reputation. Antwerp, 8 kl. Jun. 1519.

25 May. **263.** ERASMUS to THOMAS BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Er. Ep. vi. 23.

Sends his Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Galatians. Is aware of the ill reports in circulation against him by men who are unfavorable to learning. Antwerp, 8 kl. Jun. 1519.

26 May. **264.** SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.

R. O.

According to his writing sent to Wolsey yesterday, encloses a copy of a proclamation published here this forenoon. Has no other news. Muttrell (Montreuil), 26 May. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*: My lord Cardinal.

26 May. **265.** SIR JOHN PECCHE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

A servant of Sir Ric. Wingfield arrived here on Tuesday last, about six in the morning, with a letter from the King and Wolsey to the Treasurer, who took passage the day before. Received with it a minute from Brian Tuke containing its effect; on reading which, took such direction as was thought most advisable. Guyldford took his oath as marshal, Nic. Carewe as lieutenant of Ruysbank, and Pecche for the place occupied by Wingfield, who is most honorably spoken of by all here. They say they have not seen or heard tell of any deputy who departed "with so many weeping eyes and true hearts." While Wingfield was at Calais he showed Pecche the priest who conveys letters from the King's spy in France, whose wages are 4 cr. for himself and 10 cr. for his master a month, which he paid for this month. He showed him also the King's spy at Tourneham. His wages are 4 cr. a month, and are paid until the end of June.

John de Lucet, master of the ordnance to the king of Castile, arrived today from Flanders. He was in Henry's service during the French war, and has told Blewmantle that the Electors will choose the Emperor at Francbourghe on the 16th of next month, and also that the Great Master of France "should be dead." He intends to go to the King. Wishes to be advertized of the King's pleasure from time to time. Calais, 26 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. *Add.*: To the card. of York, chancellor of England.

26 May. **266.** LAURENCE DE GORREVOD, GOVERNOR OF BRESSE, to HENRY VIII.Vesp. C. i.
273*.

B. M.

Has received his letters of the 26th April, by which he learns of the arrival in England of the ambassadors who had been at the court of Spain. Has requested the English ambassador, Thomas Spinelly, to express his readiness to serve the King on all occasions. Barcelona, 26 May, xix. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*: "Au Roy."

1519.

- 26 May. **267.** For THOS. WORCETOUR, Abbot, and the CONVENT OF RADYNG.

Inspeximus of pat. 23 Oct. 2 Hen.VII., confirming various grants to the monastery. One patent cited relates to the manor of Leominster, and the exonerating of the monks of Leominster from the collection of tenths, &c. Westm., 26 May.

Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 2—4.

- 27 May. **268.** JAMES V. to CHRISTIERN KING OF DENMARK.

RMS. 13. Sends to Copenhagen, James Stuart of Ardgowan, with a body of
B. n. 302. foot, ships and provisions for his service. Dr. Alexander will carry his
B.M. answer to Christiern's specific demands. Edinburgh, 27 May, &c. *Signed:*
Ep. Reg. Sc. 1. "Tallefer pro Paniter."
317.

Lat.

- 28 May. **269.** JAMES V. to [HENRY VIII.]

Vesp. F. III. Has received his letter by Magnus. Begs he will not write to the
36b. Pope against the abp. of Glasgow, who was his preceptor, and daily re-
B. M. mains about his person, although the abp. of St. Andrew's has written
to Henry against his exemption. Edinburgh, 28 May. *Signed:* Zour
nephew James R.

Hol., p. 1.

- 28 May. **270.** GAWIN DUNBAR, DEAN OF MURRAY, to the CARDINAL OF
Adv. MS. 14. CORTONA.

Hears that the Cardinal has obtained a gift of the Premonstratene priory of Whithorne (*Candidæ Casæ*) on the death of the late prior Henry, which was given to the writer *in commendam* by the three estates of Scotland, and confirmed by the Governor. Will abide by whatever the Governor has agreed to in the matter. Edinburgh, 28 May.

Lat., copy, p. 1.

- 29 May. **271.** FEAST OF ST. GEORGE.

Ashmole, The celebration of the feast of Saint George at the castle of Windsor.
No. 1109, 11 Hen.VIII., 29 May.
f. 124b.

- 29 May. **272.** COMMISSION FOR DEPREDATIONS AT SEA.

S. B. Commission to Thomas earl of Surrey, high admiral, Cuthbert Tun-
Rym. xiii. 700. stall, master of the rolls, and Christopher Middilton, vice-admiral, to hear
and determine all civil causes between the King's subjects and those of
Francis I., in accordance with a clause in the treaty between the two Kings,
of 4th Oct. last. Westm., 29 May 11 Hen. VIII.

Fr. 11 Hen.VIII. m. 3.

- 30 May. **273.** SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Immediately on hearing his pleasure, ordered Anthony Browne the bearer and Percival Hart to prepare themselves to go to England. Went with them to the King to take leave. He received them kindly, and said he had appointed these gentlemen of his house, and they should have the usual wages, 200 crs. a year. At their departure they received a whole year's wages, and their place and wages will be kept for them whenever they return. Browne has demeaned himself very well, and given good attendance, whereby he is much esteemed here. Writes more at length of other affairs to the Legate. Poissy, 30 May. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.

1519.

30 May. 274. [PACE] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

114.

B. M.

"Please it your grace, according to my [last letters] directed to the same, I ar[rived at the] city of Colen yistirnight, and at from the town of Dusildorpe yis[tirnight I] was advised by the guides that had [brought] me thydre, bi the commandment of there the duke of Cleve, for to take other t[o con]vey me surely to Colen," because much robbery had been committed between that town and Cologne, and many executed for it, who had accused very great men, who had supported them in it. Desired them to provide him with guides fittest for the purpose. They applied to the lords of Dusildorpe, who replied "t[hat] I was a Frenchman, and that I sch[uld] have no guides of them, but sch[uld] provide for my sel[f] * * * master's honour, affirming that I was [the Englis]he ambassador," and showed them, in confirmation, one of the English nobles he had given them for his safeconduct hither. On this evidence, they said he might have the whole town to accompany him to Cologne; for, considering the old amity between the houses of England and Burgundy, Pace must be sent to the election of the Emperor for the king of Arragon's claim, and not for the king of France. He will thus see how these countries are inclined. "And not only [by] public fame they do here favor the king also all cities and towns hath cal dre for to discuss who should be Emperor their purpose, and they have the king of Arragon as da for their love borne to that house secret convocations and councils doth n[owise] bind the Electors, but that they n[ame him] whom it shall please them." M. Herman [Rynge] has not only sent him ho[rses and] presents, but caused this city to do the sa[me] for the King's honor. He has shown himself in everything a faithful subject to the King, and a loving father to Pace. He has advertised Pace that the French king has sent a[n] ambassador to Frankfort with 300 hors[e-men] armed, who six days ago arriv[ed] at the town of Confluence belonging to the bishop of Treves, and would [have] entered the town with all the horsemen, which they would [not] suffer, but after a long dispute admitted him with 100 horses "wh[ich] now doth lie plateas." It is said the count Pala[tine and] the said bishop have [ha]d money secretly of the French [kin]g, which appears by payments [th]at they have both lately made in French crowns. The Swiss have lately bought, in Frankfort, horses and artillery to the value of 30,000 duc., and conveyed them home. It is supposed they had the money from the king of Arragon, whom they have promised 20,000 men for his defence against France. The League of Suava is in arms with 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse; they say they will keep the imperial dignity within the country.* ✓The Electors are in great perplexity, for this nation will have no French Emperor. They would not have the King of Arragon if they could avoid it, "for the reason of his great power; Gallus quantumvis huic nat[ioni] intentatum relinquit; for he hath to this city and to many other for [to have] their favor in this election, and t[he Elec]tors declared here that as far [as the] sun doth exceed all other stars in [glory,] so far their King did excell [other] princes, and for that cause he was mos[t] meet to be Emperor." To which answer [was] made here, that the sun was not [a]ways above the earth, but often below it. The French king spares no money to gain his end. He sends daily "mony comptable without bills of exchange," by the said Bishop's lands, of whom [he] has aid in the matter. Notwithstand[ing] the king of Arragon has m[ore] money here than he,

* Here occur in the margin some words in Latin, very mutilated, and wholly unintelligible.

1519.

and the lords of S[pain], "as they be all gloriose," intend to sp[en]d their substance rather than [he] should lose this dignity [*A line lost.*] "[N]assowe is at thys tyme farre hense [in the duch]ie of Vienna. He hath the most [large] commission that hath been seen," to give not only promises, but money, and even lands, at his will.

This nation everywhere is very ill pleased with the Pope's legate here, and the Bishop his ambassador, for the partiality shown by them to the election of the French King. "Sed orator est longe odiosior legato." Has desired Wolsey in his former letters to remember his commission, which is necessary. Told Herman Ryng nothing of his commission, but that he was sent "to be indifferent in this great cause," to be present at the future election of the Emperor for the King's honor, and to exhort the Electors to choose the prince most studious of the peace of Christendom. He replied there never was sent more honorable commission [out] of England, "considering after all these great matters afore rehearsed your grace to understand that 4 guides which I had of [the duke] of Cleve were strong thieves to their master and to me, for his sa[id] did espy this by the way, and ent[ertained] them the more kindly, remembering t[he] Italian proverb that it is goodde sum ty[me] to sett a candle afore the devell." Gave them some of his money when they left him, to prevent their taking all and himself also. Has spent on all his guides [near] 20 marks. As long as his letters can be surely conveyed, will not write in cipher. Cologne, 30 May.

The Swiss show openly they are enemies to the French "non [autem aper]te declarant favorem suum erg[a] Catholicum aut] electionem [ejus]."

Pp. 7, mutilated. Add.: "To my lord Cardinal's grace and Legate in Englande."

May.

275. [WOLSEY] to SIR THOMAS BOLEYN.

Calig. E. II.

(24.)

B. M.

In reference to the matter of Guillaume de la Fontaine, the French court are seeking for new delays. The Chancellor wishes to frustrate all the processes taken here in England by the Master of the Rolls and Vice-admiral after intolerable labor, proposing that Wolsey should certify their decision to the commissioners of France; to which, they say, as much faith shall be given as if the examination had been taken before the commissioners. Does not believe they will give more pre-eminence to it than to the examiners. It is only a design to hinder justice, and weary the King's subjects.

Draft in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, pp. 2. Endd.: "Minutes of the letter to Sir Thomas Bolayn, sped the —* day of May."

May.

276. REPRISALS.

Calig. E. II.

(27.)

B. M.

Fragment of some instruction to an ambassador, in the form of a remonstrance against the demeanor of the chancellor of France, who objects to make restitution to the English subjects unless the words "a tempore ultimæ pacis" be reformed.

Draft, in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, p. 1.

May.

277. [SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER] to [WOLSEY.]

R. O.

I delivered to the Pope your most secret letters, requesting him to comply with the King's and your wishes.† Peter Ardingell, the secretary, has been charged with his answer, annexed. He then told me his wishes

* Blank in M.S.

† Begins: *Quantum vero ad literas secretissimas, eas S.D.N. diligenter ac reverenter reddidi.*

1519.

[SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER] to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

about the election of an emperor, as you will learn from his letters. As he knew from the first, when the Emperor was still alive, that the election would be in favor of the Catholic king, it seemed to him a much less evil than if it had fallen upon the French king: not that he was well pleased, for many reasons, that the Catholic king should obtain it; and therefore he delayed sending the crown into Germany. Afterwards, when the Emperor died, he frequently asked whether I thought the King and you would favor the French king's election, in consequence of the friendship existing between you. I said the King would not be well pleased at his success. After which the Pope rejoined that he did not wish the king Catholic to succeed, if it could be peaceably managed, and thought the best event for universal peace would be the election of one of the Electors themselves. In the meanwhile, the legate in France wrote that, on hearing of the death of the Emperor, the King was very anxious to obtain this honor, and had collected 1,000,000 g. cr. to bribe the Electors, and would hear of no opposition, but would rather lose all he had in the world than his chance of recovering the empire, which belonged of right to a Frenchman. But his mother and the Grand Master urged the Legate to dissuade him, which he endeavored to do; they telling the Legate that the thing was very difficult, and would bring down the animosity of all other princes upon him: but the King gave him no opportunity. This took place on the 4th. On the 9th, however, the Legate found that the King had changed his mind, and revoked the money he had sent to Germany. If this be well founded, the Pope will be much pleased, as things will proceed on his footing. He could not oppose the election of Francis or of the king Catholic; but if England, France and himself were firmly united, he would not care to oppose the election of Charles, and favor one of the electors. But since the King and you favor the king Catholic, as the less evil the Pope will condescend to the same. The French king has sent the bastard of Savoy to the Swiss. I advise in these dangerous times not to spare expense, and to write frequently.

Lat., decipher in Vannes' hand, pp. 3.

May. 278.

GRANTS in MAY 1519.

GRANTS.

1. Arthur Somerset, lancer, of Calais. Annuity of 20 marks, during pleasure, from Easter 6 Hen. VIII., out of the issues of Calais. *Del.* Hampton Court, 1 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 9.*

1. John Bounde, of Soley, Norf. Pardon, having been falsely convicted at Thetford of trespass and the theft of a cow, value 6s. 8d., at Netishard, at suit of Thos. Thakster. Richmond, — April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Hampton Court, 1 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 21.*

2. Hugh Davys, of London, yeoman. Pardon. *Del.* Westm., 2 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

2. Anne Gretton, of Bukenhull, in the lordship of Wigmoore, parcel of the earldom of the Marches of Wales. Pardon to her son, Edmund Gretton *alias* Millerd, husbandman, aged 22, who was hired by Thomas Demon to sell six sheep, which Demon had stolen from her, unknown to the said

Edmund. *Del.* Westm., 2 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

3. Thomas Haydocke, Ric. Mors, George Goddard, John Godard, and Ric. Trisshe, laborer, all of Bampton, Oxon. Pardon for the murder of Wm. Taillour *alias* Tomlynson, who died on the 20th Dec. 10 Hen. VIII., from an assault committed by them on the 19th Dec., as appears by an inquisition taken on the 21st Dec. following before Richard Gibbes, coroner. *Del.* Hampton Court, 3 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 2.*

3. Robert Lytholl, of Dirham, *alias* of Exceter, goldsmith. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Richard Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 2 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 3 May 11 Hen. VIII.—P.S.

6. Tho. Jamys, of London, vintner. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Richard Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 6 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., — May.—P.S.

1519.

May.

GRANTS.

6. Benediet de Opiclia. Licence to export 200 tuns of Gascon wine or Toulouse wood. Richmond, 13 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 6 May 11 Hen. VIII.—P.S.

10. Henry earl of Essex. Inspeximus and confirmation of patent 10 April 10 Edw. III., containing confirmations, &c. of other charters. *Westm.*, 10 May.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 2.*

10. John Hune, messenger of the Chamber. To be one of the four messengers of the Exchequer, with 4*d.* a day, and the same livery as a yeoman of the chamber, on surrender of patent 14 Dec. 6 Hen. VII. to Nicholas Heyn. Richmond, 20 April 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 10 May 11 Hen. VIII.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 3.*

10. Edm. Jerram, armorer. Pardon. Richmond, 29 April 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 10 May.—P.S.

11. Wm. Boughton, squire of the Body. Custody of three parts of the possessions, which were divided into four parts, late of John Danvers, son of John Danvers, deceased, during the minority of Mary, Elizabeth and Dorothy, sisters and heirs of the said John the son; with the wardship and marriage of the said Mary, Elizabeth and Dorothy. *Del. Westm.*, 11 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed: Thomas Lovell, Thomas Parr.—S. B. Pat. p. 1, m. 3.*

11. Lawrence Holand, groom of the Chamber. To be keeper of the King's wardrobe in Nottingham Castle, with the usual fees out of the issues of the castle, mills and meadows, on surrender of patent 20 May 8 Hen. VIII., by John Copynger. Richmond, 1 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 11 May.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 22.*

11. Hen. Parker, husbandman, of Semer, Suff., *alias* of Bylston. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Richard Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 5 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 11 May.—P.S.

12. John Bedlawe, of Acton, Middx., yeoman. Pardon. Greenwich, 7 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 12 May.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 11.*

12. Wm. Forde of London, stock-fish-monger. Protection; going in the suite of Sir Ric. Wingfeld, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 12 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

12. Th. Grene, late of Parteney, Linc., mercer. Pardon. Richmond, 1 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 12 May.—P.S.

12. Th. Gresham, clk. Presentation to the church of Northrepiis, Norw. dioc. *Westm.*, 12 May.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2.*

12. Ric. Lathian, of Bodmyn, Cornw. Pardon for the murder of his groom, Henry Rawlyn, late of Bodmyn; it having been proved before John Glyn, coroner, that the said Henry provoked the said Richard, who

struck him with a "smythes ladell." Richmond, 1 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 12 May.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 22. |*

12. Osyas Lemoigne, native of France. Licence to receive benefices with glebe land from any person whatever. Greenwich, 3 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 12 May.—P.S.

13. Sir Nich. Wadham and Elizabeth his wife, late wife of Sir Giles Bruges, deceased. Grant, as her dowry, of the issues and profits of the third part of the possessions of the said Giles, in cos. Glouc. and Wilts, from the death of the said Giles, that part having been retained on livery of the rest to John his son and heir. Also release of all sums received by them from the issues of the said third part, by the grant thereof to them, 24 June 9 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 13 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed: Johannes Ernele.—S. B. Pat. p. 1, m. 2.*

14. Sir Wm. Compton. Custody of the manor of Staunton Harrold, Leic., with advowsons, &c., late belonging to Ralph Shirley, deceased, during the minority of Francis his s. and h.; with the wardship of the said heir, and the value or double value of his marriage in case of his refusal to marry, or marrying without licence during his minority. *Del. Westm.*, 14 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 11.*

14. Barth. Johnson, of Calais, native of Zowire in Liege (Leodii). Denization. *Del. Westm.*, 14 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 18.*

14. Sir Ric. Marten, of London, chaplain. Pardon of all matters between 24 April and 12 May 9 Hen. VIII. (*i.e.* at the time of Evil-May-Day.) *Del. Westm.*, 14 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 9.*

16. Wm. More, of Derby, draper, *alias* vintner, *alias* scythemaker. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 16 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

18. Sir Hen. Willoughby, of Wollaton, Notts. Wardship of George, son and h. of Guichard Harbotell, of Beamysshe, Northumberland. Greenwich, 17 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 18 May.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 12.*

18. Nich. Carewe. Annuity of 109*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* out of the issues of Calais. *Westm.*, 18 May.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 5.*

18. Ric. Bawdewyn *alias* Bawdon, late of Hurst, Berks, *alias* of Ramysbury, Wilts, *alias* of Westminster. Pardon for the murder of Th. Pychar, of Reading, Berks. Greenwich, 10 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 18 May.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 16.*

18. Commission of the Peace. *Lincolnshire (Holland):* Thomas cardinal of York, Thomas earl of Surrey, William lord Willoughby, Th. Pygot, Brian Palmes, Sir John Hussee, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Geoff. Paynell,

1519.

May.

GRANTS.

GRANTS in MAY 1519—*cont.*

Th. Roberdson, Fras. Broun, John Robynson, Th. Holland, John Littilbury and Ric. Godyngham. Westm., 18 May. — *Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

19. Sir Th. Fetiplace and Elizabeth his wife. Grant, in tail, of the manor of Stanford "in le vale of White Horse," Berks, with the issues of the same. Richmond, 12 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 19 May. — *P. S. Pat. p. 2, m. 17.*—Vacated on surrender by the said Thomas and Elizabeth, 6 July 15 Hen. VIII.

19. Geo. Hayne *alias* Hayse late of Oterey, Devon, groom. Pardon for the murder of John Bery, late of Oterey, Devon, barber. Greenwich, 11 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 19 May. — *P. S. Pat. p. 1, m. 12.*

19. Wm. Toste (or Tofte), clk., minister of the Chapel royal. Grant of the prebend and canonry or portion in the collegiate church of Pontisbury, Heref. dioc., void by the death of John Jenyns, chaplain, and in the King's gift by the minority of lord de Powis. *Del. Westm.*, 19 May 11 Hen. VIII. — *S. B. Pat. p. 1, m. 9; and p. 2, m. 25.*

20. John Byron, squire of the Body. To be one of the four foresters of Shirwood Forest, that is to say, keeper of the lodge of Immeslowe and Clipton Shrogges in "le Northbale" of the said forest, with *4d.* a day, *vice* William Pye, deceased. Greenwich, 8 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 May. — *P. S. Pat. p. 1, m. 16.*

20. Ric. Ferrers. Inspecimus and exemplification of the following documents, viz.:

i. Quitclaim by John Beauchamp lord of Bokerell to Geoff. Malherb, of a rent granted him by John de Colehous. Dated at Bokerell, 19 Edw. [I. ?]

ii. Deed, being a grant from John Beauchamp to Geoff. Malherb, of certain possessions.

iii. Charter of Wm. de Tettewylle, parson of Fyneton church, granting to Malerbe and Helewysia his wife the manor of Fyneton, with appurtenances. *Here follow the names of the tenantry and the witnesses to the charter.* Dated at Fyneton, 23 Edw. III.

iv. Final concord made at Westminster, Hilary, 11 Edw. II., between Geoff. Malerbe and Margaret his wife, and Tho. Atte Rodewey, parson of Fyneton, relative to the manor of Fyneton.

v. Another concord, made 5 Hen. V., between John Trelay and Wm. Frye and Joan his wife, by which Wm. and Joan recognize the right of John to certain lands in Currence, Trethowell, Pencroudy, Bolayth, Lyskyrde and Trenake, and accept them as a grant from him, with remainder to William Malerbe.

vi. Writ of certiorari, 3 May 7 Edw. III., directed to Henry de Gulden, escheator in

cos. Cornw., Devon, Somers. and Dors., respecting land in Oterey St. Mary's, taken into the King's hands, but which Geoff. de Malherbe alleges was acquired by him of the dean and chapter of Rouen. The escheator makes an endorsement that the land was claimed for the crown, not by his hand, but by that of Simon de Bereford, late escheator this side Trent.

vii. Inquisition taken before De Gulden, at La Hethfield, Devon, 7 Edw. III., whereby it was found that Malherbe did not so acquire the said land, but that it pertains to the manor of Vyneton Malharbe, which is held of William de Montacute by Geoff. Malherbe.

viii. Writ to the escheator, in pursuance of the decision.

Westm., 20 May. *Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 1.*

20. Wm. Vesey, late of Southwark, Surrey. Pardon. Greenwich, 8 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 May. — *P. S. Pat. p. 1, m. 16.*

20. Sir Ric. Weston, knight of the Body. Grant, for life, of an annuity of 100*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 20 May 11 Hen. VIII. — *S. B. Pat. p. 1, m. 12.*

22. Sir Edw. Belknapp, knight of the Body. Pardon for all offences, and for waste, dilapidation, inclosure, alteration, &c. of lands and tenements in the manor of Dorset *alias* Chepyng-Dorset, and Birton, parcel of the said manor. *Del. Westm.*, 22 May 11 Hen. VIII. — *S. B. Pat. p. 2, m. 20.*

22. Ralph Worseley. To have the corrody in Middleton monastery, Dorset, on the same being surrendered by John Copynger, groom of the Wardrobe. Greenwich, 17 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 22 May. — *P. S.*

24. Wm. Alfolde, of London, *alias* of Croydon, *alias* of Kentish Town, tailor. Pardon. Greenwich, 10 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 24 May. — *P. S.*

24. Wm. Jones. Lease (by sufficient bail in the exchequer of Uske) of land called Pencarreg and Biblyns, in the lordship of Uske; land in the lordship of Tregrek, called Eve's Grove; land in the lordship of Uske, lying between the meadow of Edward ap Jankyn and the way leading from Llanbadok; and land in Gorllode Howell Bady, parish of Llanbadok, in Uske; for 21 years, at the annual rent of 1*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* and 4*s.* 4*d.* of increase, payable to the receiver of Uske and Kaerlion. *Del. Westm.*, 24 May 11 Hen. VIII. — *S. B.*

26. Athelard Hubberd. Lease of three tenements in the market place in Boston, Linc.,* parcel of the lands of the late countess of Richmond, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 60*s.*, and 3*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 26 May 11 Hen. VIII. — *S. B. Pat. p. 1, m. 21.*

* A description of their situation is given.

1519.

May.

GRANTS.

26. Peter Johnson. Lease of two mills called Housemylle and Westemylle, and the site of a water mill called Cognmylle, in the lordship of Risynge, Norf., parcel of the duchy of Cornwall, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 106*s.* 2*d.* to be paid to the receiver of the duchy. *Del.* Westm., 26 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

26. Th. Turnour. Lease of a water mill in Wakis Colne, Essex, lately in tenure of Ric. Boner, parcel of the lands of the countess of Richmond, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 60*s.*, and 13*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 26 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 22.

26. Wm. Pypar alias Anstie, late of Playneffeld in Overstowey, Somerset. Pardon. Greenwich, 21 May 11 Hen. VIII.—P. S. Westm., 26 May. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 3.

27. Recognizances cancelled. Made by Humphrey Stafford, of Codered, Herts, Sir Hugh Conwey, of Calais, and Humphrey Herey, of Grove, Notts., 7 March 5 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 27 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

27. Leonard Musgrave. To be constable of Penrith castle, with the usual fees out of the lordships of Penrith, Soureby-wood and Scotby, Cumb., upon surrender by Th. Palmer, vice William Edwards, deceased. Greenwich, 25 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 27 May.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 29.

27. Commission of the Peace. *Herts*:—Thomas cardinal of York, Henry earl of Essex, Thomas prior of St. John's of Jerusalem in England, Wm. Blount lord Mountjoy, Sir John Fyneux, John More, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, Sir Th. Lovell, Sir Wm. Say, Barth. Westby, Hen. Frowyk, Th. Clyfford, Th. Peryent, sen., Th. Leventhorp, John Broket, sen., Geo. Dalyson, Rob. Turberville, Th. Conyngesby, Humph. Fitzherbert, Ric. Druell and Th. Knyghton. Westm., 27 May.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1*d.*

28. Dame Elizabeth Flemmyng. Inspecimus and exemplification of—

i. A writ of certiorari, 24 May 11 Hen. VIII., to Ric. Lee, one of the clerks of the Council, relating to the judgment on a petition of E. F. against Patrick Bellowe and the representatives of Nicholas Dillon.

ii. The judgment referred to, made in the Star Chamber 14 Oct. 10 Hen. VIII., respecting a dispute as to possessions in Devon between Sir James and Sir Christopher Flemmyng, late barons of Slane, and the said Dillon and Bellowe. The latter, re-

fusing to obey the decree, was committed to the Tower.

Westm., 28 May. *Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 30.

29. Commission of the Peace. *Dorset*:—Thomas cardinal of York, Henry earl of Wiltshire, Rob. Willoughby lord Broke, John Bouchier lord Fitzwaren, Wm. lord Stourton, Henry lord Daubeney, Sir John Erneley, Sir Ric. Elliott, Sir Th. Lynde, Sir Th. Trenchard, Sir Wm. Filoll, Giles Strangeways, Wm. Wadham, John Rogers, Geo. Rogers, John Bryt, Geo. Twyne, James Frampton, John Morton, Wm. Hody, Nich. Willoughby, and Wm. Uvedale. Westm., 29 May.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1*d.*

30. Edm. Grassop and Ric. Blakenall. Pardon for having obtained, without licence, from Will. Stafford and Anne his wife, the manor of Chale, and certain messuages, land and wood in Chale, Hants, by fine levied in the Common Pleas at Westm. in the octaves of St. John the Baptist last. Westm., 30 May.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 21.

30. John Nauseglos. Lease of pastures called Litelholme (John Gibbes late tenant), in the lordship of Westedepying and le Holbett (Ric. Rawlins late tenant), and of a culture called Langelandis in Westeparke (Wm. Olyver and Wm. Derby late tenants), parcel of the lands of the late countess of Richmond, in Linc., for 21 years, at various annual rents amounting to 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *Del.* Westm., 30 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 15.

30. Ric. Wykes. Livery of lands as kinsman and heir of William Wykes, viz., son of John Wykes, father of John, father of William, father of the aforesaid William. *Del.* Westm., 30 May 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 7.

31. Ric. Fermour and Wm. Broun. Licence to alienate the third part of the manor of Dovers alias Newhall, Essex, and lands in the parish and vills of Hornechurch, Bouresgifford, Alveley, Reyngnam and Haverpyng, Essex, to John Rodys and Margaret his wife, in order that John and Margaret may alienate the same to Nich. Bone of Edelmeton, John Hall, of London, grocer, John Garrard, of London, grocer, Roger Rodys, Edward Hall and John Reymond, to the use of the said John and Margaret. Westm., 31 May.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

1 June. 279. J. DE HESDIN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Is charged by the King his master and by M[adame] to go to England, and will start in about five days. The ambassador "Messire R[ichard] Passio" has passed, and told Madame of Henry's affection for the King. The Electors wish to anticipate the day, which was fixed for the

1519.

J. DE HESDIN to WOLSEY—cont.

17th inst. ; so now they have fixed it for the 12th. No one knows what they will do. The party of Charles has the league on their side, and with it 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse ; which will procure them much favor. The ambassador has arrived safely at Frankfort. Had news of him from Cleves. D'Isselstain has been conducting him at Madame's command. Has good news from Spain and all quarters. Bruxelles, 1 June 1519.
Signed.

Fr., p. 1. Add.: [Au re]verend pere en [Dieu m]ons. le [card.] d'Yorcq, &c.

1 June. **280.** THOMAS MORE, the King's councillor.

P. S. To have the corrody in the monastery of Glastonbury, *vice* Edw. Poxwell, deceased. Greenwich, 25 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 1 June.

1 June. **281.** For the TOWN OF TEWKESBURY, GLOUC.

Exemption of the inhabitants from toll, stallage, portage, murage, &c., from the expenses of knights of the shire, and from serving on juries, except within the town, according to the privilege of tenants of the ancient demesne of the crown.

ii. Similar patents to the men and tenants of the following places : town of Hanlege, Worc. ; manor of Cumbe *alias* Castell Combe, Wilts ; manor of Oxendon, *alias* Oxmanton, Glouc. Westm., 1 June.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.

3 June. **282.** ABP. WARHAM to the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

R. O. Received his letters of the 2d, stating that he cannot be at Otford
Ellis, 3 Ser. on Tuesday next, and has deferred his journey till Whitsuntide. Is sorry
i. 218. for any "bodily pain" that may have happened to the Duke, and will be glad to be advertised of the Duke's coming, as he has appointed after St. John Baptist's day next to be at Maidstone for reformation of the College there, and "of certain religious places" in the diocese, for which he has sent out citations. "My Lord, I had lever lose 500 marks than that the matter that is intended should take none effect." Otford, 3 Junii.

To my lord of Buckingham's good lordship.

3 June. **283.** [PACE] to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx. The first day (according to his last letters) had
118. audience of the archbp. of Cologne at his castle, dis[tant] from the city
B. M. Dutch miles. [The Archbp.] would not suffer him to enter any "hostarie" in the town, but had him taken to the castle, where a chamber was prepared for him. When he entered the castle the A[rch]bp. sent his chancellor and [some] of his council, to tell him [he] was at mass, or he would have met him at his gate. Mass over, he "would not suffer [me to] come out by my chamber un[to] but came un[to me] and as lowly maner that couth be devi[sed] d, setting apart all his high digni[ty] buldde imperial, he made me both o and sit with him upon his right [han]d." Delivered the King's and Wolsey's letters. The Archbp. plainly confessing that "he had not gretly exercisydde the Laten tong," desired that his brother, the lord Newnar, and his chancellor, "who rulith all aboute him," might be present at the reading of the letters. These three being come, "all sadde men suerly," the Chancellor read the letters ; after which [Pace mad]e him a "proposition indifferent (advancing no one prince mo[re than any other] to the dignity imperial), as nowe,"

1519.

for the causes declared to Wolsey [in his] letters. Sends a copy of the proposition. The Archbp. then desired, after the custom of this [country], to hold conference "ap[art] with his counsellors." After this, which lasted "bi the space of halfe oon houre," he replied there could be nothing more honorable [nor] more wisely devised than the King's and Wolsey's letters. Touching the proposition, he said "that not [only] hym selfe and all th[e] Electors, but every prince of] Christendom was bound unto the King's grace for the most godly counsel and monitions [that] his grace did yeve unto the princes [Elect]ors of the Empire," which for his part he would follow, and that the King would gain marvellous great honor by the sending of Pace "with so godly, so noble, and so princely a commission." He promised to make answer to the letters; which Wolsey will receive with this.

Pace dined with him, "and I had as grete and as honourable chere as themperour himselfe coult have hadde in the place." "After sum mery communication hadde at dynar tyme [he asked] me what maner of confe[deration and ami]tie the King my mastre [had] made with the French ki[ng]." Pace told him the articles of the con[federation], and that the whole body o[f] the empire, the Emperor, all the princes Electors were comprised in it, with as full enjoyment of its privileges as the King himself. He said he was very glad to hear it, for the Frenchmen had told all the Electors that the French king was sure of the king of England's aid against [this] nation, and all others, at his pleasure. Pace "shewed unto his grace that would please all the princes Ele[ctors] of those afore themselves, and to tidde that I might be present at ony rehearsal," he would show how faithful a friend Henry was to this nation and all its princes. The Archbp. said he gave more credence to Pace's words than any of theirs. It is a shame to hear how the French ambassadors and messengers have exalted the French king, and lowered all others, with a view to the empire. They have raised such indignation against themselves by this, "that it is now grete japerdye here to speke oon goodde wurde off [a] Frenchman." When Pace arrived he found all men greatly [alienated] from the King in consequence of the French having [spread] through the nation that they were sure of England. [This] report he has well "peacified," by telling the truth. The Archbp. has spoken very honorably of Pace's being with him. He would not suffer Pace to leave him immedia[tely] after dinner, "because itt was a fervent whotte daye," but kept him to supper.

Though the Archbp. did not actually say whom he would support in the election, could see that he intends to promote the king of Castile, as duke of Austria, to the imperial dignity. Knows that he said to one of his fast friends, "Ye do well to favor the duke of Austryche, and so do I, for our old master's sake themperour Maximilian." When Pace left, he said he would have further communication with him at Frankfort. Thus Pace thinks he has not made a bad beginning with this Elector. Now he knows which side he is on, will conduct himself accordingly. He is said and appears to be a very good and substantial man. The French ambassadors who have been with him have declared that, if the French king were elected, he would bind himself to keep the whole nation [of Ger]man[y] in peace, and defend it at his own cost, [con]firm all the ancient privile[ges of] the Electors, and forsake his own realme [to live] amongst them. The last part [of the] proposition was that he was sure of England against all me[n]. All the premises were so proudly declared "that they did sin the subjection of this nation, and in like wise they be accepted very odiously." Cannot leave Cologne before tomorr[ow] for lack of shipping. No one can ride t[o] Frankfort for "juperdie." Will endeavour to speak with all the remaining Electors as soon as possible. Th[e] marquis of Brandeburge and the duke of Saxony are laboring for them-

1519.

[PACE] to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

selves as yet. The marquis has lately put to death in his country many knights and gentlemen, for robbing mer[chants] on the highway. He might have had large sums for saving their lives, but he would [have] none. He "is named [a] wise man and no man can be sure but that the one [contr]arie to the other." The resident legate has lately made a vehement proposal for the French king to the archbps. of Trevers and Cologne, the count Palatine, and a procurator of the marquis of Brandeburge, assembled at the Pope's desire. They shortly answered, the first only dissenting, that they wondered his holiness should try to made them elect an Emperor contrary to law. Cologne, 3 June.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 10.

- 4 June. 284. LEO X. to HENRY VIII.
 Vit. B. iv. 10. Thanks the King for his letters and expressions of kindness. Refers
 B. M. him to Worcester and to Campeggio, the latter of whom he recalls. Rome,
 4 June 1519.

Lat., badly mutilated.

- 4 June. 285. JAKES DE HORNES to HENRY VIII.
 R. O. The lady Margaret is willing, according to Henry's desire, to place
 the son of Mons. de Gilfort with Monsieur [Ferdinand], concerning whom
 Hornes promised, by writing, since his return, to speak to her. Weert,
 4 June. *Signed.*
Fr., p. 1. Add.

- 5 June. 286. SIR JOHN PECCHE to WOLSEY.
 R. O. This day week a packet arrived from Tuke, to be conveyed to
 Mr. Boleign. Sent it by Robert Elvys, one of the King's servants, who has
 returned today with letters for Tuke. Sends him to Wolsey, as he has
 heard certain things by the way.
 Has had no knowledge of the King's or Wolsey's pleasure since he came
 to this town, "with which thing your simple officer is greatly abashed."
 Calais, 5 June.

The next morning, about 6 o'clock, Mr. Fowler arrived. Sent immediately "to Boleign to the argentier of France," so that on Tuesday next they will have the King's money here. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: Card. of York, chancellor of England. Endd.

- 6 June. 287. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.
 R. O. Asks credence for Hesdin, her maître d'hôtel, who is going to
 Henry, and will also declare his charge to Wolsey. The King Catholic will
 be grateful to him for any favor shown to Hesdin, and for anything he does
 to preserve the amity. Bruxelles, 6 June 1519. *Signed. Countersigned:*
Marnix.

Fr., p. 1. Add.

- 6 June. 288. For SIR WILLIAM COMPTON.
 S. B. To be keeper of the manor of Plesaunce, in Estgrenewiche, Kent,
 of the gardens and orchards there, and of the park of Estgrenewiche, with
 the tower there; with wages for the same offices, out of the issues of the
 county of Kent. *Del. Westm., 6 June 11 Hen. VIII.*
Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 11.

1519.

7 June. 289. [SIR THOMAS BOLEYN] to WOLSEY.Calig. D. vii.
121.B. M.
Ellis, 1 Ser.
i. 159.

Wrote last on the 1st. On Sunday last, about 10 at night, Henry, the King's young son, was christened, as York will inform him. Presented to the Queen, in Henry's name, the salt, the cup and the layar of gold, which were much praised. Francis was greatly pleased, and said whenever it should be the King's fortune to have a prince, he would be glad to do for him in like manner. 100*l.* sent by Wolsey have been bestowed on the nurse, four rockers, the gentlewomen of the Queen's chamber, and an offering of 20 nobles. The King's porters and others have importuned him for reward, whom he refused. Requests to have his diet money, and the surplus he has expended. Has spoken to the King respecting the merchants' matters mentioned in Wolsey's letters of the 28th May. Poissy, 7 June. *Signature lost.*

Pp. 3, mutilated. Add.: To my lord Legate, Cardinal and Chancellor.

7 June. 290. LIST OF TREATIES.

R. O.

Indenture, dated 7 June 11 Hen. VIII., witnessing that Cuthbert Tunstal, master of the Rolls, had delivered to Sir John Cutte, vice-treasurer, the following writings:—

A confirmation of a treaty of peace between the King and Francis, signed and sealed by the latter. The oath of Francis to the same. Confirmation and oath of Francis to the treaty of matrimony, with a notarial instrument. An instrument upon the submission of the French king for the marriage, under the seal of Bernard, legate and cardinal in France. An obligation for the payment of 600,000 *cr.* and another of 23,000 *l.* Tourn. for the people of Tournay. Instrument for the submission of Francis in the affair of Tournay, under the seal of the said Cardinal. Confirmation of the treaty of depredations, signed by Francis, with the oath. Confirmation of the comprehension of the Scots, with an instrument concerning Francis' oath. The form of the said oath. The confirmation of the treaty for an interview. A paper containing several articles granted by Francis, and signed by him. His commission for delivering the eight hostages.—In another chest. His commission for receiving Tournay. Confirmation of the treaty of Tournay. Commission of lord Lyncey for delivering Montaigne. Grant of lord Chatelon for the reception of the king of England's letters, excusing the remainder of the 50,000 *cr.* due from Tournay. Commission of Chatelon for receiving Mortaigne. Copy of the obligation of the Chamberlain to acquit De Lyncey from his oath of fidelity. Copy of the Chamberlain's promise of absolving Tournay from the oath of fidelity. Names of the French noblemen who will come to the meeting. *Signed by Tunstal.*

Lat.

9 June. 291. SEB. GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.Giust. Desp.
ii. 273.

"The negotiations between France and England proceed very closely and secretly." Cannot elicit anything from the French ambassador. He says there are differences about damages inflicted and received; which Giustinian does not believe. On the arrival of his (Giustinian's) successor, who has been staying at Paris to attend the christening of the King's son, will wait on Wolsey, and the King, who is in the country. London, 9 June 1519.

9 June. 292. SEB. GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.Giust. Desp.
ii. 274.

Learns that Pace is gone to the Switzers; that the proposed interview will not take place this year; and that in the royal mint here "gold nobles are being coined with great alacrity, which is very unusual." London, 9 June 1519.

1519.

9 June. 293. SIR JOHN PECCHE to [WOLSEY].

R. O.

The King's money arrived from France on Tuesday last. It was received by Pecche, Mr. Secretary of this town, and Mr. Fowler. The King's spy of Tournaham has been here today. Encloses a bill with his news.

A servant of his, named Tichytt, came yesterday from Gravelines, and tells him of a Dane in pilgrim's weeds, on a good horse, who has come through Almayne, and says it is reported that the margrave of Brandenburg was chosen king of the Romans, but refused it; that "the Almaines nor Swycers lacked no French crowns among them;" that the French king was collecting soldiers for the purpose of obtaining the empire. Wishes to know about the payment of the spies, who came to Wingfield for money when he was here. Calles, 9 June. *Signed*.

P. 1.

9 June. 294. HEW FRENCH to WM. PAWNE.

R. O.

I pray you to deliver my money "which is my duty" to the bearer. The amount is 18*l*. for wages, and 9*l*. for three months at the limekilns. I am paid for my iron by Master Arthur. Remember my imprisonment at Calais, and your false servants Thos. Rogers and Jacke Bussart, false knaves to the King "with maycken of fassse lytters, which I shall prove." The last time I wrote to you I was angry, when I came to you at Tournay, and would have killed myself in your chamber. Remember I have got you 1,000*l*. with merchants buying and selling. The man shall give you a quittance if you give him the money. I will be with you myself in ten days. 9 June.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: Untto my worschypfull [m]aster Wyllym Payne, . . . yer master of the Kyng's werges. On the dorse is a receipt dated 18 June 11 Hen. VIII., but no sum mentioned.

295. [HEW FRENCH] to [MATTHEW] HALL.

R. O.

I wish to be recommended to Thos. Rogers, my master's councillor, and young George Lauston, and I ask you to remind my master to see well to my account. He says that you and Arthur had all the profit of merchandise bought for the castle, but he has gained 120 angelots on the coals, and an angelot on every 100 hand-barrows. Remember your lime, which I have as it was delivered every mew; and look at your book, what shovels, spades, and ashpoles were delivered between February and May, in a° 10, while you and my master were in England, when Master Arthur had of you 500 or 600 "schetlers" for 6*l*. more than they cost. Remember well your reckoning, for I shall prove that 2,000*l*. or 3,000*l*. of the King's money has been taken away, "which I shall see reckoning before my lord Cardinal, or long be, of all the business betwixt my master and me and you and Master Arthur," for my master brought Jack to the deputy, and said there was 278*l*. 2*s*. owing for lime for the last three months. "Remember there is gotten 100*l*. besides coals, &c., and look well upon all things, for I would discharge me by your bills and Mr. Arthur's." I have some of Wm. Wardon's books also.

P. 1. *Add.*: Unto Master Hall yn Torne. *Endd.*: H. French, letter from Oudenarde.

9 June. 296. [PACE] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.
123.
B. M.

"Since the [writing of my] last letters unto the same, fro[m] the city] of Colen, touching such con[versations as] I had with my lord tharche[bishop of] Colen," went to the city of [Mayence] where he found the Cardinal of the [said] city, and his brother the marquis of [Bran]deburge

1519.

ready to go in the mor[ning] to Frankfort. Sent to them for audience. The Cardinal sent to say that, notwithstanding his hasty departure, he would send him "wu[rde]rly" at what hour to repair to him. But the Marquis would know what he was, before he would grant him any audience. Pace replying that he should know that from the King's letters, [he] sent word again that he [would] see the letters before admitting Pace to an audience. [Pace] at this "[did] sumwhat muse and study consider[ing] hys desire [contra con]suetudinem that an orator should [send] his letters of credence before his re[sort] unto the Prince to whom they were directed;" but considering that, if he did not assent, he would get no audience, and therefore no knowledge of his mind in this great cause, he sent him the letters. As soon as the Marquis had read them he sent for Pace hastily, at 9 o'clock at night, asking him to come secretly, which Pace did. He received him lovingly in a "little secrete stuphe," and after making his excuses for sending for the King's letters, he heard Pace's proposition (the same he made at Cologne) with great attention, and answered in Latin, "right well for so grete a personage." His answer "consisted in the King's for the sending hither at this time unto the King's grace in He then had commu[nication] apart, and shewed Pace that the French king in no wise [should be] elected Emperor, though his broth[er] did labor for him as much as he [could]. He would make no express mention of [the King] of Castile, "but to have one of th comprehending him in the same it appeared my lord the archbishop of Colen and he be of one mind contra Gallum."

"Hoc scripsi navigans in Rhæno ex Frankfordia Maguntiam quum chartam venalem non haberem, quod una scheda longe major altera aperte demonstrat. Die ix. Junii."

Hol., pp. 3, mutilated. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace, &c.

10 June. 297. [PACE] to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx.

125.

B. M.

The Pope has [made] no delay in this election, a[s he was ad]-visydde (?) to do by reason of my cum[ming], but has rather hastened it, and [mo]ved the Electors to begin this day; as they would have done if the procurator of the king of Bohemia and the duke of Saxony had arrived at Frankfort. In consequence of this haste he has had an intolerable amount of travelling, "passing at all times by places full of the pestilence, in most fervent heats," to find the Electors. Could not find the archbishop of Trevers till his arrival yesterday at Frankfort. Had audience of him as soon as he heard of his desire to speak with him. He behaved himself very like the cardinal Maguntinensis, of whose noble reception of him Pace informed Wolsey in his yesterday's letter. After answering Pace before his Council, he called him apart, and told him that Henry was not excluded from being elected, and how the late Emperor had "gone about" to promote him. Now that he had come to this point Pace did not let him slip, but declared the King's qualities to him, "as they be substantially expressed in my instructions," adding as much as was convenient for "our purpose." To which he answered, if Pace had [authority to show] the King's mind to all his brother Ele[ctors], as he had to [him], they would have great respect in the election to the King's honor. Though the Cardinal is reputed "all French," he behaved himself to Pace "like a wise and noble man;" and Pace hears from credible persons that though outwardly he favors the French, yet his inner mind is to preserve the honor of this nation as much as he can. Finds the [cou]nt Palatine all French. Has three things to write of him, which may well be kept till he comes home.

After the interview, all ambassadors and strangers were ordered to withdraw from the city, according to its ancient constitutions, which forbid any

1519.

[PACE] to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

person but the inhabitants remaining in it after the greater part of the Electors have assembled. There were then five. The duke of Saxony had not arrived, but Pace trusts to have him informed of the King's mind. Heard yesterday from Mons. de la Roche that he has entertained the count of Nassowe, who is with him yet. Hears that he will neither consent to the French king's election, nor accept [the Empire] himself, which he might have if he would. "He doeth by reason of his age, as a mas[ter] to sustain the businesses depending [upon] the same. Here is very honorable [bruit] made in every place, as well of the said Duke's virtuous and godly living, as of his singular wisdom." The lady Margaret has written to the cardinal Gurcen, and all other ambassadors of the king of Castile, to communicate to Pace all their affairs concerning this election. In consequence, De la Roche has plainly confessed that his master has no confidence but in the archbishop of Cologne and the cardinal Maguntinensis; which is true, "for I do know as much thereof as all they." The French king, on the other side, has the marquis of Brandeburge and th[e] count Palatine "the residue uppo[n both] the parties is but h suertie." One thing helps the king of Castile greatly—the agreement of all the people of this nation, who are ready to spend their goods and lives against the French king if he be elected. They will not be contented with the election of any but the king of Castile or Don Ferdinando his brother; the latter of whom would be chosen by the commonalty, if it were in their power, because they feel assured he would live amongst them. The procurator of the king of Bohemia is daily expected at Frankfort. He will come with 200 horse. When Pace was with the lady Margaret he was informed by the Council "that the king of Bohemia had written with his own hand [unto the King] of Castile, and that they were sure of him, but I here, that relation to be true." He has one vote to be given personally or by his procurator. This m[orning] or tomorrow will have communication with the cardinal Gurensis, and other ambassadors for the king of Castile, who have arrived at Mayence, "where we must all lie during the election." It is a day's journey from Frankfort. Will provide to have daily news "of as much as shall be known to any other prince's orator." Has spoken with the Legate. He has had no intelligence from the Pope of Pace's coming, nor is made privy to any part of it. To give his opinion of him, [Pace likes him] as well "as the cardinal Sedunensis doth like freris." Has not heard from the cardinal Sedunensis. The Legate told him that four lords and knights of this country, supporters of the king of Castile, lately entered his house, and threatened to drive him out of the country if he did not desist from his practices against the king of Castile, and that they would raise against him seven regions of this nation. The Pope's legate and ambassador are in great odium on this account. Mons. Dorvall, the ambassador of the French King, lies at Confluence, far from Frankfort, and dares not come near, for fear of the people.

The King's common letters [to] the Electors were not used, as the cardinal Maguntinensis showed him that no prince ever wrote to them except separately, because they are never assembled except at such times as no man can have audience of them. Will, however, try to have the letters read among them. Yesterday, as he left Frankfort, one of the cardinal Maguntinensis' council came to him, and told him he would move his master to give his favor to the King in the election. Judging this to come from his master, Pace made answer to him as he had done to the archbishop of Trevers. If the Cardinal do this, the archbishop of Cologne will undoubtedly follow him. Sees such likelihood that the Cardinal and the two Archbishops would be contented to elect the King, that if they had begun their practice as soon as other princes, the King would have obtained

1519.

before any of them both. An embassy from Hungary has arrived at Newremberghe with 300 horse, and the king of "Polon's" ambassadors with 100. Begs that Henry's letters of thanks may be sent to the cardinal Magunt. and the two Archbishops. When he a[rrived] at Frankfort there was a report that he was a Frenchman, or sent in the interest of the French King. If he had not clearly proved himself an Englishman he would have been driven out of the city. Has not heard from Wolsey since his departure, though he has written so often that he cannot be accused of negligence.

On the Rhine within two miles of "Magunee," 10 June.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 11. Add.: "To my lord Legate's grace."

10 June. **298.** SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. IV. 24.

B. M.

Replies to Wolsey's letters written in his own hand. The Pope had been compliant with reference to the legateship in consideration of the half dismes promised him on the privation of Hadrian. He says he meets with no adequate return from Wolsey, and will not be pacified unless the engagement conveyed in the letters of Campeggio be fulfilled; *sc.* that endeavors should be made that his Holiness should have the money in the course of the year. Worcester has set before him Wolsey's services to the Holy See,—how he was the means of Campeggio being admitted as a legate, contrary to all the usages of the realm. The Pope answered, in some heat, Campeggio was not sent there for his benefit, but for the good of Christendom and the honor of England. He had satisfied his duty in appointing him, and the disgrace of excluding him must fall upon England. Worcester told him to how much expense Wolsey was put for entertaining the Legate. The Pope answered, that was only a matter of politeness,—that he was not compelled to do it, as he always made sufficient provision for his own legates. He complains besides of the delay that always takes place in England. Has had to pay 45 ducats to cardinal St. Quatuor for expediting the bulls. Begs they may be repaid to his sub-collector Silvester. Rome, 10 June 1[519]. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. "Tho. car. Ebor. Angl. magn. cancellario."

11 June. **299.** [PACE] to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. XX.

131.

B. M.

Wrote last yesterday. This night past, the Pope's ambassador, the archbp. of Rheggio, who has lately spoken so vehemently for the French king's election, and so indiscreetly against the king of Castile, ran away "simulato habitu;" and he has done wisely, as he could not have stayed here any longer without his destruction. The Legate would be glad to do the same, but cannot, as he is bound by his commission to stay till an emperor shall have been elected. The indignation of the commonalty against the [Frenchmen] is incredible. "Gallus laborat ut excludat Catholicum, Catholicus ut Gallum; et sic magna pugna est inter Christianam fidem et Catholicam. And thus they may well both lose the victory." There is a report to-day, "incerto auctore," that the duke of Saxony will labour for his brother. There is, as yet, great dissension among the Electors, and none know less than themselves who shall be Emperor. Has spoken to-day with many nobles, ambassadors and deputies for the king of Castile, who had been informed of his coming by the lady Margaret; among them, with the count Palatine's brother, who told him the Count was safe for the king of Castile, who has promised him great things. Card. Gurek he could not see today, as he is ill, and has taken "a medic[i]ne." The French ambassadors in Coblentz have sent an "oration" to the Electors, which they would have rehearsed to them had they been admitted to audience or allowed to come to Frankfort. Has read it by the help of a friend, but could not have a copy. The effect is that no

1519.

[PACE] to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

prince Christian is fit to be emperor but the French king, on account of his power and virtues. Extracted these words about the king of England: "Qua felicitat[e] factum esse putatis, ut rex Angliæ . . . autumnò, ex hoste perniciosissimo, socius officiosissimus, ex inimico infestissimo suavissimus amicus, hoc animo, hac lege effectus sit, ut patriam, opes, liberos, salutem denique propriam regiis obsequiis perpetuo addiderit." Had word from Frankfort today that the duke of Saxony will enter tonight, and that the election will begin on Tuesday next, 14 [June]. If the French king be elected, no man "being at this time in this nation" will be safe, "for every man and chylde is in armis here agaynst thatt." There are 4,000 horse now in this city, and more come daily. Every ambassador here pays 12 fl. a week for his "stuphe," besides his own and his servants' meat and drink, "which is as costly as it can be." Mayence, 11 June.

P.S.—Is not in assured health at present, but will take care to expel the disorder, as the time and business require nothing so little as that he should fall sick.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 5.

12 June. 300. [PACE] to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx.
134.
B. M.

Herman Rynge [has] this day informed him that t[he duke] of Nassowe has just begun a pra[ctise] with the four Electors, who had cons[en]ted, at the instance of the late Emperor, to elect the king of Castile, to induce them to keep their promise, by an offer from the said King of 50,000 gold ducats each on his election. The Electors are said to have accepted that King's obligation thereon. If true, this is very important, and he is sure of his election. Is well assured, however, that all the ambassadors and de[puties] here for the [said King] are in great doubt of his cause. The French king's practises go from bad to worse. Infamous ("famosa") songs are daily written here, in Latin and German, against the French. All the late Emperor's friends are on the king of Castile's side, and they have here now 40,000 foot and 6,000 horse ready for his defence; which army is daily increased, for all the earls having dominion about the Rhine are ready to take his part, and will punish the four Electors if they do not perform their promise to the late Emperor. Besides, there are 25,000 Swiss ready to act against the French king if he make any attempt by force of arms. Casimir marquis of Brandeburge, cousin to the elector of that name, is to be commander of the army. Money is ready for its support for five months; also artillery.

A French ambassador, lately going to Hungary, has been arrested at Lynce with, it is thought, much money. Another Frenchman has been taken passing secretly at night by the Rhine, with money. He is said to be no small personage. Two merchants of this nation, who had promised to pay the French king here by exchange 1,100,000 cr., have also been taken. Has today spoken with card. Gurck, who supports the King Catholic. He told Pace nothing new about the election. He had just heard of the death of the bishop of Salsburge, of whom he was coadjutor. He will now have the bpric. and 100,000 fl. a year, besides "great goods" left by the bishop. Herman Rynge goes to Frankfort tomorrow. Begs Wolsey to write a kind letter to him, for he is of great service to Pace. He is in great repute among noblemen here, by which Pace learns many th[ings] [he] would otherwise be ignorant of. "Post meum isthinc discessum] literarum nihil accepi." Mayence, 12 June.

P.S.—The card. of Mayence has commanded the heads of the city to tell him for what number of additional horsemen lodging could be found in Mayence. They have replied they can accommodate in and about the city

1519.

70,000 horsemen. "He may pray here, *Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster, nam undique strepunt arma.*" The Card. has sent him a large present of "wyne and mete."

Hol., mutilated, pp. 5.

301. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Ellis,* 3 Ser.
I. 179.

Postscripta. An earl of this country has written to the ambassadors of the king of Castile resident here, that the French king has made an army of 30,000 men, and that 10,000 English archers will join them, which he says are now shipped and ready to take their way to Lorraine. The Frenchmen have confirmed it by their letters. Though he is sure this is but a feigned matter, especially touching the said archers, and has sufficiently declared it, still "this nation" is very evil contented at hearing it. They are worse contented at this; viz., the French king has written to say that Pace is here, either to make him or Henry Emperor, and hinder the king of Arragon's purpose. Wolsey will thus see in what case he stands. Has no need of this French trouble, for he has much to do beside. Is out of health by reason of the great heats.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: "To my lord Cardinal's grace."

13 June. 302. JOHN CLERK to WOLSEY.

R. O.
St. P. I. 2.

Has showed the King at large what Wolsey wished. "Master Pace's sickness and his feebleness runneth marvellously in his mind, and in a manner he liketh nothing that your grace should send no man to Master Pace unto such time as ye have word again, for he saith then it will be too late." He says also that if Clerk goes first to lady Margaret, and then to Pace, the delay will be so great as to make it useless. "As touching his enterprise of the empire," has reasoned as deeply as his wit would serve him, not varying from Wolsey's instructions, "but his grace, as me thinketh, considereth no jupardyes." The King would not conclude with him to-night, but says that he will sleep and dream on the matter, and give him an answer in the morning. Showed him that if he stood in such doubt for Pace, a commission might be sent to Clarencieux or Tompson, one of the clerks of the Signet, both of whom are "wise men and well broken," and might put it in execution if Pace do otherwise than well. He said he would think of it till tomorrow. Will come to Wolsey as soon as he gets his answer. Windsor, Monday morning, one o'clock.

Hol., pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good grace.

13 June. 303. ERASMUS to JODOCUS JONAS.

Er. Ep.
xv. 14.

At his request gives a sketch of the life of Colet. He was born of wealthy parents at London. His father was twice lord mayor. His mother, who is still alive, had eleven sons and eleven daughters, of whom Colet was the eldest, and outlived them all. He was of tall and handsome person; studied the scholastic philosophy, Cicero, Plato, Plotinus, and the mathematics; visited France and Italy; studied the fathers, especially St. Augustine; was a diligent reader of law and of English poetry. On returning from Italy, he lectured on St. Paul's Epistles at Oxford, when he was of the age of thirty, and Erasmus the same within a few months; and here their acquaintance commenced. He made great advances in theology, though he took no degree; was invited to London by Henry VII.; made dean of St. Paul's; became a great preacher; and distinguished himself for his frugality and abstinence. After grace was said at his table, a boy used to read a passage from the Epistles of St. Paul or the Proverbs of Solomon,

* Inaccurately printed by Ellis as a P.S. to a letter of 1514.

1519.

ERASMUS to JODOCUS JONAS—*cont.*

and this led the conversation. He never walked out except with a book ; was extremely neat in his person and apparel, and choice in his language ; always wore black, whilst his compeers wear purple ; and laid out his patrimony in pious uses. Gives an account of the foundation of St. Paul's school, and the usages introduced into it by Colet. He had intended to spend his days in a house which he had built in the gardens of the Charter House at Richmond, when he was taken with the sweating sickness. He fought against his natural inclinations, especially his tendencies to parsimony, jesting and licentiousness. He avoided entertainments of the laity, and was very temperate at table. Liked young children of both sexes. Preferred Scotus to Aquinas, whom he accused of arrogance and of profaning the gospel with philosophy. Praised the life of married men as superior to celibacy ; but thought that priests and monks, who offended against the laws of chastity, were often not so bad as the proud, the malevolent and the ignorant. He used to say, "that avarice and pride were far more execrable vices in a priest, than if he kept a hundred concubines." Had a great dislike to bishops, and was rather inclined to favor those who hated the adoration of saints and images in churches. He condemned the colleges in England as injurious to study, and the public schools for the absence of good discipline. Approved of secret confession, but not the over anxious repetition of it. Unlike his contemporaries he said mass only on Sundays and festivals. He disapproved of the multifarious learning of the age as injurious to the innocence and purity of Christianity. Highly valued the apostolical Epistles, but thought them poor in comparison with the wonderful majesty of the Gospels. Read carefully heretical books, and said he often got more profit from them than from those which are employed in endless definitions and servile adulation of certain doctors. He was never on good terms with his bishop, who was a superstitious and invincible Scotist, nor ever popular with his colleagues. When his bishop was eighty years old, he cited Colet before the Archbishop for preaching against images, and complaining of written sermons,—a frigid custom in England, and adopted by the bishop on account of his age ;—but the cause was dismissed. He summoned him another time into the King's court for asserting, when England was preparing for war against France, that an unjust peace was preferable to the most just war ; but the King threatened his persecutor with vengeance. After Easter, when the expedition was ready against France, Colet preached on Whitsunday before the King and the court, exhorting men rather to follow the example of Christ their prince than that of Cæsar and Alexander. The King was afraid that this sermon would have an ill effect upon the soldiers, and sent for the Dean, who was dining at the Franciscan monastery near Greenwich. When the King heard of it, he entered the garden of the monastery, and, on Colet's appearance, dismissed his attendants ; then discussed the matter with him, desiring him to explain himself, lest his audience should suppose that the Dean intended to insist that no war was justifiable. After the conversation was over he dismissed him before them all, drinking to Colet's health, saying aloud, "Let every man have his own doctor, this is mine." Anderlaco, idus Junii 1519.

13 June. 304. ALBERT CARDINAL OF MAYENCE and ARCHBISHOP OF
VIT. B. XX. MAGDEBURG to WOLSEY.

137.

B. M.

Thanks Wolsey for his letters. As soon as any opportunity offers itself of showing his gratitude will be careful to avail himself of it. Will study to act as Wolsey advises in the election of the King of the Romans, and elect the man fittest for the dignity. Will not promote him who desires empire, but him who is able to protect his subjects and the

1519.

Christian religion. Henry's promise of aid and protection affects him much. Has received Pace with pleasure. Frankfort, 13 June '19. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: Rev^{mo} in Chr'o patri, &c. d'uo Thomæ, &c. cardinali Eboracen', &c. Angliæ, &c. legato, &c.

13 June. 305. ALBERT CARDINAL OF MAYENCE to ERASMUS.

Er. Ep. xi. 10.

Is always delighted to hear from him; and specially glad to make the acquaintance of scholars. Receives his commendation of Richard Pace, the ambassador of the king of England, whom he knows already by repute and the letters of Henry and Wolsey. Frankfort, 13 June 1519.

14 June. 306. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has received his letters by the sieur de Boulén (Boleyn), his ambassador, and thanks him for the commission given to Boleyn to act as sponsor to Francis' son, the duke of Orleans, on behalf of Henry, giving him his name. Boleyn performed the ceremony with all possible honor. Will do the same if Henry's Queen have a son or daughter. Saint Germain en Laye, 14 June. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

14 June. 307. PACE to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx.

138.

B. M.

[Hen. VIII.] will be undoubtedly proposed [at this] election, "and treaty shall be ha[d] creation," as he has been today advertised from Frankfort; insomuch that [question] has been made of him whether he has authority to accept the empire "eo [nomine]." Having no such commission, replied that whatsoever he does concerning the election, the King will confirm. It is uncertain what will ensue. Thinks it would not be unreasonable to send the commission "in most ample form," as quickly as possible, provided no mention be made in it of any money to be given to any secretly or otherwise, out of respect to the King's honor and Pace's person. Some of the Electors have [said] openly, that if the French King's orators had [promoted] his cause "so indifferently, and without pompous and proud as I have done the French King had this election." The army for defending the King of [Castile], the number of which Pace mentioned in former letters, approaches Frankfort, and his deputies openly say that, if they cannot have the empire by election, they will get it by the sword. This may prove an occasion of great schism. Has spoken today with the prothonotary Carrace, the nuncio, "a very honest man," who is ill in bed. He says the Pope's letters have all been intercepted by the said King of Castile's friends here, and that Pace can have no further knowledge of the Pope's mind than he has. Carrace is privy to a part of the Pope's mind towards Henry. Writes daily, but never has an answer. Mayence, 14 June. *Signed.*

Hol., mutilated, pp. 2. For the most part in cipher, with modern decipher.

June. 308. [PACE] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

139.

B. M.

"This day the Pope's Legate reside[nt here, and the prothonotary] Carracius, nunc[us Apostolicus,] have received letters from his [Holi]ness. They are to assist Pace in all the King's causes. Has received letters from my lord of Worcester confirming it, and adding that the Pope will keep all his promises. The letters have come too late, for the delay which they enjoin the Legate and prothonotary to procure cannot be had, as all the Electors are now together at Frankfort (except the procurator of the king of Bohemia, who will enter tomorrow), and no one can go to them, "and this is a matier that cannot be procured per tutias personas, as theye

1519.

[PACE] to WOLSEY—*cont.*

affirm them selves." Hopes to do some good, one way or other, without of[ver] much delay. There is a great dissension between the Elector Palatine (?) and the marquis of Brandenburg, because the one disturbs all the other's practices. Could they agree, one of them would be likely to obtain the Imperial crown. The former says he would not accept it, but labors for his brother. The latter would take it. There is no Elector fitter. He has a ready wit, an eloquent tongue and other princely qualities, but he Gallicizes far too much. The Palatine (?) has promised the Legate here to cause the king of Castile's oath, taken at the investiture of the realm of Naples, to be examined among the Electors. This will make much against the said king.

Has secret intelligence for certain, that the Pope, fearing the king of Castile will get the crown, has secretly prayed the Cardinal to mediate "be[tween] his Holiness and the said King of Castile t[hat at] his election they may be fri[ends] in spite of what the Pope has done against his election. One of the said King's agents here, named Lewis Marroton, said, after Pace's arrival, that, in spite of all the lady Margaret had written of or for him, they would not trust any Englishmen, because they had been deceived by them in the delivery of Tournay. Could have answered this, but it is not the time to dispute with them. Expects hourly tidings from Frankfort of the King's own promotion to the empire by the aid of the card. and abp. of Cologne. Mayence, June.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 3. Partly in cipher. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace and legate in England.

16 June. **309.** THOMAS MARQUIS OF DORSET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

On Wednesday last finished the King's sessions in Waltham Forest; and the same night, on his way to Leicester to meet the commissioners, met his brother Leonard at St. Alban's. He said the King complained of his not having kept his promise about the deer to the number of 3,000. Sends his brother to inform Wolsey that, on departing from this country after Easter, he left in the Frythe 1,200 deer, as Wm. Catoure, one of lord Hasting's keepers, reported to him and the commissioners in the Frythe on Friday last. These, with those in Toly and Baron parks, and the deer given to him by the King's especial warrant, would make up the number and 500 beyond. Denounces Sir Ric. Sacheverell's conduct. Will order himself according to the amity lately made by Wolsey between Hastyngs, Sacheverell and himself until their coming before Wolsey. His sister Grey and her husband are ready to depart from "Byrd's Nest," according to Wolsey's letters, but lady Hungerford refuses to leave Newark, saying that she is ill. Desires to know his pleasure. "At my pore lodge of Bradgate," 12 June. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace. *Endd.*

R. O.

2. "Instructions given by my Lord Marquis unto my Lord Leonard his brother."

Whereas an order was lately taken by the Cardinal touching "mine exchange with the King's highness, that my brother John and Sir Ric. Sacheverell should discharge both my folks and the lord Hastings', that is to say, my said brother to discharge all my servants and his, and the said Sir Ric. all my lord Hastyngs' and his:" the said Sacheverell, immediately on his arrival home, and in manner ere he lighted off his horse, on Whitsun Tuesday last, sent two of his servants to "my suster Grey," to Birdsnest, to discharge her of the same; my brother, her husband, not being at home. She asked if they had brought any writing or commandment from the King or the Marquis, and when they said nay, refused to take any discharge of

1519

them, and so made them good cheer and departed. On the morrow, the Wednesday in Whitsun week, Sacheverell came thither himself with twenty-four persons, his servants, armed with bows and arrows, and shot round about the house. He wished to speak with her, but she could not find it in her heart to do so, and sent one of her servants to ask him what he wanted. When he found that he could not see her, he said that he only came to thank her for the good cheer she made him at Bradgate at his last being there with me, denying that he had sent the servant the day before. He then departed with his servants, shooting up and down to the further side of the Frith towards the forest, and broke down the pale, so that a great number of the deer are destroyed and slain. Till the coming of the King's servants into the said parks Sir Richard's servants walked the parks and forests as keepers; and under color thereof one of Sir Wm. Assheby's servants was slain on the morrow after Trinity Sunday last by one Parker, servant to Sir Ric., sitting on his horseback, without any occasion by him given. On the day after, two or three of Sir Richard's servants came to a town of the King's, called Enderby, where Parker had goods and cattle, and brought them to Lubbesthorp, within Peverell fee, of which Sir Wm. Skevington is bayly. When he sent his officers and deputies to challenge them for the King, Sacheverell answered that he had taken them for debts owing him by Parker, and so conveyed them away. On the —* day of this present month twenty-seven of Sacheverell's servants came in the evening unto a wood beside Desseforde, called Lynryche, with bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, and there lay all that night, some of them in an old barn, "which can be thought for no good intent nor purpose." Early in the morning they went to Desseford Church; and because mine arms stood higher than Lord Hastings', one of them, named Wm. Pyckerling, brake them down, and Sacheverell has done nothing to punish him for it, like no good and loving neighbour. If the King wishes his new park of Birdsnest to be better stocked with deer, can let him have as many as he wants, to gin, kill or slay them at his pleasure, "for there is deer nor other thing that I have but shall be at his grace's pleasure."

Pp. 3. Endd.

3. Thos. Marquis of Dorset to Wolsey.

R. O.

Has lately received a letter from his brother Leonard, stating that Wolsey advised him not to deliver the Marquis's letters to the King, nor declare the instructions he had given him, as they did not agree with the writings sent to Wolsey by the King's commissioners. Thanks him for this, and asks him to keep the letters and instructions till his coming, when he will prove all written there to be true, "or atte leaste the more parte therof;" and doubts not the commissioners who are now here will "approve and affirm the same, or at the least think the same to be true." "At my pore lodge of Bradgate," 16 June. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add. : To my lord Legate's gode grace.

16 June. 310. FRED. [DUKE OF SAXONY] to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. xx.

144.

B. M.

Has just received his letters dated at [Greenwich, 11 May,] informing him that Henry had sent Pace to communicate his mind on the election of the Emperor. Would have been delighted to have given Pace audience, but that he had departed before the Duke's arrival. Will pray that an Emperor may be chosen who will advance the honor of Christendom, and will act as becomes a prince Elector. Frankfort, Thursday in Whitsun week, 1519. *Signed.*

Mutilated, p. 1. Add.

1519.

16 June. 311. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.

123.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 10th. After much urgency on Tuesday last, being at court, was appointed to tarry in the bastard of Savoy's chamber. Thither came the Bastard, marshall Chatillon, the late bishop of Paris, the bishop of Angoulesme, the generals of Normandy, Languedoc and Milan, Robertet and others. After "a little courtesy" betwixt the Bastard, Chatillon and the bishop of Paris, "each to other who should speak," the Bastard told him that the King is content that Wolsey should certify to the council there the amount of damages sustained, and the compensation shall at once be remitted to England. A letter is coming from the King to England, thanking his highness for being godfather to the duke of Orleans. As nothing has been said in that letter of the promised restitution, the ambassador resident in England is commanded to communicate with his grace. The affair has caused so much dissension "that it was said by one of the council that the King here were better see die afore him 40,000 of his men in battle, than to assent that justice should be otherwise ordered than hath been accustomed in the realm of France." The King and his mother had been more inclined to stir in it in consequence of "the round showing to them their delays, and other their defaults, as your grace commanded." She is much pleased with the letter lately sent by Wolsey to the King her son. She told him that the Electors entered the conclave on the 10th, and it will be 20 days before the result is known. She blames the archbishop of Mayence, "which, she sayth, after the death of the last Emperor first moved the King her son to labor in this matter, and now is revolted." She favors chiefly the marquis of Brandenburg, if any German prince should be [elected]; but assured Boleyn that, whether her son were Emperor or not, he would do nothing without consulting Henry. She returns to Poissy on Saturday, and the King on Saturday or Sunday. Poissy, 16 June. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 4. Addressed as before.

16 June. 312. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Vesp. C. I.

274.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 8th. Received on the 10th his grace's letters dated the 21st May. Is glad that his service gives satisfaction. *Has declared to the King Catholic the sending of Mr. Secretary to the Electors, and the causes moving the king of England thereto. The King called to the audience the cardinal of Tortosa, who was at that time in the chamber, and upon Chievres coming in, the Marquis; and receiving the message, with a merry loving countenance, gave "special thanks to the King's grace, and particularly unto your grace, saying to the Cardinal he understood your ambassador should not persuade to the third, except in case the election could not be in his favor, and in avoiding the French king's promotion." Chievres asserted that he would not believe the king of England would prefer the French to his master; but under the colour of advancing an indifferent person they would beguile him and the Pope, and secure the elections themselves. Spinelly answered, "the French learning, as appeareth, had not in time past deceived the crown of England, and no more, I think, shall be done hereafter. And thus ended the first point." On his pressing the second, Chievres interrupted him in a fume, on the news of the amity which should have been concluded at Montpellier; swore the Frenchmen lied falsely; "and as to the clause of Tournay, and subsequently of the meeting," called God "and all those of his council" to witness "that never none such had been neither thought ne spoken on their side;" it was the art of the French to insinuate suspicion and create misunderstandings between the two crowns. He said, moreover, since his arrival at Montpellier he spake not past two times with the Great Master, first publicly, secondly privately,*

1519.

where he entered on no business, in consequence of the Grand Master's illness; but as for the other deputies, the Chancellor, bishop of Badajoz, commander of Castile, Dr. Carvail, Dr. Jose of Flanders, and the audienccr Haneton, they only treated for Navarre, without any conclusion. On Chievres departing, the bishop of Paris urged him to wait for the duke of Bourbon without effect. The Catholico, in the end, expressed his affection to the King's highness; said he would write to the King and to Wolsey, remitting all further declaration to his ambassador, the bishop of Helna, "who shall depart within six days."

On the 11th Spinelly communed with the Catholico on the premises, "though he was a little crazed and of a flux; and the evening the lord Chievres sent to me, and desired me to go the next day to the King's mass at court, notwithstanding none other ambassadors, for the said indisposition, should be there. And after the mass done he brought me to the King," and told him he had heard that the king of England had sent money to Antwerp to raise a loan for the French; and on the refusal of the merchants to ensure the conveyance of it to Frankfort, it was sent to Lyons to the amount of 50,000*l.* English gold. He could not believe it was for any other purpose, than to perform the secret intelligence which England had shewed to Bouton existed between the Pope and himself. On his retirement from the audience he dined with Chievres, who warned him against the lies of the French, and that the report of his going into France had been taken entirely contrary to the truth; that he had never entertained any overture against England; but he acknowledged that he had consented to many things for peace' sake before he left Flanders, which now he would refuse, but none to the prejudice of England. He said also, that an English gentleman was at Montpellier with the Grand Master, who had given currency to the report. The same night, demanding the news of Chievres, he had learned that Messire Jeronimo Pruner, carrying the ratification of the lady Katelyna the King's sister, and other despatches, had arrived safely in Savoy. Whilst talking together it came into Spinelly's mind, that the heir of Devonshire, by the decease of the viscountess of Lisle, was a widower; whereupon he sounded Chievres as to the state of the treaty of marriage made with the lord Berghes for the marriage of his niece with that lord's son, and proposed to him to make overtures for the King of England to contract her to my lord of Devonshire. He allowed Spinelly to ask for a commission to treat and conclude this matter. She is not handsome, but is not to be refused; and as he has given to the lord Fynes with her second sister 50,000 crowns of gold, she that is the eldest must rather have more. On the 13th the governor of Bresse persuaded him to write and urge this matter, saying that besides her uncle's dowry the Catholico will not stick to contribute a good sum, and that for "the dote, which in marriage is the principal point commonly," there be no variance. On the 14th Chievres asked him how soon he looked for an answer; he told him, within 25 days. Chievres said he had heard "in England the youth is of evil rule, and that, being God's pleasure his niece and daughter cometh thither, he wol beseech your grace to put to her husband and her such persons as unto the same shall be thought good."

Lord Fynes is made governor general of Flanders. The bishop of Helna expects to depart in six days. With this will come a letter to the King and to Wolsey from the Catholico. No answer has yet come from the Pope, which the Nuncio thinks a good sign. In the county of Roussillon there is an army of 300 spears and 400 jenetes. Barcelona, 16 June 1519.

Holograph, chiefly cipher, deciphered by Tuke; pp. 12.

16 June. 313. ——— to the TREASURER OF FRANCE [ROBERTET?]

R. O.

Has heard no more of the subject of which the Treasurer wrote lately by his man, since the man left. Ro. Fowler and others commissioned by

1519.

—— to the TREASURER OF FRANCE [ROBERTET ?]—*cont.*

the King to receive the money due from the French King, have remained here with everything necessary for its receipt. Fowler is anxious about the Treasurer's long delay, and has asked leave, as the day has expired, to go to the King "my master," and tell him of it. Until he receives an answer from the Treasurer the writer has refused to allow it; for if Henry were apprised of the long delay, he would not be pleased, nor the French king either. Urges the Treasurer as a friend to come speedily and avoid censure. Calais, 16 June.

Fr., pp. 1. *Endd.*: "Minute of my Lord's letter to the Treasurer of France.

17 June. **314.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.
261b.

Sends Nicholas Thiery, an English merchant, who had been some time prisoner there, and with him Robert Uleyge, Thomas Hill and John Rubillon, an officer of his Catholic majesty, according to the terms of the treaty made between England and the King of Castile. Brussels, 17 June 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1, *mutilated.* *Add.*

18 June. **315.** SIR EDW. PONYNGES, Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports, to the MAYOR AND JURATS OF DOVER.

R. O.

Commands them to send, on Tuesday, 5 July next, at 8 a.m., 36 chosen men, sailors and others, from Dover and the neighbourhood, for inquiring into articles touching the office of the Admiralty. Dover Castle, 18 June 11 Hen. VIII.

Lat., p. 1. *Add.*

18 June. **316.** For HENRY NORRICE, squire of the Body.

S. B.

Annuity of 50 marks. *Del.* Windsor, 18 June 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.

18 June. **317.** For WILLIAM CAREE.

S. B.

Annuity of 50 marks. *Del.* Windsor, 18 June 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.

20 June. **318.** [PACE] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

141.

B. M.

Has received thi[s day letters from Wolsey] dated the 9th inst., [with the] King's commission and copy of the Ne[eds] not repeat the contents of Wolsey's said letter, since they only conta[in] an acknowledgment of the receipt of four [of Pace's] letters, detailing the successes of Pace's jour[ney] hither, and the King's and Wolsey's approbation of the ways he had used with my lady Margaret, when he was with her. Had anticipated Wolsey's command to show the copy of the brief to the Electors, by reason of a letter from Henry's ambassador at Rome, of which he has written. The brief will further the matter. Yesterday the Cardinal . . . * s[ent] one of his secret Council to [tell] him "he was in so great a perplexi[ty] that he desired of God to be n the Electors,† and that it was to his sorrow that I was no sooner sent hither, saying that [if] Pace had come but 15 days sooner he would have succeeded; that there was still room for remedy, but the same sum which

* The name is represented by the cipher ∞, deciphered in Wolsey's hand "the Cardinal" (*name mutilated*).

† Also deciphered by Wolsey.

1519.

the king of Castile had ready at Frankfort must be forthcoming, viz., 420,000 gold florins, with good surety for its payment, "re confecta." Told the councillor if his master brought the matter to pass, he alone should be rewarded. He secretly asked Rynke to become security for the payment of the money promised in the King's name, "and [he] hath offered himself ready thereunto. And with reaporthe heroff the said [councillor retur]nydde to his master." Wolsey will [thus see] that the matter depends upon [money]. Has done as much as can [be done] by words. Leaves the accomplishment of the rest to the King and [Wolsey]. It might be easily done. Rynke will pay the sum whenever the King shall command it, on condition the King binds himself by his letters to repay it to his son or agent in England. Will not affirm that, if the provision be made, they will succeed; but only t[hat] they may lose what is likely to be ob[tained] if the order be not [given]. Is certain that [if the] money had been here as soon as he, Wolsey would [by thi]s time "have songyn *Te [Deum] laudamus* for the election of King Hen[r]y the viij. in *imperatorem omnium Christianorum*." Has expressed his reasons for this opinion in former letters.

These letters require a speedy answer. Nothing is yet done about the election, but "the syngynge of the masse of the Holy Goste." They treat upon a delay of ten or twelve days. The ambassadors of Bohemia and Polone contest the right of voting for the king of Bohemia, the king of Poland being his tutor. This causes delay, and makes for our purpose. Has just been informed that the French, having obtained security of certain merchants for large sums, offered the Electors double the sum the king of Castile has promised them. His ambassadors hereupon offered, in addition to the sum down on the day of election, thousand fl. a year to each of them, giving letters from the lords spiritual and temporal of Spain, binding themselves for the perform[ance of the] King's promises, so that the Spaniards have beaten the French here both in ready money and "crakes." The French have spread a report that their master has 19,000,000 of gold to spend on the election. The feeling in favor of the king of Castile increases daily; so does also his army of defence. It is supposed some of the Electors are agreeable [to the raising of the army. If it be true (for which he cannot vouch, as he hears many reports in contradiction) the said King will get it. The Legate here, in spite of his commission, will not help Pace. The Pope's ambassador [will] do nothing. The marquis of Brandeburge labors to get the dignity. The French king will help him, that he may be able to say that he has made an Emperor, though he could not obtain [the crown] himself. Mayence, 20 June.

P.S.—Begg if Rynk's son or agent have anything to do "there" they may have the favor due to his faithful service here.

Mutilated, pp. 7. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace and legate in England.

20 June. 319. CHARLES DE CROY.

R. O.

A certificate by Jaques de Gaure, sieur de Frezny, of the losses sustained by Charles de Croy, prince of Chimay, in the town of Avesnes, during the late wars of England and France, amounting to 50,000 fl. of gold; and of the witnesses examined in proof. June 20, 1519.

Lat.

21 June. 320. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote last 16th inst. Spoke yesterday with the King, who said he had spoken with his council about the piracies against English merchants by Guillaume de la Fontaine and another, in Sept. and Oct. last; and would write to Wolsey, in consideration of the promise of restitution made by his

1519.

BOLEYN to WOLSEY—cont.

admiral and ambassadors late in England, and also for the appointment taken by the Chancellor, the late Great Master, and others here. He desires Henry to send an account of the whole damages in the two months, with interest and expences, under his hand and seal, and the money shall be immediately paid. He is sending a letter to Wolsey by this post. Robertet and the bastard of Savoy are writing to the French ambassador in England on the same subject. The bastard of Savoy, the late bp. of Paris, Robertet and others of the council desire him to ask that like restitution may be made to any French subjects robbed by Englishmen, during the same time, who make complaint to the Bishop.

The King says he has heard that the Electors came to Frankfort 10th inst., and entered into the consistory the 17th. Bourbon and Mons. de la Roche Beaucourt, late ambassador resident in Spain, are come hither. Mons. de Lausak is sent in place of the latter. Poyssy, 21 June. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. Add.: My lord Legate, Card. and Chancellor, &c.

21 June. 321. GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 275.

Went yesterday, with the Venetian merchants and good part of Campeggio's attendants, to meet his successor. Two privy councillors, a layman and an ecclesiastic, also came, and used very flattering language, which was reciprocated by the magnifico Surian. As the King is about thirty miles hence, it has been arranged for them to go to the court tomorrow. London, 21 June 1519.

22 June. 322. JAMES V. to CHRISTIERN KING OF DENMARK.

R. MS. 13.
B. II. 303.
B. M.
Ep. Reg. Sc.
I. 318.

Is compelled to send for the Duke of Albany in consequence of the depredations of the English and the troubles in the Isles. Nevertheless has collected some auxiliaries for Christiern's service, and pardoned at Christiern's intercession those who had committed treason against himself, on condition that they should procure letters from Denmark, acknowledging that they have been of service to Christiern in this war. Has sent some to Copenhagen, the rest will go with the Danish ambassador; though it is difficult, in the present disturbances and dearth of corn, to provide them with ships and victuals Edinburgh, 22 June 1519. *Signed: Tallefer pro Paniter.*

Lat.

22 June. 323. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The Pope has sent hither a bull to his legate to publish the French king Emperor, when he hears for certain that the King has three of the Electors favorable to him. He does this for fear of the French king, but it is very far from his promises to Henry. The marquis of Brandenburg labors for the French king, and has offered the Bohemian ambassador 20 thousand cr. and 4,000 in yearly pension, to vote for the French king or his nominee, "and that was the said Marquis himself." The ambassador answered, he would vote for none but his own King and the King Catholic. The Marquis was also with the archbishop of Cologne, for the same purpose, but had a very short answer. The orators of the King Catholic told him that though the Electors had determined to postpone the election for ten or twelve days, they will make an end of it in two days, as the pestilence is in Frankfort, and will undoubtedly elect their King; but this is reported by none except themselves. The French king has promised double what any other Christian prince will give for the empire; "so that here is the most dearest merchandise that ever was sold; and, after mine opinion, it shall be the worst that ever was bought, to him that shall obtain it." The favor of the whole nation inclines to the King Catholic, but the Electors

1519.

are still divided. Has had word within this hour from Frankfort that the election will not begin for seven days. Mayence, 21 June.*

The Electors have written to all the *orators of the King Catholic* to know what they intend *by the army arrayed by them here*, signifying that they will have no *force used in this election*. They answered, that *the army was not* to use violence against them, but to resist such violence *as the French King intended to use* against them, and to prevent his having any power in *this nation*; merely for defence, and not for offence; but as the *Electors* were suspicious of its being so near Frankfort, they have moved it further off, and it is now in the duchy of Wirtemberg, late taken *under this pretext*, that the *duchy cannot be kept from rebellion* without an *army*. Sends *cardinal Sion's* letters which he received yesterday. 22 June.†

Hol., pp. 3. Part cipher, with a modern imperfect decipher interleaved. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace and legate in England.

324. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR (SURIANO).

Nero, B. vi.

112.

B. M.

An oration in Latin made to the Venetian ambassador on his coming to England.

P. 1. Add.: "To my lord Cardinal's good grace."

23 June. 325. A. DU PRAT to WOLSEY.

[Calig. E. i.

ii. ?]

B. M.

Had not written to him for a long time before. Is now moved to do so by the amity between the two crowns, so much promoted by Wolsey's services. Has himself used every effort that no obstacle should arise to a peace which will tend so much to establish Christendom. Anjou, 23 June. Signed.

P. 1. Add.: "R^{mo}, &c. card. archiep. Eboracensi."

24 June. 326. [PACE] to WOLSEY.‡

Vit. B. xx.

145.

B. M.

"The Pope has sent hither letters [to his legate] and orator, which arrived yesterday, [comman]ding them to proceed no further ag[ainst] the King Catholic in this election. The king of ambassador and procurator in this election [has] been with M. de Nassowe at a castle near [Frank]fort, where are earls of this nation. There they cry open war against the French king, and say they will have no emperor but "king Charles of Spain." All these are retained by him; some by ready money, some by promises and obligations given by the king of Castile's authority, granted to the cou[nt] of Nassowe, who has here his king's great seal, "which he hath within these . . . days so used that all the offices [of] the empire be given by the said king of Castile [in hope] of his election, besides bribes to the sum of 200,000 fl." It has cost the French king 200,000 cr. Keeps in with the ambassadors of the said king of Castile according to their success. It is not so sure as they think, for within two days the Electors have certainly spoken of electing a third person.

The Electors are in great perplexity and fear of the people, who all incline to the king of Castile. Has had no further intelligence of the King's cause than what he wrote by Thos. Clerke. Is in a great perplexity, for the nation is all in arms and furious to fight for the King Catholic;

* Another copy of the above will be found in Vitell. B. xx. f. 148, much mutilated.

† Another copy in Vitell. ibid.

‡ Dated Meutz, 24 June, according to marginal note before the fire.

1519.

[PACE] to WOLSEY—*cont.*

and if Henry VIII. were elected, Pace and all his people would be probably [killed] before he could get aid of any of the Electors. If Henry were elected, moreover, his realm would be undone, for the Electors intend to bind [any prin]ce to leave his own realm and con[tinue] here all his life, in case of election; which would be the ruin of England. Besides, this nation is in such dissension that it is impossible for all the princes of Christendom to reduce it to good order. Nevertheless, labors stedfastly and as secretly as possible in his cause. The count of Nassow told him yesterday he had so much money and so many men that no Frenchman shall enter this country "but up[pon] speris and swerdis poyntes." On Monday next, the 27th inst., they look for some certainty in this gr[eat matter].

Hol., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.: "To my lord Card. grace, legate of England."

24 June. **327.** RICHARD COCKS to LADY LUCY.

R. O.

On Tuesday last, at 8 o'clock in the morning, received her letter dated Barnet the Sunday before, by a servant of Richard Fysher. She shall receive her venison and other stuff at the day therein appointed. On the Thursday following, received her letter sent by Henry Palmer, and will do what he can to fulfil her wishes. Has received no money as yet from Sir Thos. Illshaw. He has promised to meet him on Monday or Tuesday with as much as he can collect. Sends two letters from Mr. Robert Lucy; one of them directed to his master, which he received last Thursday night by two of his servants, a man and a boy, who came with two horses to fetch Mistress Lucy to her husband. Would not suffer her to depart till he knows his master's and lady Lucy's pleasure. The gentlewoman recommends herself to her, desiring that she may depart with favor. Would like an answer as soon as convenient, and meanwhile the said servant shall pass the time in making hay. Sends his master by the bearer a letter from Rich. Lord, master of the guild of Stratford. Mr. Thos. Grevell has sent to remind his master of his books which he promised him against the Sunday after St. Thomas's Day. Tyler showed him that the buck he killed for Mr. Nethermyll "had a ill liver, and greatly corrupt, and so he doubts of more." The haymaking goes on but slowly, as Monday and Tuesday last were holidays,—the Translation of St. Edward [20 June] and the Dedication Day. Trusts, this week that cometh, to "do a good share thereat, with the might of the Blessed Trinity." Charlecot, St. John's Day.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To lady Lucy, at St. Giles's in the Fields, besides London.

328. [——— to LADY LUCY.]

R. O.

"Madame, I perceive ther ys a reknyng betwen youre ladyshipe and Mr. Lucy, and I cannot se that his servant hath brought any money with them; and I thynk it but smale profet to kepe her for a gage."

24 June. **329.** CITY OF YORK.Titus, B. 1.
279.B. M.
Fiddes, Col.
p. 29.

The mayor and corporation of York to Wolsey. Thank him for "minishing their fee farm enenst the lord of Rutland," and for obtaining letters under the broad seal, allowing them to ship wools and fells, like the town of Newcastle. Request him also to have leave to ship lead, now generally restrained. York, 24 June.

P. 1. Add.: To the most rev^d, &c. lord Legate.

1519.

24 June. 330. SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN, Mayor of Dover, to the MAYOR
AND JURATS OF FOLKESTONE.

R. O.

Desires them to send eight discreet men, sailors and others, to meet Sir Edw. Ponnyges on Tuesday, 5 June,* at 8 a.m., at Dover, to inquire into causes touching the Admiralty. Dover, 24 June 11 Hen. VIII.

Lat., copy, p. 1.

25 June. 331. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Was glad to receive his letters, and those from Rome, by which he perceives that affairs are turning out as he wished, especially in Germany, and this is confirmed by what the King has told him since Pace's arrival there. Has now come to Wolsey's opinion that everything will tend to the weal of Christendom. Will follow his advice about the briefs and the bull of his legateship. Endeavored to get leave from the King, according to the orders he received through Belknapp from Wolsey, to go to London today, but was unsuccessful. Will come as soon as he can get permission. Windsor, 25 June 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

26 June. 332. STEPHEN ARCHBISHOP OF SENS to WOLSEY.

Nero, B. VI.

35.

B. M.

Has been with the Queen's mother, who praises much the policy of Wolsey in bringing about a meeting so auspicious for Christendom. Sends the present messenger by her order to remind Wolsey of his promises touching the number, rank and quality of the persons in the king of England's suite. Ardres, 26 June.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: Rmo., &c. cardinali Eboracensi Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ legato.

27 June. 333. ERASMUS to JOHN CLAYMOND, D.D.

Er. Ep. IV. 11.

In praise of the bishop of Winchester (Fox) and his new college, founded for the cultivation of the three tongues. Is glad to hear that the Bishop's benevolent design is countenanced by Wolsey, Campeggio, and the King. Foretells the future eminence of the college. Is glad to hear that Claymond has been selected from so many to be the new president. Believes the high character of Claymond will do much to win over those who are apt to assert that these new studies corrupt men and are unfavourable to Christian piety. Has been induced to write, from the praises bestowed upon Claymond by Tunstal, More and Pace. Louvain, 5 kal. Julii 1519.

334. HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. VI.

108.

B. M.

Came hither to speak with him. Is aware that Wolsey is so busy he cannot give him audience until tomorrow. As Wolsey is protector of the amities between the Princes, in whom Madame places her entire confidence, sends him his instructions, that he may perceive their purport, and give him as speedy dispatch as possible, as his presence is needed beyond sea. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: "Mons. le legat d'Angleterre."

27 June. 335. HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. V.

264.

B. M.

Returned yesterday, and had an audience with the King, who treated him courteously, and referred him for instructions to Wolsey. Sent today to inquire if Wolsey would give him audience, who said he could not see

* Mistake for July.

1519.

HESDIN to WOLSEY—*cont.*

him today. As he has now been eight days in England, and has not been able to write to the King and Madame of his business, is afraid of their anger. There are many reasons why he should be treated with more distinction than any other ambassador. "Londres, cest apres disner," 27 June 1519.

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add. Signature pasted on the following leaf.

28 June. **336.** GIUSTINIAN and ANT. SURIANO to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 275.

Visited his majesty at Windsor on *Corpus Domini* day. Suriano presented the letters of credence. The King regretted Giustinian's recall, as "he had ever loved him like a father," but was glad that he had been appointed councillor of Venice. All then went in procession to the church. After mass the King called Suriano aside, who made his statement, thanking the King for including the signory in the league with France. London, 28 June 1519.

28 June. **337.** RICHARD PYNSON.

R. O.

28 June 11 Hen. VIII.—Indenture between Wm. Horman, clerk and fellow of the King's college of our Blessed Lady of Eton, Bucks, and Mr. Ric. Pynson, book printer, Fleet Street, London, for printing 800 copies "of such vulgars" as be contained in the copy delivered to him, "in sufficient and suyng stuff of paper, after three diverse letters, one for the English, another for the Latin, and the third of great Romayne letter for the titles of the book, and thirty-five chapters of the same, to represent goodly and truly the matter," "so that one half of the whole sum be single quire and the other double." Pynson is not to print more than the 800 for five years without Horman's consent. The privilege is to be printed in each book. Horman will pay him 5s. a ream at certain terms.

Vellum, p. 1.

28 June. **338.** MATTHEW CARDINAL OF SALZBURG, FREDERIC COUNT PALATINE, CASIMIR MARQUIS OF BRANDENBURG, ERARD BISHOP OF LIEGE, B. BISHOP OF TRENT, H. COUNT OF NASSAU, and the CARDINAL OF MAYENCE, to PACE.

Vit. B. xx.
146*.
B. M.

The Electors have elected Charles king of the Romans. Hoest, 28 June 1519. *Signed.*

P. 1, mutilated. Add.

28 June. **339.** PACE to [WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. xx.
147.
B. M.

Today [at] . . . clock, informed Wolsey [by a] "short letter, because I could write [little], for the hasty departure of the post . . . that this morning at 7 o'clock the king of Arragon was elected and proclaimed Emperor." As soon as the Electors heard from the Pope's le[gate] and ambassadors here of the arrangement made between the Pope and the said King for the realm of Naples, with the absolution of his oath, of which Pace advertised Wolsey on the 27th inst., they consented to his election. Will go tomorrow to Frankfort to congratulate his ambassadors, "for I have so handlyd them that they have wr[itten un]to their king that my cummyng [hith]er hath done unto them go[o]d [service]." Will find out what order is taken about Charles's coming hither, and abiding in this nation. Desires to know what he is to do as to returning home. Will only spend the King's money to no good where he is. Has been informed, as he writes, that the king of Arragon has been granted a year by the Electors to prepare for his arrival here. Mayence, 28 June, 11 at night. *Signed.*

Hol., mutilated, pp. 2.

1519.

28 June. 340. BONNIVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

On behalf of Pierre Blac and his companions, French merchants, whose ship the *Nicholas of Rouen*, was taken and plundered at Croquehen (Cork ?) in Ireland, by William Robins, an Englishman, since the treaty of London. The commissioners appointed by Henry have condemned the plunderers to pay 8,000 livres Tournais, but Blac cannot obtain them. Estappes, 28 June. *Signed*.

Fr., pp. 2. *Add.*: A mons. mons. le Card. d'Yort, legat et chancelier en Angleterre. *Endd.*

29 June. 341. JAMES V. to CHRISTIERN KING OF DENMARK.

R. MS. 13.

B. II. 304.

B. M.

Ep. Reg. Sc.
I. 320.

While he was preparing auxiliaries for Denmark, received a complaint from Thos. Norry, Hen. Harlaw, and David Ochiltrie, merchants of Edinburgh and Leith, that they had been taken and robbed in the port of Trailshound by the enemies of Denmark, and retaken by certain Danish ships, but refused restitution of their goods, which they had reasonably expected. Edinburgh, 29 June 1519. *Signed*: "Tallefer pro Paniter."

Lat.

30 June. 342. GIUSTINIAN and SURIANO to the DOGE OF VENICE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 278.

Visited Wolsey, and congratulated him on the league and betrothal, saying "it was all his doing." Wolsey regretted Giustinian's recall, and said the ratification should be made out before his departure. With regard to the customs of the wines of Candia, he said that since the Doge repealed the duty, "this kingdom had not taken off the whole duty," but merely reduced it from four ducats to one noble. In the questions about the wines and the "deceitful cloths," the Doge must commission Suriano to conclude an agreement. London, 30 June 1519.

30 June. 343. "EPISCOPUS SEGUNTINUS" (BISHOP OF SIGUENZA) to HENRY VIII.

Vesp. C. I.

282.

B. M.

The bishop of Elna will inform him of the happy result of the King's interposition in his favor. Besides the support he has received, the King has ordered out of his own revenues that a pension of 3,000 golden ducats should be paid to his rival the cardinal of Santa Croce. Will feel obliged if the King of England will write to his Catholic majesty and thank him. Barcelona, prid. kal. Julii 1519. *Signed*.

Lat., p. 1. *Add.*: "Serenissimo," &c. "Regi Angliæ."

344. DR. JOHN CLARKE.

R. O.

Instructions to Dr. Clarke for his journey toward Almayn. He is to deliver the King's letters of credence to the lady of Savoy, and to thank her for sending the King news from time to time, and lately for Hedyng's mission, which rested in these four points: (1.) Informing Henry of the conclusions between the councillors of the kings of France and Castile at Montpelier. (2.) Asking what assistance he would contribute for the defence of the Low Countries against the duke of Gueldres in event of his invading them. (3.) Informing him of the means made to induce the king of Denmark to renounce his pretended right to the crown of Scotland in behalf of the duke of Albany in case anything should happen to the young king. (4.) Thanking him for the overtures made her by Pace in his journey towards Almain.

To the first point he is to say that Henry is glad to hear that the negotiations at Montpelier are so good and honorable, and that nothing was concluded prejudicial to the king of Castile, of which he was in doubt before Hedyng's coming. Although there is so firm a peace between

1519.

DR. JOHN CLARKE—*cont.*

England and France, no such intelligence shall ever diminish the amity between the houses of England, Burgoyne, and Spain. As to the second point, in the treaty of universal peace between the Pope, England, and France, which the king of Castile has accepted as principal contrahent, there is an article stating how assistance shall be given, which the King will observe, and employ his strength for defence against such invasion, as well as stir up other princes by his ambassadors to do the same. He cannot believe that the duke of Gueldres would make such an attempt, whereby his destruction would ensue, if the other confederates observe their oaths, as the King intends to do for his part.

Draft, in Ruthal's hand, pp. 2.

345. ERASMUS to JO. FABER, Vicar of the Bishop of Constance.

Er. Ep. VI. 33.

Richard Pace is in excellent health and great repute,—a favorite with his sovereign, to whom he is secretary. He passed this way lately on an embassy to pay his respects to Margaret and Ferdinand, and afterwards be present at the election of the Emperor. More and Colet are of the council; Linaere physician. The King studies; the Queen is fond of learning, and was an apt pupil from her infancy. Louvain, 1519.

June.

346. JEWELS.

R. O.

Account for plate made by William Holland for the King since "his last reckoning at Easter, anno 11."

Fragment.

347.

GRANTS in JUNE 1519.

June.

GRANTS.

1. Sir Ralph Ellerker, junior. Wardship of John, s. and h. of Sir Henry Wyddryngton. *Del. Westm.*, 1 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 3.*

1. Hugh Gowge. To be gunner in the Tower of London, with 6*d.* a day, during pleasure, on surrender of patent 24 Oct. 1 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Wm. Leeriard. Greenwich, 29 Nov. 10 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 1 June.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 15.*

3. Sir Gilbert Talbot. Licence to alienate the manor of Langeford, Salop, and the advowson of the church of St. Mary, Langeford, to John Litelton, Roger Wynter, Ric. Clynton, Th. Rygge, Humph. Chatwyn, James Nowell, John Boteler, chaplain, Th. Skrymsher, Th. Moreton, Rob. Peryns, clk., Edward Lee, clk., James Yong, John Buteler, Ric. Dethik, Ric. Broughton, Th. Haryngton, John Wheeler and John Valaunce, in fee. *Westm.*, 3 June.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 21.*

5. Wm. Rede, goldsmith of London, kinsman and heir of Barth. Rede. Licence to alienate a moiety of the manor of Gyng Margarete, Essex, to Margaret wife of Rob. Gedge, mercer of London, and a d. and h. of Th. Bardefelde, brother of John B., deceased, in tail, with remainder to the heirs of the said Thomas, to John Lightfote, nephew of the said John B., to Th. s. and h. of Edw. Clovile, of Coldehall, or to John s. and h. of

John Leventhorp, of Shengill Hall. *Westm.*, 5 June.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 22.*

5. Th. Lightfote. Licence to alienate the moiety of the manor of Newlond, Essex, to Margaret wife of Rob. Gedge, mercer of London, with remainders, as above. *Westm.*, 5 June.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 22.*

6. Chr. Brokbanke and Nich. Bateman. Letters of marque against the inhabitants of the "Stedes in Estlond" on account of a ship called *Le Hulke*, taken by the inhabitants of Straylesond during the present truce. *Westm.*, 6 June.—*Fr. 11 Hen. VIII. m. 1.*

6. Rob. Bingham, page of the cellar. To be bailiff and keeper of the lordship of Canford, Dorset, and keeper of the chase of Canforde Launde, *vice* John Holte, deceased, with 5*d.* a day. Windsor, 3 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 6 June.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 23.*

6. John Cole, clk., the King's chaplain. Grant of the deanery and prebend in the parish or collegiate church of Pontesbury, Heref. dioc., *vice* Richard Salter, clk., deceased; in the King's gift by the minority of George lord de Powes. *Del. Westm.*, 6 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 2, and p. 2, m. 25.*

6. Wm. Peynter and Th. Potell, tenants of the lordship of Kyngston Lacy, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, and Wm. Stephens and Walter Gardener, wardens of the church of Wynbourn Mynster, Dorset. Li-

1519.

June.

GRANTS.

cence to hold two fairs annually at Pymphill, in the said lordship, on the eve and day of St. Thomas the Martyr, and on the eve and day of St. Luke the Evangelist, subject to the annual rent of 6s. 8d. *Del. Westm.*, 6 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 21.*

7. John Parcar, groom of the Chamber. Annuity of 10*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 7 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

8. John Copwode. Wardship of Richard, s. and h. of Wm. Bagecroft, who held of the King as of the honor of Womegey. Windsor, 1 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 June.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 16.*

8. Th. Megges and Agnes his wife, d. and h. of John Coplestone. Livery of the lands of the said John and Joan his wife in Cornw. and Devon. Windsor, 4 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 June.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 12.*

9. Justices of Assize.—*Norfolk Circuit*: Sir John Ernele and Ric. Broke. *Westm.*, 9 June.—*Oxford Circuit*: Sir Lewis Pollard and John Fitz James. *Westm.*, 9 June.—*Western Circuit*: Sir Ric. Elliott and Thos. Pygott. *Westm.*, 9 June.—*Midland Circuit*: Sir Humph. Conyngesby and John Carell. *Westm.*, 9 June.—*Northern Circuit*: Sir Robt. Brudenell and Fitz Herbert. *Westm.*, 9 June.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 20d.*

12. Rob. Knolles, gentleman usher of the Chamber. Grant of an annual rent of 50 marks from various manors (named) in Cornwall, granted to the King by the cardinal of York, chancellor, Sir John Heron, Baldwin Malet, and Adam Raleigh. The said manors were forfeited to Hen. VII. by attainder of Sir Hen. Bodryngan, and are now held by Sir Peter Egcombe by grant of the said Cardinal, &c. *Del. Westm.*, 12 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 12; p. 2, m. 28.*

16. Commission of Gaol Delivery for the *Home Circuit*.—Sir John Fyneux, John More and Simon Fitz. *Westm.*, 16 June.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 20d.*

17. Tho. Compton, groom of the Chamber, of London, mercer, *alias* of Estgrenewiche, Kent. Protection; going in the suite of Sir Ric. Wyngfeld, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 17 June 10 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Fr., m. 1.*

20. Rob. Knolles, gentleman usher of the Chamber. Annuity of 20*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 20 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

20. Tho. Carvanell, groom of the Privy Chamber. Annuity of 10*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 20 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

20. John Wellisburn, groom of the Privy Chamber. Annuity of 10*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 20 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

20. Wm. West, groom [of the Privy Chamber]. Annuity of 10*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 20 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

22. Commissions of Gaol Delivery.—*Norwich Circuit*: Sir John Erneley, Ric. Broke and Tho. Fitz Hugh. *Westm.*, 22 June.—*Oxford Circuit*: Sir Lewis Pollard, John Fitz James, and Rob. Brudenell, junr. *Westm.*, 22 June.—*Northern Circuit*: Sir Rob. Brudenell, Anthony Fitz Herbert and Th. Strey. *Westm.*, 22 June.—*Western Circuit*: Sir Ric. Elyot, Th. Pygott and Th. Elyott. *Westm.*, 22 June.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 20d.*

22. John Heron, of Northumb., *alias* John Heron, Bastard. Annuity of 10*l.* out of the customs of the port of Hull, and out of the issues of the lands appointed for the payment of the soldiers at Berwick. Windsor, 22 June 11 Hen. VIII. (*Date of delivery not given.*)—P. S.

26. Th. Whyte, messenger of the Chamber. To be messenger at the receipt of the Exchequer, with 4*d.* a day, from the first vacancy. *Del. Westm.*, 26 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

26. Sir Edw. Ferrers. Wardship of Elizabeth and Isabella, ds. and hs. of John Stanley, and hs. of Sir Humph. Stanley, who died temp. Hen. VII. *Del. Westm.*, 26 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 15.*

27. Sir Th. Wyndam. Wardship of Richard, kinsman and heir of Sir Rob. Southwell and Eliz. his wife; viz., son of Francis, brother of Sir Robert. *Del. Westm.*, 27 June 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 31.*

29. Walter Badham, page of the Chamber. To be ranger of Dean Forest, Glouc., *vice* Edm. Mylle, who held the office from Hen. VII., with fees out of the issues of cos. Glouc., Notts, Derby and Staff. Windsor, 7 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 29 June.—P. S.

1 July. 348. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote last by the French post, 21 ult. Since then the King has been at Melun, 18 leagues hence, hunting. Does not know whether he will return to St. Germain's, or the Queen and my Lady go to him. My Lady looks daily for news from Almayne of the election, and says she heard that the Electors entered the conclave on 17th ult., but "they be not

1519.

BOLEYN to WOLSEY—*cont.*

yet of one a[ccor]de." She has good hope for her son, saying that if he do not succeed, she will shew Boleyn letters from certain of the Electors, promising him their votes, and assures him she will send word as soon as she hears. She says that all the ambassadors are commanded to stay 10 or 12 leagues from the Electors at Frankfort, except Pace, who is at Mayence, 5 or 6 leagues thence. Poyssy, 1 July. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: My lord Legate, Cardinal and Chancellor.

1 July. **349.** ST. THOMAS OF ACON'S.

P. S.

Licence to the Master, Wardens, and Fellowship of Mercers of the city of London to provide all necessities for the erection of a chapel and hall next to St. Thomas of Acon's Church, in Cheapside. Windsor, 29 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 1 July.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 29.

2 July. **350.** For SIR RICHARD WHETE HILL.

S. B.

Annuity of 50*l.* out of the issues of the town and marches of Calais. *Del. Westm., 2 July 11 Hen. VIII.*

Fr. 11 Hen. VIII. m. 3.

3 July. **351.** [PACE] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

149.

B. M.

In his last letters mentioned the late coming of Th[omas] Clerke his servant by the space of three [days], notwithstanding he used great diligence. Certified also the cause why the election was accelerated and finished before his return; viz., the Pope's absolution of the King Catholic. Since the election, has found means that the cardinal of Mayence, the duke of Saxony, and the archbishop of Cologne should declare to the ambassadors of the Emperor elected, how largely the King's letters, Pace's proposition, and other secret practices have advanced their master's cause. Has had of them g[reat] thanks, with large promises "that [the] said Emperor shall be largely in[formed] heroff," and remember * * *

Is credibly informed by the merchants who have paid for him here, that the Emperor has spent 1,500,000 fl., i.e. 400,000 marks, in ready money, besides giving great promises. The Electors and ambassadors cannot agree upon the articles the Electors have proposed to them, for the latter now deny that they possess the authority they said they had before the election. A copy of the articles cannot be got for any money. Their effect is "to bind the Emperor to divers great things, and to put the [said E]lectors at great liberty," who desire that the late Emperor's cou[n]cillors shall be excluded from the government, by which they are much [dis]appointed, for they have only advanced the king of Castile th[at they] might rule in the old way. Tomorrow the Electors begin to leave this place, for the great sickness daily increases, as the war does, "with grete spoyle and robbary." Intends to depart tomorrow for Cologne, and there to provide for his return home, for there is nothing to do here. If Wolsey will command him any service to the lady Margaret, letters may be sent to him at "And[warpe by] M. Philippe Gualterotte or any off hys felyschyppe." Frankfort, 3 July.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 4. Add.: To my Lord Cardinal's grace and legate in England.

4 July. **352.** BOLEYN to [HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. vii.

140.

B. M.

Ellis, 1 Ser.

i. 154.

Wrote last on the 1st. The King has not yet returned from Melun, where he has been hunting this fortnight. Letters have come to the King Catholic's ambassador, from Frankfort and my lady of Savoy, stating that Charles was elected on the 28th June, at ten o'clock in the forenoon. As they have had no letters from Germany on this matter, my Lady fears that

1519.

the Admiral is "letted or evil entreated," or else the post has been stopped. She expressed her pleasure at Charles's election, although Boleyn thinks they would have had any other Emperor than the King Catholic. She says it has cost great sums of money,—that the elector of Cologne had 200,000 crowns; whilst her son had not spent in all more than 100,000. Le Bastard and the council say that it is good for the realm that Francis is not emperor; it would have put him to infinite business, and impoverished his subjects. By a new ordinance no posts are allowed, except by an order from Robertet. Poissy, 4 July. *Signed*.

4 July.

353. PACE to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

151.

B. M.

By [Wolsey's letters of] the 28th June perce[ives that] the Pope had promised the King that his legate and ambassador here should procure a prorogation of the election. Wishes deeds and words had corresponded, for they have done the exact contrary, and written to the Electors for the advancement of the King Catholic, in their letters dated 25th ult. Double practices like these are not laudable, and they would have been "dashed," if the King's letters, dated 28 June, to Herman Rynge, had been received before. Has received them today. His promise and bond for the King without the said letters could not be "exceptidde but with few of the Electo[rs], as your gra[ce] shall perceive by such letters as the said Mr. Herman sendeth at this time unto the King's grace." Besides the large offers mentioned in his former letters, the cardinal of Mayence is to have the custody of the Great Seal, which all other emperors have kept in their own hands. The yearly profit will be 40,000 or 50,000 fl. The archbp. of Trevers is to have, besides money received, 10,000 fl. a year. Mayence, 4 July.

The 5th or 4th, before [the] election, some of the councillors of the moved him to raise an ar[my] against that here raised by the King Catholic; to which he would not consent;—because (1) money could not be prepared in time; (2) such an act would have created perpetual enmity between the two Kings, which would have been more injurious to Henry than the empire would have been profitable.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace and legate in England.

4 July.

354. HERMANN RINGHE to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. xx.

154.

B. M.

Has received his letters, containing far greater thanks than his service merits, especially as he knows he is under great obligations to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Was most ready to pledge himself, his goods, and all his family for the fulfilment of the King's promises; [as] Henry's ambassador here well knows. Wishes Henry's letters had come sooner, for without them his [bond] was of no avail with the Electors, as he is not so well known to all as to some. While he waited for the letters, many incredible things were allowed; of which the King, he knows, has been informed by his ambassador. Mayence, 4 July. *Signed*.

Mutilated, pp. 2. Add.: "Sacra Maj. invictissimi regis Angliæ et Franciæ domino suo colendissimo."

5 July.

355. CINQUE PORTS.

R. O.

Inquisition taken at Dover, Tuesday, 5 July 11 Hen. VIII., before Sir Edw. Ponynges, constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, by John Courteney and other jurors, when it was found that John à Shawe found at sea a hogshead of white Rochelle wine, that Simon Scotte assaulted Peter Yonge with a sword, and other cases. Also inquisitions at Kyngsdowne, Margate, St. Peter's, and Dychington.

Lat., mutilated.

1519.

5 July. 356. SIR THOMAS MORE to WOLSEY.

Titus, B. xi.
391.
B. M.
Ellis, 1 Ser.
i. 195.

Was commanded last night by the King to deliver to Wolsey's servant Forest a complaint sent to him by the men of Waterford against the town of New Ross in Ireland, for disturbing them in the use of a grant of prize wines made to them by the King's progenitors. The King remembers the fidelity of Waterford in the rebellions against his father, and that there is a great grudge against them in Ireland, so that they cannot resort to those parts where the laws are administered, for fear of the wild Irish. He wishes Wolsey to examine the matter in the Star Chamber, or commit it to some justices. When More, on his return, spoke to the King, his grace was very glad that Wolsey retained his health, notwithstanding his continual labour, of which he knew more than those who only saw him at Westminster. "He saith that ye may thank his counsel thereof, by which ye leave the often taking of medicines that ye were wont to use; and while ye so do, he saith, ye shall not fail of health." Oking, 5 July.

*Hol. Add.***6 July. 357. SIR THOMAS MORE to WOLSEY.**

Galba, B. v.
270.
B. M.
S. P. i. 3.
Ellis, 1 Ser.
i. 198.

This Wednesday the ambassador of the king of Castile declared certain news on his master's behalf, and the King desires Wolsey to devise letters of thanks. The ambassador has asked the King's advice to the king of Castile "concerning the matter of the last Diet, in which the great master of France deceased," and for letters of credence to declare the same; but the King thinks it better his advice should be communicated by letter. The King wishes Wolsey to know that he told the ambassador he would persevere in his amity to Charles; but if the latter should do anything contrary to the amity between them and the French king, Henry would "think himself bounden to regard the friendship of none earthly man so highly as his oath given to God." The ambassador rode from court after dinner, and will be with Wolsey shortly. Okyng, 6 July.

*Hol.***6 July. 358. For SIR RICHARD WHETE HILL.**

S. B.

Exemption from being made mayor, sheriff, &c. of the town and marches of Calais, &c. *Del.* Westm., 6 July 11 Hen. VIII.

7 July. 359. CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. i.
282.
B. M.

Notifying his election as king of the Romans on the 28th June. Barcelona, 7 July 1519.

*Lat., p. 1. Add.: R^{mo}, &c. cardinali Ebor.***360. ii. The SAME to HENRY VIII.**

f. 284.

To the same effect. Barcelona, 7 July 1519.

*Fr., p. 1. Add.***7 July. 361. For MARGARET BRYAN, widow of Sir Thomas Bryan, and now wife of David Soche.**

S. B.

Annuity of 50*l.* for services to the King and queen Katharine, and one tun of Gascon wine yearly, out of the wine received for the King's use. *Del.* Westm., 7 July 11 Hen. VIII.

Memorandum, that whereas this bill was signed by the King to be paid in the Hanaper, the Lord Chancellor, on 5 July 11 Hen. VIII., caused it to be amended, and the annuity to be paid at the King's Exchequer.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 15.

1519.

7 July.
S. B.**362.** For SIR THOMAS LOVELL, Treasurer of the Household,
and THOMAS LORD ROSS.

To be constables, &c. of Notyngham Castle, keepers of Shirwode Forest, of the parks of Billowe and Birkelonde, Romwode, Ouselonde and Fulwode, Notts, in survivorship, with annuity of 40 marks, as held by Sir John Biron by grant of Henry VII. Also annual rent of 9*l*. for wages of nine foresters. Also to be steward of the manors of Maunsfelde, Bolsemer and Horseley. *Del. Westm.*, 7 July 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.

8 July.

Vit. B. xx.
159.
B. M.**363.** [RIC. PACE] to WOLSEY.

"The Princes Elector[s] and the ambas[sadors] of the Emperor elected can[not agree] upon such articles as the said [Electors] hath proposed unto them to be o[bserved] by the King their master." The ambassadors have proposed that the Emperor elect shall shortly send an answer to the said articles. Meanwhile they are about to depart without making any arrangement about the government of the natio[n], to every person's discontent here. War is commenced in divers places. The count of Nassau expects to recover great lands here by this new election "of th[e] King his master." For this cause he stirred the said King [to] labor for the dignity, [pretending a title] to the said lands by some of [h]is ancestors. The lords who now possess refuse to give them up without fighting, and already prepare themselves. It will be difficult to take anything from them, for they have plenty of men, and their castles are by position impregnable. The admiral of France, with other ambassadors of the French king, are unable to leave Confluence, for 600 horsemen lie in wait to take them. Some have taken sanctuary. The Admiral has sent for the archbishop of Trevers "to ha[ve] by him, as he shall have if lie in his power to help them have a very great enemy, the er liguers (?), to whom great injury hath been [done] by the Frenchmen."

He now means [to] avenge it; to which he is the more induced by the supposition that the Admiral has a large sum with him. Word came today here that the archbishop Ursinus, the Pope's ambassador, had been taken by the "said erle," with all his suite. Cannot say if it be true or not. The bishop of Liege has told him of the robberies now committed between Cologne and Mastryke, and advised [him] not to depart but in hi[s com]pany. He has 100 horses. "And the Kyngis grace's sake, nothre hymselfe n[oth]re his horses" will leave Pace till he is quite safe. He has sent word he will be here tomorrow to prepare to go to Flanders as soon as convenient. Cologne, 8 July.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 4. Add.: To my lorde Carls grace and legat in Englande.

364. WOLSEY to HENRY VIII.Vit. B. xx.
112.
B. M.
St. P. 1. 5.

After H[esdin's] return the Spaniards and others made rejoicings for the Emperor's election, but were stopped for fear of a riot, to Hesdin's displeasure. Ill reports are circulated by the French, but Wolsey has taken methods to obviate the consequences, remembering the mischief done on May day twelvemonth. Wolsey proposes, among other things, to have a solemn meeting at St. Paul's on Sunday next to celebrate the election, and to make the French ambassador privy to this design. To prevent these reports reaching the Archduchess, Wolsey has stopped the ports. At the writing of this letter the mayor and aldermen of the city of London were with him and the council to discover and punish the ringleaders.

In Ruthal's hand, pp. 2.

1519.

8 July. 365. SEARCH FOR SUSPECTED PERSONS.

R. O.

8 July 11 Hen. VIII. List of "Commissioners appointed to make a general search in London, and the suburbs, and other villages adjoinant, on Sunday at night next coming, being the 10th day of July, and afterwards set over till the 17th of the same month."

City of London :—The mayor and alderman, each alderman for his ward. St. Martin's :—Sir Rob. Johns, Sir Edw. Ferrers.

Southwark, Bermondsey, St. Olaves, Kentishe Streat, the Banke, Paris Garden :—"to be searched by such as my lord of Norfolk and my lord Barnes* shall appoint."

Lambeth and Lambeth Marsh :—My lord of Norfolk.

Kennington, Newington, Camberwell, Peckham, and Clapham :—My lord Edmund Hawarde and Sir John Legh.

Wandsworth, Battersea and Wimbledon :—My lord Edmund Hawarde.

St. Katharine's, Tower Hill, East Smithfield and Whitechapel :—"Sir Thos. Lovell, Wales (*sic*), to search by such ways as he thinketh meet for it."

Stepney, Mile End, Poplar, Ratcliffe, Limehouse :—My lord Darcy and Sir John Nevile.

Hackney, Newington and Kingsland :—Sir John Heyron, Mr. Edon.

Shoreditch and Hoxton :—"also appointed to the said Sir Thos. Lovell, to be ordered in search by his discretion."

Islington, Holloway, St. John's Street, Cowcross, Trille Mylle Street, Charterhouse Lane, &c. :—"to be searched by my lord of St. John's, or such as he shall think meet for it."

Holborn, Kentish Town, St. Giles', Paddington :—Sir Henry Wiatt, Sir John Cutt, and Sir John Dauncye.

Temple Bar to Charing Cross :—Sir Rob. Constable and Sir Ric. Rokeby.

Totterhill Street, King Street, the Sanctuary, the Palace, and St. Stephen's :—Sir Thos. Nevile, Wistan Broun, Sir Andrew Windsor, Sir William Fitzwilliam.

Chauncer Lane :—The Master of the Rolls, Dr. Throkmerton, Will. Redmayn.

Kensington, Hammersmith, Knightsbridge and Chelsea :—Master Mewtes.

The same searches to be made [again] all at one hour, viz., on Wednesday, 22 Oct., at 12 o'clock at night, "and in the meanwhile to be kept very secret, and the parties therein suspiciously taken, as well men as women, to be committed to ward, there to remain till Friday in the morning next coming, and then to be brought in personally before the lords with a certificate of their names."

Pp. 3.

R. O.

2. First draft of the above on two slips of paper. On a blank leaf attached to the second is the following entry :—

"Sexto Julii præsentibus interiori camera,—D. Cardinali, Dunelmensi, duce Norff., duce Suff., Armach., Joh. Fyneux, Marney, Rotulorum, Lovell, Windsor, Nevile, Dauncy, Wiatte, Cutte, Heyron."

Immediately below is the heading "xix^o Julii."

R. O.

3. List of "idle, vagrant and suspicious persons taken by the mayor and aldermen of London in their several wards, at the privy watch and search upon Sunday night last past, by the commandment of the King's most honorable council at 12 o'clock after midnight."

7 were taken in the ward of . . . (*mutilated*), Thos. . . . , [alderman]; 3 in the ward of Cripple-gate, Sir Thos. Exmewe, alderman; 3 in Aldgate, Jo. Milborne, ald.; 2 in Bassishaw, Geo. Monoux, ald.; 2 in

* These two names are substituted for "my lord of Suffolk."

1519.

Cheap, Sir Will. Butler, ald.; 9 in Langbourn, Jo. Brugge, ald.; 2 in Aldersgate, Ro. Fenrother, ald.; 1 in Vintry, Jo. Aleyn, ald.; 5 in Queenhithe, Jo. Wilkinson, ald.; 3 in Bradstrete, Hen. Warley, ald.; 13 in Billingsgate, Ro. Aldernes, ald.; 3 in Farringdon Without, Tho. Seymer, ald.; 2 in Castle Baynard, Jo. Thurston, ald.

Pp. 2, large paper.

R. O.

4. Certificate made by Sir Henry Wyatt and Sir John Daunce "of such vacabunds and mysdemaneerd persones as they have made search for." Sunday, 17 July 11 Hen. VIII., and attached according to the Cardinal's order.

In Holborne, in the house of Wm. Salcoke, at the sign of the George. One Christopher a Tyllsley lay there two nights passed. Has no master, and is committed to Newgate.

In Seynt Gylys in the Felde, in the house of Ric. Foteman; Geo. Chillyngworth lay there for a week. Has no service. Is committed to the constable's ward, not Newgate, as Foteman is surety for him, and says he is a true man, and is trying to get into service in London.—In the house of Christopher Arundell, one Robert Bayly. Has no master, and is committed to Newgate. Says he is waiting to have attachment sealed out of Chancery at the suit of a kinswoman of his.

In Padyngton, in the house of Thos. Colts, John Clare, tailor, John Thomas, servant to Harrison, farmer of the abbot of Westminster, William, Harrison's son, and Wm. Rede, wheeler, played all night till 4 o'clock at tables, and are committed to the constables' ward, as Robt. Lewes, an honest man, undertakes to bring them tomorrow before the Cardinal.

In Kentysh towne, —.

Pp. 2. Headed: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

R. O.

5. List of those taken in the parishes of St. Margaret and St. George, Southwark, within the liberty of the archbishop of Canterbury, 17 July 11 Hen. VIII., 22 in all, including seven Frenchmen taken in the Spittle at a Frenchman's house called John Drokes; others taken in the street and in the houses of Kechyns the King's servant, Jo. Howell, &c., in Blewemedeale, and in Kentish Street.

ii. Persons taken in the parish of St. Woloff's, within the same liberty, same day, 10; names mostly German.

iii. Persons taken at the stewhouses within the liberty of the bishop of Winchester, same day; 54 men and women, including Jo. Willyams, footman to the King, at the signs of the Castle, the Bull, the Hart, the "Olyfant," the Unicorn, the Bear's Head, and other houses designated by their owners' names.

iv. Persons taken within "Gilde alle" in Southwark, same day, 17; viz., in the street and in the houses of Grene, John Hamond, Hans Gascoigne, Ric. Machyn. In the latter was found Will. Borage, yeoman of the guard, who was commanded by the watch to appear before the King's council on Tuesday next.

v. Persons taken within the liberty of my lord of Barmsey, same day, 6; viz., David Glynne, scholar, the King's servant, and another in Thomas Haw's house; the others at the houses of Wilson, Joan Reynolds, and Katharine Thomas.

R. O.

6. Persons taken in suspicious houses by the constables of St. John's Street, Tirmyl Street, Cow Cross, Charterhouse Lane 11, and Islington 2, on Sunday night, 17 July 11 Hen. VIII.

R. O.

7. Persons taken on Sunday night, 18 July (*sic*), in Newenton and Hackney, by Sir John Heron, 2.

1519.

SEARCH FOR SUSPECTED PERSONS—*cont.*

- R. O. 8. Persons taken in Ratcliff, 23 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII., in houses suspected, 3; in Poplar, by Sir Jo. Nevill, 2 women with evil rule.
Endd.: The certificate of my lord Darcie.
- R. O. 9. Persons taken at the privy search in the city of London, and the suburbs of the same, on Sunday, 23 Oct. last, 53.
- R. O. 10. Persons taken by Sir Andrew Windsor on Sunday, 5 Nov., in Westminster and Tothill Street, 3; viz. Anne Sowthewyk, late dwelling within the bars of Westminster, taken in the Rose tavern at Westminster, where she had been from All-Solen day, "and no other matter can be proved in her;" Eliz. Hammonde, taken at the buckler-maker's house in Tothill Street, who says she was had thither by Jo. Thomas dwelling in Brondwoode, who got her with child; and Davy Ellys, taken in Roger Morgan's house, buckler-maker in Tothill, Street "servant to Anthony Knyvett, as he saith, and has of him his finding by every day, 4*d.*; and his master lies at Fanchyrche, and he lies at Westminster, which so saying cannot be thought to be of truth."
Endd.
- R. O. 11. "Names of such persons as were taken Sunday at night, by Sir Will. Fitzwilliam, treasurer with my lord Cardinal, in the King's Street at Westminster;" viz., John Apprice, "the King's servant as he saith;" Davy Flowed, "servant to Sir Edw. Gilford, as he sayth," and two men professing to be servants of Sir Will. and Lewis Gryffith, who "lay in Lewis Gryffith's chamber in a bed next to him and to his wife in a poor house; and in another house under that, two women, an old drab and a young wench, upon a sheet cast upon the ground, which young woman was sent to the Gate House with the foresaid three men;" Faux Vyncent, stranger, and Betres Lewys his bedfellow, both to the Gate House; and five others, including Philip Umfrey, "servant to the King, as he saith, taken in a house by himself in a chamber, and a woman in a chamber underneath, without shutting of doors."
- R. O. 12. Names of persons taken in Hackney, Stoke Newington and Kingsland; *sc.*, Hugh Lewys and Alice Ball "taken in bed together, not being man and wife; other suspicions we know not;" John à Park, brewer, and Agnes Cotes, taken in like manner; Will. May, "taken because he had no master, nother whe culd not know how he lyvyd."
- R. O. 13. "Return of Thos. Fenys, knt., lord Dacre, Sir Edw. Ferys and Rob. Hooganne, upon a billet received from my lord Cardinal's grace for the search of Lambeth and Lambeth Marsh:"—2 persons taken on suspicion and delivered to Morys Goodery, constable of Lambeth Marsh, to be brought today before my lord Cardinal.
- R. O. 14. "At Knightsbridge, Kensington and Hammersmith, there was nobody lodged but workmen, laborers, mowers, haymakers, makers of tile and brick, and none lodged in suspicious houses." At Chelsea, John Golde, servant to Leonard Rede, of the Inner Temple; John Blake, sumtymes servant to Sir Thomas Alayne, steward with my lord of Sherusbery and now to Dr. Barrewyk, chaplain unto my lord Cardinal. Both committed to the Gate House, Westminster.
P. 1. Endd.: "John Meawtys."
- R. O. 15. "The certificate of Master Meawtes."
At Kensington, four countrymen, at the sign of the Katharine; two young men that brought two oxen for Wolsey, at the White Hart; at the Plough, two carters; at John Hawkyn's house, parish clerk, "two young

1519.

men that wrought all last summer in the tile house of the West town ; and one of them is asked thrice in the church with a maiden of the said parish, and no suspicious persons."

At Knightsbridge, a tailor at Edw. Fyman's house ; an old man, at the sign of the Rose ; at Williamson's house, four men of the West country, who have a suit in the Whitehall before the dean of the chapel.

At Chelsen, nobody lodged but two servants of my lord Steward sent to clean the place, and in a barn a beggar and his wife.

At Hammersmith, no strangers except carriers.

P. 1. *Endd.*

R. O. 16. "The certificate of the search made at Stepneth and Radelyff by the lord Fitzwauter."

Victualling houses :—1. Rob. Cowper, constable. 2. Rob. Duckett had lodged in his house two mariners of a ship called *The Christ*, Wm. Honnyngs, owner. 3. John à Fower lodged a sawyer. 4. Laurence Stychet lodged Thos. Cheno, dwelling at Stansted Abbot. 5. At the sign of the George, three mariners of *The Christ*, and Ric. Ynge, steward of Master Skevyngton's house. 6. John Hall lodged a priest. Nine other victuallers are named, without any mention of lodgers.

P. 1. *Endd.*

R. O. 17. "The serge keping :"—A list of 22 names, with the account each gave who was his master.

R. O. 18. A list similar to the last, with names of six persons in the Gatehouse and 17 in the "Chevinghouse."

Endd. : "The Sanctuary in Westminster, Sir T. Nevile."

R. O. 19. Names of those deputed to examine the persons taken in the different districts, viz. :—

In Southwark : Sir Edw. Belknap, Sir Jo. Husy, Sir Wistan Broune and Sir Will. Fitzwilliam, jun.

In London : The mayor and his brethren.

St. Katharine's, East Smithfield and Whitechapel : Sir Jo. Daunce, Sir Jo. Cutte, Sir Ric. Cholmeley.

Holborn, Paddington, &c. : Sir Hen. Wiatte, Sir Jo. Cutte.

St. Martin's, Westminster, and from Charing Cross to Temple Bar : The abbot of Westminster, Sir Rob. Drury, Sir Maurice Berkeley and Sir Rob. Constable.

8 July. 366. For JOHN VEYSEY, dean of the Chapel Royal.

Grant of the custody of the temporalities of the bishopric of Exeter in the King's hand by the death of Hugh, late Bishop. Westm., 8 July.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 5.

8 July. 367. For ANNE BROKE, widow, and HENRY NORREYS.

S. B.

Lease of the site of the manor of and lands in Swyncombe, and of lands called Heydon Grounde, parcel of the lordship of Ewelme, Oxon., lately belonging to the earl of Suffolk, at the annual rent of 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *Del.* Westm., 8 July 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 22.

9 July. 368. MORE to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.
269.

St. P. 1. 7.

The King is satisfied with the order taken about Hesdin, and is glad of the proposal of Chievres for marriage of his niece with the earl of Devonshire. He had distrusted the cardinal of Sion before. Oking, Saturday, July 9.

Hol.

1519.

369. DE HESDIN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Asks him to pardon those who have insulted him, as he would be sorry that any English subject should suffer on his account. London, Saturday, 6 o'clock p.m. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A., &c. le cardinal d'Orceq.

9 July.

370. GIUSTINIAN, &c. to the DOGE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 281.

Wrote last on the 30th by John Gobbo. On the 6th received summaries of Turkish news. Went first to Wolsey. Cannot visit the King, who is sporting forty miles hence. Have visited Campeggio, who returned their compliments, alluding to the devotion of his father (Giovanni Campeggio) to the signory, and to the learning he had acquired under its shadow. Visited the dukes of Buckingham and Norfolk. London, 9 July 1519.

9 July.

371. GIUSTINIAN, &c. to the DOGE.

Giust. Desp.
II. 283.

Through lady Margaret's ambassador here news has been received of the King Catholic's election. Some hoped the choice might have fallen on a German candidate. The French ambassador has taken the news much to heart, and told Surian it was more necessary than ever to keep the king of England in friendship with France, but that he was not sure of him, because of the hostility of the English towards the French, the Queen's being a Spaniard, and the discord incessantly sown by lady Margaret. He is apprehensive that some movement will be made in Flanders against his king, with aid from England; although the cardinal of York appears to favor France, and dislike this election.

On the evening before last, lady Margaret's envoy, "having made preparation for bonfires, illuminations and other marks of rejoicing for the election of the new emperor, was hindered by the city authorities, which has caused much dissatisfaction." The ambassador complained of this to Wolsey, and publicly to the council, who laid the blame on the mayor and corporation. Certain officials are in the Tower, and it was said they intended "to hang them by the neck as a warning to others." London, 9 July 1519.

9 July.

372. For ARTHUR POOLE, squire of the Body.

S. B.

Annuity of 50 marks. *Del.* Westm., 9 July 11 Hen. VIII.
Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 15.

10 July.

373. DACRE to QUEEN MARGARET.

Calig. B. II.
194.

B. M.

"Copy of the lord Dacre letter unto the queen of Scots."

Reminds her that, at her last being with the King her brother, she made urgent request to him and the council for the recovery of her authority, according to the will of her late husband; desiring that endeavors should be made that Albany might be sent to France, for the security of herself and her son, seeing that his father had usurped for a time the crown of Scotland, and had called his elder brother a bastard; and considering the suspicions touching the death of her son the prince, and Albany's inconstant dealing and "brutal oaths and promises made of and for your (Margaret's) causes," both before her coming to England and after her return, that she should be obeyed, and have her conjunct feoffment and jewels. On this account it was provided in the treaty with France that the Duke should not return to Scotland; nevertheless, the King understands she herself has written to the French king for his return. Desires to know if it be true, that he may certify his highness. If she has done so, he will "take less aspect" to her causes, and be less cordial. Hopes she will deny it under her own hand by the bearer, or state why she set her hand and seal to that letter written in French. Nawarde, 10 July.

Copy, by Dacre, pp. 2.

1519.

- 11 July. **374.** For JOHN THE PRIOR and the MONKS OF THE CARTHUSIAN HOUSE OF JESUS OF BETHLEHEM.

Licence to alienate to the abbess and (Augustinian) convent of St. Saviour and SS. Mary and Bridget of Sion, the manors of Osterley and Wyke, and the advowson of a chantry of two chaplains in the chapel near Braynfordbrigge (Brentford Bridge), and lands in Heston, Istelworth and Norwood, Midd., of the annual value of 15*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and held of the said abbess as of her manor of Istelworth, as appears by an inquisition taken before Roger Harlakenden, escheator. This patent is granted in pursuance of charter 24 March 5 Edw. IV., licensing the convent to acquire lands. Westm., 11 July.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 10.

- 12 July. **375.** DEPREDACTIONS AT SEA.

Writs to the sheriffs of London to make proclamation that any English merchants despoiled by Guyllam de la Fountain in Sept. and Oct. last must bring their proofs (as to value, &c.) before the lord Cardinal or the Master of the Rolls and Christopher Middilton, deputies of the said Cardinal, before 1 Nov. next; of which proofs certificate will be made to the French king, who has consented to make restitution.

Similar writs for the towns of Bristol, Kyngeston-on-Hull, Southampton, the counties of Beds and Bucks, Cambridge and Hunts, Notts and Derby, Oxon. and Berks, Warwick and Leicester, Somerset and Dorset, Norfolk and Suffolk, Surrey and Sussex, Essex and Herts, Gloucester, Hants, Stafford, Lincoln, Salop, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, York, Worcester, Hereford, Wilts, Cornwall, Devon, and Northampton, and the Cinque Ports. Westm., 12 July.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9d.

- 12 July. **376.** NICOLAS M[EDCALFE] to HENRY GOLDE.

R. O.

Thanks him for his services. Is so busy that he cannot leave London. Begs him to request the bishop of Lincoln to let them have the impropriation of the parsonage, and to "suffer the ordination of the vicarage be unlemett, if it be my lord's pleasure," till Nicolas can attend on the Bishop. The Bishop's indemnity of the cathedral church is expressed in these writings. The Archdeacon has always been content with such indemnity as other archdeacons have had. Asks him to send the most fit man for the matter if he cannot help him himself. London, 12 July.

As the dean of Lincoln is favorable to them, wishes him to ask first for the impropriation of the parsonage. The matter of the vicarage can wait. As to the indemnities, hopes "his lordship will not pass for distribution more than 12*d.* yearly, considering our nowmer of poor scholars." Encloses the impropriation of the benefice, and a copy of the ordination of the vicarage.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To Master Henry Golde, St. John's Coll., Cambridge.

- 12 July. **377.** DE HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v.

272.

B. M.

Sent twice yesterday to know if the letters intended for the King and my Lady were ready touching the intended interview with Francis. Wolsey can see the letters Hesdin has written if he likes, as they are not yet closed. He is sending an account of the great triumph and rejoicing made by the King on hearing of the election. London, 12 July 1519. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: Mons. le card. dYorek.

1519.

13 July. 378. ——— to ———.

Calig. D. vii.

141.

B. M.

* * * * * † "le Roy seroit empereur
 . . . [pre]mière deffaicte que on debvoit faire deffa
 doubt[e] qil nen amenge a lopposite on nous trop."

. told the King that the lords of Nassau, Liege and la Marche
 "lont faict [p]rescher en ces Allemaignez de sa vie et gouvernement, et
 Dieu scait la tristesse que nous en avons." Great fear is entertained of
 these English, who would do well, as the writer has always said, to retain
 their alliance with the Flemings and Spaniards, notwithstanding the efforts
 made to disjoin them.

Thinks "our" fleet must change its destination, although they are
 victualled and ready to depart. It is necessary to send to Milan, because,
 if the King be opposed with a little firmness, the whole kingdom is lost
 to him.‡ The "gendarmerie" there is not worth a "bouton de haye;" it is
 all swagger, pillage and blasphemy.

The King will bring the ladies back to Blois to pass their mourning.
 Thence he will go to Picardy. He is sending everywhere "pour adoucir
 les gens, mais chacun est tout burle de son affaire, [est]at et gouverne-
 ment," [and all think] that he cannot be kind to foreigners, who has destroyed
 his own people. Has always said that he would never attain the empire.
 The King is very rash to undertake what no French king has done before,
 since the empire was transferred to the Germans. He has thus emptied his
 kingdom of money, and the Emperor or some other will soon have a
 cheap bargain of the kingdom; for he is more unsteady on his throne than
 people think. 13 July.

[Three lines here have been scored out with modern ink so as to be
 quite unintelligible.]

" ung ambassadeur qui demande la duche de Bour-
 gogne Je crois qu'il l'aura en la fin bien aisement, ve . .
 * * * * * [s]y elle ne valait rien."

[Again a passage cancelled in modern ink, quite illegible.]

Fr., pp. 2, mutilated.

13 July. 379. DEPREDATIONS AT SEA.

Harl. MS.

36. f. 19.

B. M.

Inspeximus and exemplification, at the request of Rob. Draper and
 other merchants of London, of certain clauses in a late treaty with the
 king of the Romans for securing to English merchants the liberty of trading
 without safeconducts. London, 13 July 11 Hen. VIII.

Modern copy, in English, pp. 3.

14 July. 380. UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Fiddes, C.p. 39.

Highly commend his administration of justice, and his boldness in
 suffering none to transgress the laws, however exalted their position. Nor
 is the Cardinal less admirable for his temperance in the midst of those
 luxuries to which wealth and high rank are exposed. Their students are
 much profited by the lectures he has founded at their university; and they
 learn, with great satisfaction, from his chaplain and commissary, that he
 has procured from Spain a most able reader in rhetoric.§ Request him to
 bear in mind the expediting of their statutes, their privileges, and water
 obstructions. Oxford, pridie idus Julii 1519.

† Some lines lost.

‡ car il aura la descharge en effet ce (si) on pousse quelque peu firme contre le Roy tout
 le royaume est perdu.

§ Lud. Vives.

1519.

14 July. 381. QUEEN MARGARET to DACRE.

Calig. B. II.

195.

B. M.

Ellis, 2 Ser.

I. 276.

Has received his letter by John Sympson his servant. When she desired the removal of Albany she had trusted the lords would have agreed, and let her enjoy her own in peace, according to their own writings and seals; but she is none the better. Was never so evil answered of her lands as since her last coming to Scotland, as she has often written to the King and Cardinal, but got no remedy. Wrote to Dacre himself, that, without help, she should be obliged to do as the Duke and lords would have her. There was a letter in French, written by desire of the Duke and lords, which she could not withstand, for they said it was for the weal of the King and his realm. "My lord, I pray you remember that and ze var in a nothar rawlme vhare ze schuld lyf your lyfe" he would have to do as he could. Had she refused, it would have been the worse for her. The King in his last letter enjoined her to do nothing that might give the lords cause of complaint. When she last wrote to Dacre, was on the point of pawning her jewels. But for Rob. Barton, she had been shamed, not being able to pay her household expenses, and "I am as sobar as can be." Feels Henry's unkindness more than anything. Perceives she will get nothing but fair words from any quarter. Edinburgh, 14 July.

Hol., pp. 2. Add.: "To my lord Dacre."

15 July. 382. ERASMUS to LEE.

Er. Ep.

xvii. 1.

Complains that from a friend he has suddenly changed to being his enemy;—wrote an unfavorable critique on the first edition of the New Testament when he knew Erasmus was preparing a new one:—dispersed it in monasteries, and among those who were unfavorable to Erasmus;—would never let Erasmus see a copy of it, and communicate his objections. "Had you published your work at once, all men would have admired the prodigious felicity of your genius, you who in a few months have devoured so much Greek and Hebrew that, in your opinion, Erasmus knows no more of Greek than Jerome does of Hebrew. They say that, after you had dabbled in Hebrew three days, you condemned many things in Capnio, and some things in Capito. Possibly the Pope, out of admiration for such a fine genius, will resign the sceptre to you, and make you censor of all the world, that nothing shall come abroad without Lee's *imprimatur*." Banters Lee on being a young man stimulated by a hunger for renown, anxious for the reputation of a theologian, and a would-be saint (*sanctulus haberi*). Though some foolish men applaud his proceedings, posterity will condemn him. Threatens Lee with the vengeance of the Germans. "Vides quibus libellis confodiant eos a quibus sunt lacesiti." Louvain, id. Julii 1519.

15 July. 383. GIUSTINIAN, &c. to the DOGE.

Giust. Desp.

II. 286.

Last Saturday, the King being absent, the cardinal of York and the lords invited them to assist next day at the ceremony in the cathedral church, for the election of the new king of the Romans. Were "taken as usual by two leading cavaliers of the royal bedchamber" to the church, where they found Wolsey and Campeggio, the Catholic King's ambassador, and all the chief lords. The French ambassador did not attend, saying he had received no advice from his king. *Te Deum* was chanted, after which Wolsey gave the benediction. Last of all two heralds proclaimed the unanimous election of the Catholic King. Campeggio assured the writers that the refusal of the French ambassador to assist at the ceremony has offended many. When they were visiting the duke of Buckingham, the ambassador from the King Catholic appeared, and thanked them for their presence on the occasion, of which he had written to his King and lady Margaret. London, 15 July 1519.

1519.

15 July. 384. GIUSTINIAN, &c. to the DOGE.

Giust. Desp.
ii. 287.

Dined yesterday with Campeggio, who said that the Electors had decided upon thirty clauses to be adhered to by the new Emperor. Three of the clauses bind the Emperor to fix his residence in Germany, not to undertake any expedition without the consent of the Electors, and to exclude from his council the ministers of Maximilian. The third clause, Campeggio said, was inserted for the purpose of ousting cardinal Gurk. He alluded to the youth and delicate health of the Catholic King, "owing to which he was fitter to be governed than to govern," and said that the government was in the hands of lord Chievres, who is in the French interests. He thought no expedition would emanate from "his lordship," as the Catholic King was straitened for money, and was new to his Spanish subjects, whose allegiance was not yet established; and he "had expended much on this election, and given heavy security for the money." He said also that the new Emperor would receive no aid from England, as the King and ministry desire peace, and will not infringe the new league with France, strengthened as it is by the betrothal; for "this country had been sated by the war waged of late years with France." On their hinting at the subsidy, which it is rumored will be sent privily to Flanders against France, he declared his opinion that nothing of the sort would be done, the suspicion proceeding from the French ambassador here. London, 15 July 1519.

15 July. 385. [SPINELLY] to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. i. 285.

B. M.

Wrote at length on the 28th ult. and 6th inst. Waits for an answer concerning the alliance with the marquis Dariscote. The Catholico has today, the 14th, received the decree of the election according to the ancient custom, and on Sunday next high mass will be celebrated in the cathedral church by the cardinal of Tortosa. The lady Margaret writes of Hesdin's kind reception by the King and Wolsey, and the great offers made to him for the election of the King Catholic. All here are pleased to hear of it, and of the King's perseverance in preserving the general peace, to which the Catholico has no less mind. The French ambassador came to the court two days after the news of the election, with a sober countenance, saying "he made not his duty" before, as he had no such tidings from his master. When the Catholico's ambassador in France went with the news to the lady of Angoulême, the King being out of Paris, she dissembled, saying that, after her son, she was more pleased to see the Catholico successful than any other prince living; "howbeit, whatsoever they say, they think all the contrary." By the decree of the election the Catholico may not take the name of King of the Romans, nor use any prerogative thereto belonging, before his coronation; so he and all the Flemings will probably return by sea early next summer, and land in England, as the marquis of Mariscote says. The King's council propose to marry the King to the daughter of Portugal "before the going," and leave her regent. The alliance will probably take effect, as the Spaniards will be pleased with it, and it will bring much money into the country; but the Marquis says no resolution will be taken without the advice of the King and Wolsey. "The ambassador of Portingale, saith the said Marquis, is a cold merchant, and that he perceiveth the flesh needeth of a good sauce." "The second mean of the governance is the coming of the lady Margaret." She has no mind to come, but will be content to be ruled. The cardinal of Toledo will also come, as, by reason of his temporalities, he has much power in Castile. Several of the Spanish lords or their heirs will go with the King. Hears from Almain that the Pope has favored the election of the Catholico, with revocation of the previous inhibition made unto the Electors, who thank Henry for the conduct of his ambassadors. Has heard several particulars, but supposes her secretary's relation will be more perfect. Has not discovered the conditions and rewards offered to the

1519.

Electors, but the Chancellor says the King's sister will not marry the marquis Joachim's son. The cardinal Maguntinensis and Palatinus have served the Catholico more sincerely than the others. The Electors will not grant safeconduct to the French ambassadors without the consent of the Catholico's ambassadors.

Spoke this day, the 15th, with the marquis of Maristote, who says he has heard from their ambassadors in France, that Mons. de la Roche has received the King's writings, with an answer to his overture for the new meeting. The French king has written congratulatory letters "to his master, concerning principally the effect of the words used for the same his mother," and that he believes the Catholico will keep the amity better than his grandfather. They will not write to Hesding to thank Henry for his good will, but will wait the coming of the bishop of Elna. The Marquis told Spinelly, as a secret, that a packet of letters from the French ambassadors in Almayne to the French king had come to their hands, by which they perceived many things, "and how the admiral of France wrote and made answer that he thought none other always, except that promises of the Englishmen for to give men and money to the said French king should come to nought, as they have done; and that, by his opinion, if gold did rain in England, a piece would not be given to them to set upon a bonnet." It was thought in France that Henry's ambassador would advance their affairs, but the Admiral thinks he has done the contrary. It also appears by the said packet that the marquis Joachim has received 50,000 cr. g.; that some of the gentlemen of the bishop of Treves took money without his knowledge, and that the Frenchmen had with them 400,000 cr. He has heard no more, as the Duke of Cardona interrupted his conversation with the Marquis.

The lord Chievres, marquis of Ariscot, has bought a lordship in France from the queen of Arragon for 45,000 crowns of gold, which, with 10,000 more he gives to an uncle of the lord of Vendôme, in payment for the barony of Losa in Hainault. The governor of Bresse has leave to go home for three months to his wife and lands. Prospero Colonna has freighted a carrack of Genoa to go to Naples, and will leave in fifteen days. The King has increased his navy to 14,000 men, of which 2,000 are horse, and are almost ready to go to Africa. Lord Fiennes' eyes are little or no better. Count Egmont tomorrow sends the post into Flanders. Barcelona, 15 July 1519.

Hol., principally cipher, pp. 10.

R. O.

2. Decipher of the above by Tuke. *Pp. 4.*

386. [WOLSEY] to [SPINELLY].

Vit. B. xx.

181*.

B. M.

"And whereas ye further write of an overture to you made" by Chievres for the marriage of his niece with the earl of Devonshire, a near kinsman of the King's, Wolsey has communicated it to Henry, who heartily thanks Chievres and the King Catholic, considering it a manifest token of their desire to maintain the amity. Nevertheless, before coming to any conclusion, [Spinelly] is to find out secretly for what reason Chievres makes the proposal; whether he looks to any chance of the Earl's succession to the crown of England; what dote he means to give his niece, and what jointure or dower of lands he [expects] for her, "which cannot be great, remembering the Earl's mother knowledge whereof a commission"

Fragment of a draft in Ruthal's hand, half a page, pasted below a similar fragment of different date.

15 July. 387. [A. DE LIGNE] to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.
142.

Has written to him by his maistre [d'hôtel], expressing his willingness to do him service. The King has been displeased with him for his

1519.

A. DE L[IGNE] to WOLSEY—*cont.*

B. M.

conduct relative to the surrender of Mortaigne. Does not know what account may have been given of it, but if he has done wrong will submit to be punished. Does not regret the loss of the territory, but of the King's [favor]. Begs Wolsey to [intercede for him]. "D[e mon chateau de] Ligna," 15 July 1519.

Add.: [A] tres reverendt pere en Dieu [et mo]ns. mons. le cardinal Diorecq.

16 July.

388.

A. DE L[IGNE] to ———.

R. O.

Wishes to know how he shall conduct himself for his voyage to Jerusalem, which he has much at heart. "Et de estre debouté de la maison de Bourgoingne par mes parens, mes mal veullans, et pour le service que jay fait à la couronne d'Angleterre, fault que je parte, car plus ne scaroye veoir les tours que l'on me fait." If he can serve him by carrying out Briart's propositions, will do so, and will be glad to do anything he orders. Will send him men of all the sorts he has asked for, and half a dozen horses, if he wishes. Desires to have news and orders as soon as possible. Ligne, 16 July 1519. "V're treshumble et obeysant cousin et serviteur par tout. A. de L."

Copy, Fr., p. 1.

19 July.

389.

EXCHEQUER EXPENSES.

R. O.

Easter term, 11 Hen. VIII. Account of the bags and paper supplied to Mr. Jenyns, Mr. Treasurer's servant, Mr. Hasywod, Mr. Everard, Mr. Foulter, Mr. Danyell, Sir John Dauncey, Mr. Wodwall and Henry Pemyrton. Total: bags, 18 doz. and 9, at 2s. the doz.; paper, 1 ream 3 qu., at 3s. 4d. a ream.

Rushes, 6s. 8d. White thread, 2d. Small needles, 1d. To Mr. Danyell, a purse with counters, 7d.

Trinity Term, 11 Hen. VIII. Bags, 8 doz. and 11. Paper, 1 ream 5 qu. Mr. Compton's fee for the half year ending 19 July 11 Hen. VIII., 100s. A groom's fee, 40s. Diets for him and the groom for the vacations, from 26 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. to 19 July 11 Hen. VIII., 2d. a day. For himself and groom, officers, ushers in the receipt during term for the time abovesaid, 66 days, at 3d. a day. Wages of 2 grooms under Mr. Compton, 13s. 4d. Rushes, 6s. 8d. Bearing the keys in and out of the Treasury, 18d. Necessaries for the court, 13s. 6d. Total, 13l. 12s. 3d.

White thread, 2d. Needles, 1d. Mending Mr. Treasurer's coffer, 1d. To Mr. Fulwod, monk of Westminster Abbey, for a key to the Treasury door, mending the hinges, &c., 10s. To Henry Pemyrton, a purse with counters, 7½d. To Mr. Wodwall, for a long board that lieth upon the great board, to write on, 20d. Total, 12s. 7½d.

Pp. 12.

20 July.

390.

SIR JOHN PECCHE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Sends writings received from the King's spy out of France. Has now paid him the second time at the rate of 14 crowns per month by Wingfield's order. Desires licence to come over on the return of Mr. Treasurer. Calais, 20 July.

P.S.—When the Treasurer returns will be glad to have a letter from Wolsey, stating to whom he is to deliver the keys at his departure. In the Deputy's absence it is usual to deliver them to the High Marshal.

21 July.

391.

GIUSTINIAN, &c. to the DOGE.

Giust. Dep.
ii. 291.

"The quantity of business on hand" prevented Wolsey from receiving them till yesterday, when he delivered the royal letters to Giust.

1519.

tinian, promising to support Venice, "and to keep this King her friend." Between the princes of Christendom, he said, "he had toiled to contract peace and confederacy, which he meant moreover to maintain; and although a certain Power took the election of this new Emperor amiss, yet had he so contrived hitherto that this very sovereign feigned satisfaction, dissembling all regret on this account;" so that no war would arise, as this King was bound to support the party which should be attacked. Assured the Cardinal that, though the Doge temporises with sultan Selim, the signory would do its duty, were the Christian powers united, and ready for an expedition. Wolsey "blamed the Pope for hastening this undertaking, without considering that, in consequence of the past wars, all the Christian powers were drained of treasure." "He was endeavoring that his majesty might add as much as possible to the treasures inherited from his father." As Giustinian was taking leave, he induced the Cardinal to repeat his resolve concerning the customs on the wines of Candia. London, 21 July 1519.

22 July.

392.

PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Arrived today, and will wait here for further orders. Between Colen and Brabant, the bishop of Liege, the count of Nassau and himself were in great danger from an army of 8,000 footmen passing continually by them within half a Dutch mile. Avoided them by the help of the duke of Juliers, and by riding from morning till night for two days. The said army is of picked men, and by this time is in Gelderland. No one knows their purpose, but the people here are in great fear of them. They have no money with them but crowns. Nassau made Pace very great cheer in his town of Dist, and showed him that he would be the King's faithful servant in all things treated between the Emperor elected and Henry. There are letters from Spain saying that the Pope is in such manner agreed with the Emperor "that he intends utterly to forsake all French practices." This is likely to be true, as Spain has obtained the empire.

The archbishop of Trevers has conducted the Admiral and other French ambassadors out of Almain in safety. The last courier sent to them was intercepted by an Almain earl, and a letter was found containing the French king's intents in case he had been elected Emperor, which were these:—First, to gather by violence as much money as possible, by the aid of the marquis of Brandenburg, and the duke of Wertenburg, whom he would have restored to his lands, contrary to the law of the nation; and, secondly, he would have subdued all Italy, and done as he pleased with the rest of Christendom; "as the said letters did specify, *sed Deus aliter providit*." Andwarp, 22 July.

Hol., pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Card.'s grace and legate in England.

393.

BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

Mart. Amp.
Coll. iii. 1301.

Received his letters on the 20th, dated the 1st, and immediately visited the Pope, complaining of the election of the king of the Romans, and stating Wolsey's efforts to remove from the mind of his master the dissatisfaction he felt at the Pope's conduct. The Pope was much astonished and grieved that his conduct had been so misrepresented to the King; as he had acted throughout with good faith and honesty, and a total disregard to his own peculiar interests. The Pope's conduct throughout to the late Emperor and the Catholic King, the difficulties which he threw in the way of the election of the latter, whose overgrown power is perilous to the Church, the oath demanded from Charles as king of Naples never to aspire to the empire, were topics urged by the Pope in justification of his sincerity, which Worcester fully believes. Moreover, when Maximilian died, the Pope said he employed every device to prevent the Emperor's election, and divert the Electors from their favor to Charles; and notified the same by Campeggio and Worcester to Wolsey and the King, whom he would

1519.

BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY—*cont.*

gladly have seen advanced to the empire ; and he saw with great regret that Henry gave no attention to a project which would have made him a near instead of a distant neighbor of the papal states. He had supported the claims of Francis as the only effectual check to those of Charles, and in the hopes that by so doing the election would fall on a third person. Afterwards Wolsey and the King had despatched Pace to Germany ; and the success of Charles, as the Pope was informed, crushed all the papal projects. Neither from Pace nor any other did his Holiness ever receive a line how he could advance the King's interests, or requesting delay in the time of the election, which he would have done gladly for the King's sake, had he been desired. With the King Catholic the Pope has formed no affinity nor contracted any intimacy before or since the election ; but when he had heard from the nuntio Carracioli that four of the Electors remained firm to the claims of Charles, and wished to proclaim his election within two or three days, then it was signified to the Electors, if their minds were made up, that they might proceed to the election without regard to the Pope (*absque sanctitatis intuitu*) ; and this was the only favor Leo had done them. In consideration of which, the Pope hopes to find the King and Wolsey attached sons of the Holy See as heretofore.

23 July. 394. ERASMUS to HUTTEN.

Er. Ep.
x. 20.

More is greatly delighted with Hutten's writings ; and, at Hutten's request, difficult as the task is, and impossible to execute exactly, Erasmus sends him the following description. More is somewhat below the middle height, but perfectly symmetrical in all his limbs ; of a fair complexion ; face inclined rather to fairness than pallor, with very little red, except a slight bloom ; hair inclining to black or dark brown ; thin beard ; gray eyes covered with specks, which, as a mark of genius, is much admired in England, and indicates a generous nature. His inside corresponds to his out. He has a pleasant smiling look ; and, to tell you the truth, is more inclined to pleasantry than gravity ; though he is entirely free from buffoonery. His right shoulder is a little higher than his left, especially when he walks—not a natural defect, but an acquired ill habit. As compared with the rest of his person his hands are a little clumsy. He has always been careless of his dress. Erasmus became acquainted with him when he was twenty-three ; he is now a little past forty ; and Hutten may guess from this description how handsome More was in his youth. He has good health, but not robust, and is likely to live long, as his father is a very hale old man. He is indifferent in the choice of his food ; generally drinks water, and sometimes, to please others, beer, little better than water, out of a tin cup. As it is the fashion to drink healths in England, More has learnt to pledge his guests *summo ore*. His favorite diet is beef, salt meats and coarse brown bread well fermented ; he prefers milk and vegetable diet, and is fond of eggs. His voice is penetrating and clear, but not musical, although he is fond of music ; his speech plain and distinct. He wears no silk, purple, or gold chains, except when he cannot avoid it ; and dislikes all ceremony. At first he was disinclined to a court life through hatred of tyranny and love for equality, and could not be induced to take service at court except after great solicitation from Henry VIII. He likes liberty and ease, but no one is more active or more patient than he when occasion requires it. He is friendly, accessible and fond of conversation ; hating tennis, dice and similar games. He is very much given to jesting ; wrote and acted little comedies when a lad, and loves a jest even when made at his own expence. It was he who induced Erasmus to write his *Praise of Folly*. He is equally at home with the wise and the foolish ; and in female society is full of his jokes. No one is less led by the judgment of the vulgar, and yet no man has more common sense. His chief pleasure is in

1519.

watching animals: he has a variety of them; for instance, an ape, a fox, a ferret, &c. Any rarity or exotic he purchases readily, and his house is well furnished with curiosities. He has always been fond of female society and female friendships. As a young man he devoted himself to Greek, for which he was nearly disinherited by his father, who wished to bring him up to the law—a profession which above all others in England leads to honor and emolument, but requires many years of hard study. He lectured on St. Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, and was fitting himself by a course of study and seclusion for the priesthood; but as he could not give up his wish for a married life, he abandoned this design. He married a very young girl, of good family, quite uneducated, as she had been brought up entirely in the country; had her instructed; made her an accomplished musician; when he unfortunately lost her, after she had given birth to three daughters, Margaret, Louisa and Cicely, and a son named John, and some other children. Unable to live alone, he married a widow some months after, neither young nor handsome (*nec bella, nec puella*, as he himself is fond of saying), but a good housekeeper, to look after his family; with whom, however, he lives on very amicable terms. Nothing can show his influence over her more completely than that, though she is advanced in life and is very attentive to housekeeping, More prevailed upon her to learn various musical instruments. He manages his whole household in the same admirable way: there is no noise or contention; no vice, no bad repute; and, perhaps, no family can be found where father and stepmother and son live together on such excellent terms. Moreover, his father has just married a third wife, and More swears he has never seen a better one. When he lived entirely by his profession, he gave every man true and faithful advice, urging them to make up their differences, though it was contrary to his own interest. When that was not possible, as some persons take pleasure in litigation, he showed them how to proceed at the smallest cost. He was for some time a judge for civil suits in London,—an easy and an honorable post, as he sits only on Thursday till dinner time. Gives an account of how well More behaved in this post, and his resolution to remain in it, until he was sent on various embassies by Henry VIII., who takes great pleasure in his company and conversation. With all this favor he is neither proud nor boastful, nor forgetful of his friends, but always obliging and charitable. Gives an account of More's early studies and writings. He wrote his *Utopia* to show the perils to which governments are exposed, but he especially aimed at his own country. The second book was written first. He is a good *ex tempore* speaker; has a ready wit and a well stored memory, so that he speaks without hesitation. Colet was accustomed to say of him, that "he was the only genius in England." In his devotions he prays *ex tempore*, and he talks with his friends on a future life with perfect sincerity and assured hope. Such men as More, Mountjoy, Linacre, Pace, Colet, Stokesley, Latimer, Tunstall and Clerk are a credit to the court of Henry VIII. Clumsy as is this description, it will not be tedious to Hutten, considering the subject. Could send by no one better than Pace, whether Erasmus be in Brabant or Brittany. Hears that Hutten is in great favor with cardinal Cajetan. Literature will not allow the name of Francis Sichingen to be forgotten. Antwerp, 10 kal. Aug. 1519.

25 July. 395. FOR SILVESTER BP. OF WORCESTER.

Inspeximus and confirmation of pat. 15 June 1 Edw. IV., inspecting through other confirmatory documents:—

i. A charter of king Edgar, being a grant to Oswald the bishop and the monks of Worcester, A.D. 964.

ii. A charter of Edward [the Confessor,] granting privileges to the monk Alfstan; another of William I. (?) to Alfstan, the dean, and the monks of

1519.

FOR SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER—*cont.*

Worcester; another of Henry II.; one dated 5 Oct. 8 Ric. I., being a grant to J. bishop of Worcester; one dated 15 Sept. 1 Ric. I. to Wm. bishop and the church of St. Mary Worcester. A charter of 8 Aug. 1 John, to Mauger bishop elect of Worcester; and another, dated 15 March 16 John, to Walter bishop of Worcester.

iii. and iv. Patent 10 Feb. 42 Hen. III., and charter 7 May 54 Hen. III., being grants to the bishop of Worcester.

v. A charter 6 Nov. 17 Edw. I., confirming grants to Godfrey bishop of Worcester.

vi. and vii. Two charters, one of 4 Mar. 2 Edw. II., granting to Walter bishop of Worcester a market at Stratford-on-Avon; and another of 8 March 2 Edw. II., being a grant to the same bishop.

Westm., 25 July.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 4.

26 July. 396. DACRE to WOLSEY.

Calig. B. i.
155.

B. M.

Received his last, dated Westminster, 29 June, touching the detaining of the French orator by the Homes,* and his deliverance by Dacre. Proposes, when the Frenchman enters England, that he be honorably entertained. Meanwhile the castle of Wark should be put in a state of defence, and gunpowder sent from Berwick. Has received from Wolsey English translations of the Scotch queen's letters in French, sent to France for furtherance of the duke of Albany's return. The King her brother wonders what could move her to write so tenderly. Dacre is to demand the cause. Sends by his servant the French orator, whose liberation he has procured from the Homes. Thinks they ought to be rewarded, and David Home and his brothers be pardoned. One of them attends the French ambassador. If Albany can be kept out of Scotland it will go to ruin for lack of justice, as the Scotch lords cannot agree to be governed by one of themselves. Wrote to the Queen on the 10th, who was then at Edinburgh. Sends a copy of his letter, and her answer in her own hand. She complains she has no money except 500*l.* Scots received from Robert Barton, the King's controller. As no one respects her, she must make terms with Albany. Ten serpentines, two slings, "with a greater piece of ordnance for scouring of fords of Tweed," twenty hagbushes and half a last of powder are required for Wark Castle; and if three of the sixty gunners of Berwick could be spared, it would be no additional charge to the King. Transmits a letter received from lord Hamilton, requesting a safeconduct for "a friend and merchant of his." Wark-upon-Tweed, 26 July. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. Add.: Unto my lord Cardinal's grace.

26 July. 397. GIUSTINIAN to the DOGE.

Giust. Desp.
ii. 294.

The French king, anxious for the interview with this king, which was postponed "owing to the canvass for the empire," has made his ambassador here again propose the matter. It was first discussed by Wolsey, to whom Francis "wrote very warm and loving letters." Francis wished the meeting to take place next August. Wolsey said he would communicate with the King, who was twenty-five miles from London; but he thought the meeting could not be held next month, as the King had made no preparations. The French ambassador is convinced that he shall receive a similar reply from his majesty, "as this cardinal is king, nor does his majesty depart in the least from the opinion and counsel of his lordship." Giustinian leaves tomorrow. London, 26 July 1519.

* See the letters on this subject in vol. ii. nos. 4217, 4338, and 4547, all of which probably belong to the year 1519, though attributed on insufficient evidence to 1518.

1519.

27 July. 398. PACE to WOLSEY.

Galb. B.v. 285.

B. M.

Ellis, 1 Ser.

i. 156.

This day visited my lady Margaret, and had of her "very large thanks" for what he had done for the King Catholic's election. Has been very kindly entertained by the whole court; "and in very deed they have no cause to complain upon me, for I did never speak against the King Catholic in the said election, considering that it was sufficient to me to have the Electors speak against him, and allege reasons why he should not be elected; and surely they would not have elected him if fear of their persons had not driven them thereunto, and evident ruin of all their nation if they had elected any other king." Had so ordered himself with the King Catholic's ambassadors, as will be seen by his letters to Wolsey, that, if Charles obtained the election, the King should be thanked. Hédin has written to my Lady very acceptable letters of the triumph made in England for the King Catholic's exaltation. Takes his voyage to Calais tomorrow. "My Lady, with divers lords here, would have me tarry here by the space of two days in continual feasts and drinking, but it is not for my purpose to be sick *ex crapula*. It is not yet known what the army being at this time in Guelderland intendeth; no head doth appear amongst them as yet." Mechlin, 27 July. *Signed*.

Hol., mutilated. Add.

29 July. 399. BRIAN TUKE to SIR JOHN HERON.

R. O.

Requests Heron to pay by exchange 185*l.* to Sir Thos. Spinelly, according to my lord Cardinal's wish, 100*l.* for his pension due Michaelmas Day, 65*l.* for his entertainment for a year at 1*l.* a day, the rest of which has been paid, and 20*l.* reward to Osborne Ichyngham, his servant, bearer of the letter. The Cardinal wishes to see Heron, and will give him the warrants. London, St. James' even, 1519.

Add.

At the foot: Heron's reply. Will make the exchange.

On the dorse: To Master Jenyns. Tuke desires him to pay 300 ducats at 4*s.* 6*d.* each to Jas. Ramme, factor to Fernando Dassa, and the rest to John Cavalcant. 29 July 11 Hen. VIII.

July. 400. To JOHN HERON, Treasurer of the Chamber.

R. O.

Warrant to pay 20*l.* to Wolff Reichard, organ maker, in reward. Oking, . . July 11 Hen. VIII.

401. [BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.]

Mart. Ampl.
Coll. iii. 1300.

The Catholic King presses strongly for the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. He has arranged to pay the Pope 8,000 ducats. He demands an affinity with the Pope; *sc.* with a natural son of the duke of Nemours (Nemurtiæ), the Pope's relative, now eight years old. Wolsey may believe that the Pope has not favored the King Catholic out of any respect for his nephew, whom he cares little about. The king of France, by one of his nobles who has been sent to Rome, has signified to the Pope that he had been informed that his Holiness had unduly favored the King Catholic in his election to the empire, but now he is satisfied that the Pope has acted sincerely and candidly. He wishes the Pope, however, to consider the overgrown power of the king of Spain, and take such measures with England, in whom he has the greatest confidence, as shall be for the good of Christendom. The Pope should employ the Swiss, which he is ready to do. The Venetians are entirely French, and admit that they are afraid of the overgrown power of the Emperor. When John Jac. Triulcio had left some property in his will under the protection of a part of the Swiss, his nephew and heir and his wife were made prisoners by the King's order, to the displeasure of many persons.

Lat.

1519.

402. REPORT of SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, the Venetian ambassador, on his visit to England.*
 Giust. Desp. App. ii. 309.

* This is a very curious paper. It appears that Giustinian left Venice on 10 Jan. 1515, found Piero Pasqualigo at Lyons, and arrived with him in Paris on 15 March. Pasqualigo then went to Flanders; Giustinian to England, and had audience on St. George's Day, when the King "celebrated the festival of that order, of which his majesty is the abbot, and of which the late Emperor Maximilian was prior." The order numbered twenty-four members. The King "was dressed in a mantle of purple velvet, lined with white damask, with a hood of miniver, and the device of the order on his hose." The legation proved irksome, because of the enmity between France and England, and the alliance between Venice and France. "*Vocabant nos piscatores, raptores sine fide*," says Giustinian, on account of the infraction of the league with Spain. Of the peace made between England and France many persons considered the Venetian as the primary cause; for one day, in a chamber, the King showed him the princess, then two years old (now three and a half), and on the ambassador drawing near to kiss her hand, (for that alone is kissed by any duke or noble in the land, let his degree be what it may, nor does any one see her without doffing his bonnet, and making obeisance to her,) the King said to him, "*Domine orator! per Deum immortalem ista puella nunquam plorat*." Giustinian replied, "Sacred majesty, the reason is, that her destiny does not move her to tears; she will become queen of France:" words which pleased the King vastly.

He describes Henry VIII. as twenty-nine years old, and much handsomer than any sovereign in Christendom, a good deal handsomer than the king of France; very fair, and well proportioned. On hearing that Francis I. wore a beard, Henry allowed his own to grow. His beard was of a bright gold color. He is very accomplished, adds Giustinian; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine joustier; speaks French, Latin and Spanish; hears three masses a day when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. Attends the daily office in the Queen's chamber, consisting of vespers and compline. He is very fond indeed of hunting, and never takes this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which are stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take. Before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture. He gambled with the French hostages to the amount, occasionally, it is said, of from six to eight thousand ducats a day. "Domine orator," he would say to the ambassador, "we want all potentates to content themselves with their own territories; we are satisfied with this island of ours." Giustinian adds, not very correctly, that Henry was extremely desirous of peace. He then proceeds to describe the King's revenues, and repeats the idle report that his father left him ten millions of ready money in gold, of which he had spent one half in the war of Tournay, when he had three armies on foot; one on the Continent, another in the field against Scotland, and the third with the Queen as a reserve. He estimates the King's revenues at 350,000 ducats annually, derived from estates, forests, customs, confiscated property; the duchies of Lancaster, York, Cornwall and Suffolk; the county palatine of Chester; the principality of Wales; exports; annates; the court of wards; and new year's gifts. His estimated expenses amount to 100,000 ducats; those in ordinary having been reduced from 100,000 to 56,000; to which must be added 16,000 for salaries; 5,000 for the stable; 5,000 for the halberdiers, who have been reduced from 500 to 150; and 16,000 for the wardrobe, for he is the best dressed sovereign in the world: his robes are the richest and most superb that can be imagined, and he puts on new clothes every holiday.

From Henry the ambassador proceeds to describe the court. Katharine, he says, is thirty-five; not handsome, but has a very beautiful complexion; is very religious, and as virtuous as words can express. The ambassador saw her but seldom. Wolsey is of low origin: he has two brothers, one of whom holds an untitled benefice, and the other is pushing his fortune. He "rules both the King and the entire kingdom." On the ambas-

1519.

sador's first arrival in England Wolsey used to say, "His majesty will do so and so;" subsequently, by degrees, forgetting himself, he commenced saying, "We shall do so and so;" at this present he has reached such a pitch that he says, "I shall do so and so." He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability and indefatigable. He alone transacts the same business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices, and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal; and all state affairs are likewise managed by him, let their nature be what it may. He is pensive, and has the reputation of being extremely just; he favors the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits, and seeking to dispatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all poor suitors. He is in very great repute, seven times more so than if he were pope. He has a very fine palace, where one traverses eight rooms before reaching his audience chamber, and they are all hung with tapestry, which is changed once a week. His sideboard of plate is worth 25,000 ducats; his silver is estimated at 150,000 ducats. In his own chamber there is always a cupboard with vessels to the amount of 30,000 ducats, according to the custom of the English nobility. He is supposed to be very rich indeed, in money, plate and household stuff. The archbishopric of York yields him about 14,000 ducats; the bishopric of Bath 8,000. One third of the fees derived from the great seal are his; the other two are divided between the King and the Chancellor. The Cardinal's share amounts to about 5,000 ducats. By the new year's gifts, which he receives in like manner as the King, he makes some 15,000 ducats. Bath is that see which belonged to cardinal Adrian, for whom when the signory desired the ambassador to intercede, Wolsey was so incensed that he would not hear of any terms. At first he used to lavish all possible abuse on Venice, but now extols her to the skies, lauding the extreme justice of the signory and the good order maintained in her towns. He is very anxious, says Giustinian, for the signory to send him one hundred Damascene carpets, for which he has asked several times, and expected to receive them. The slightest hint to the London factory would induce that body to make this present, which might settle the affair of the wines of Candia. "To discuss the matter farther until the Cardinal receives his hundred carpets would be idle. No one obtains audience from him unless at the third or fourth attempt. As he adopts this fashion with all the lords and barons of England, the ambassador made light of it, and at length had recourse to the expedient of making an appointment through his secretary, who sometimes went six or seven times to York House before he could speak to the Cardinal. It is the custom for the ambassadors, when they go to the court, to dine there, and on his first arrival in England they ate at the Cardinal's table, but now no one is served with the viands of the sort presented to the Cardinal until after their removal from before him. There are about 21 other archbishoprics and bishoprics, and some 180 abbacies of the orders of St. Benedict and Bernard, that is to say, Cistercians; and one single tenth from these abbacies yields the King 70,000 ducats."

There are three dukes, one marquis and twelve earls. Buckingham has a rental of 30,000 ducats, and is extremely popular. "It is thought that, were the King to die without heirs male, he might easily obtain the crown." Norfolk, "whose rental amounts to 12,000 ducats, has likewise some hopes of the crown, and is very intimate with the Cardinal." Suffolk has a rental of 12,000. "He also has great hopes of the crown in right of his wife," the King's sister.

"His majesty made believe, especially to the French hostages, that he greatly regretted that Francis was not elected king of the Romans. It is thought, however, that intrinsically he was in favor of Spain, though most anxious for a third person to be elected." As Giustinian was returning to Venice he met Pace, accredited on account of this election, at Dover, coming back from Germany. He stated "that for half a day the duke of Saxony had been elected king of the Romans; that when the marquis of Brandenburg was nominated, his own brother, the archbishop of Mayence, rejected him through love of the king of France; and finally the Catholic King was elected king of the Romans, *consensu omnium*. The queen of England, as a Spaniard, is gratified at the success of her nephew."

"In England they don't make use of men-at-arms, so that they could not raise a hundred in the whole island, and even their light cavalry would not exceed 1,000. The real

1519.

July.
Harl. MS.
283. f. 7.
B.M.

403. INSTRUCTIONS to THOS. WILLIAM,* NORROY KING OF ARMS, to show to the LADY MARGARET.

(1.) To thank her for informing the King of her good news touching the election of the king of Castile as king of the Romans, which Henry feels like an increase of honor to himself, and trusts will be for the good of Christendom. He sends letters of congratulation. Though there is at present peace between England and France, yet the old alliance with Burgundy and Spain is so rooted in the King's heart that it cannot be diminished by any other. The Archduchess has been the means of promoting this alliance, and the King trusts she will help to increase it.

At this point Norroy shall stop and mark her answer. If she say nothing of the late disorders in London, disturbing the solemnities of Hesdin, master of her household, prepared for demonstration of joy at the election, he shall say that the King being at a distance from London, and hearing of those disorders, commanded his council to inquire into them; on which Wolsey and others examined the mayor and aldermen, and many private persons in the city, in the presence of Hesdin, and it was found that, though there was a great fault, it arose, not from malice, but from ignorance; as he shall explain circumstantially; for there is no prince better loved in

REPORT of SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN on his visit to England—*cont.*

military force of the country, consisting in its infantry, is supposed to amount to 150,000 men, whose peculiar weapon is the long bow. When they take the field, their arms consist of a breastplate, bow, arrows, sword, and two stakes, one before and one behind, with which they make their palisadoes or stockade; but all their prowess is in the bow. They insist on being paid monthly, nor do they choose to suffer any hardship; but when they have their comforts they will then do battle daily, with a courage and vigour that defy exaggeration."

An ambassador from Spain in England bore towards Venice the worst possible will. Mons. de Reus, ambassador from lady Margaret, having been a prisoner at Venice, evinced great hatred to the signory. Praises the Venetian merchants in London, especially Girolamo da Molin, of whom "even the King himself was fond." "The King was always a heavy creditor of the Florentine merchants, to whom he lends money in order that they may extend their trade; and they sometimes owe him as much as 300,000 ducats, by which means his majesty benefits his favorites in the following manner. He empowers them to collect his credits, and they compromise with the debtors, who allow them a certain amount of interest until they have the means of repaying the King; by which method these traders obtain funds at a fair rate, and the King is enabled to benefit his servants without any loss of capital."

On his return to France, Giustinian had an interview with Francis, and being strongly pressed admitted that Henry devoted himself to pleasure and solace, and left the cares of state to the Cardinal. On this Francis exclaimed, "By my faith, the Cardinal must bear his King light good will, for it is not the office of a good servant to filch his master's honour." He says that the French king and the Duchess his mother (Louise of Savoy) were more unpopular all over France than words can express; that the Duchess was supposed to have invested money, and was intent on hoarding it, for the purpose, it is said, of aiding the King in event of any sudden need. On the other hand, the queen of France was universally beloved. Francis showed his sons, the Dauphin and the duke of Orleans, to the ambassador, and assured him that it would not be his fault if his alliance with Venice should be broken.

These particulars, briefly stated, will be found in greater detail in Mr. Rawdon Brown's admirable translations and extracts from the despatches of Giustinian.

* Qu., an error for Wall?

1519.

England than the king of Castile ;—that Wolsey and the lords had arranged ceremonies for demonstrations of joy at the election on Relic Sunday, which was notified to the city ; but on the Thursday previous Hesdin had prepared his fires and other solemnities in different parts of the city, and collected a large number of strangers ; and that the commonalty of the city keeping the night watch, and not being aware of the king of Castile's election, and fearing that the crowd of strangers meant to avenge the ill treatment done to them on May Day twelvemonth, disappointed the said fires, which seemed to be made in anticipation of those ordered by the council, the occasion for which they did not know till next morning. The principal doers, however, have been committed to prison, and shall be dealt with according to their deserts. They assert that they never intended any displeasure to the king of Castile, but the fires were made near the lodgings of the Frenchmen, whose triumph they meant to disappoint, judging from some opprobrious words spoken in the streets. Thus the disturbance arose out of ignorance, as appears by the public ceremonies ordered by the King on Relic Sunday in the church of St. Paul's, and by the rejoicing made that night, of which Norroy shall relate the circumstances.

* * * *The original was signed at the beginning and end by the King, and the following added :*

As Hesdin has specially requested that no apology be made to the lady Margaret, and promised to write himself and satisfy her, Norroy shall say nothing of it, unless she speak of it herself, but shall confine himself to the message of congratulation, and after executing that charge take his leave and return. *This article was signed by Wolsey.*

Modern copy, pp. 3.

Galba, B. vi.
116.
B. M.

2. Draft of the first part of the preceding (as instructions to Lancaster king at arms) in Ruthal's hand.

Pp. 2, mutilated.

404. ——— to ———.

Calig. D. vii.
f. 152.
B. M.

* * * Has had much trouble and no recompence. Has desired him (*lui*) to make his remonstrance. Requires assistance, otherwise he will be obliged to withdraw. Has scarcely three crowns left, and his little pension will hardly suffice "a faire les voyages par quoy, &c."—Cannot express the mortification of Francis touching the empire, seeing that the prince he dreaded most has obtained it ; but it is well, for France was never in such danger. They know well that the death of the late duke of Burgundy, and the breaking off of the marriages of Madame Margaret and others, will be avenged. The King is sending the Chancellor to the Pope, "voere ce pencee ne change, affin de veoir et scavoir quel remede ; on disons a ceste heure quil nous a joue ung tour de Lombart." The Chancellor, with the Grand Master and Bonnivet, has been the cause of the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, and of this attempt for the empire ;—two things fit to destroy the kingdom of France, which is now very weak. The King has sent for all his captains to know what he is to do, but they can give him no assistance, "car il ny a plus que renieurs et despiteurs du nom de Dieu." The Swiss had said that neither the French nor Spanish king should be Emperor, but it is not the first time they have lied. Had they been men of their word they would not have taken the King's money to let him pass by Mont Crux (Cenis ?) into Savoy when the King was going to defeat them, "done mal ceur en est pris." Their ambassador here is much solicited, "et sy, on [en]voye vers lesditz Suyces, obstant que on a une grosse doubte quil ne se [ven]gent a ce coup de leurdite defuiete, car ils ont beu (beau) gibier." Mons. de Bourbon went on Friday to Paris "pour veoir quil est ure a

1519.

————— to ————— —cont.

qui'il ne chault guaires de la chose, car ce n'a pas es[te de so]n conseil, et puis il a tousjours joue au mal content, &c." The King's domain is pledged to the extent of three or four hundred thousand livres, and it is intended to sell it to the highest bidder. The desolation is so great that every one complains of it, "car il a menge et destruit ge l'eglise pillee & robee aux deci" [*A line or more lost.*]

The people are much enraged at the King's exactions. Of those who remonstrated he has whipped one, and put to death two; and after he had levied from them the said sum of money he has still burdened them with such heavy talliages that all cry for vengeance. He has taken the gold and silver plate of the princes and prelates;—attempted to levy a fifth penny of all their gains from the gentry for the last 30 years, and exacted from them fines for the customs which they enjoyed on their own lands ("a fait exactionner son peupp[le] sur les costumes quilz avoient," &c.) He has taken loans and benevolences from all his officers, and large sums from the towns, and his only return has been to quarter horse and foot on the people, who have committed all kinds of excesses. It is a pity that a country so rich should be ruined by one man. He is surrounded by ignorant and licentious ministers

Pp. 2, mutilated.

405.

GRANTS in JULY 1519.

July.

GRANTS.

1. Commission of Gaol Delivery.—*Midland Circuit*: Sir Humph. Conyngesby, John Carell and John Jenour. Westm., 1 July.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 20d.*

1. Wm. Manewe, chaplain. Presentation to the church of Glawstre, St. David, dioc. Westm., 1 July.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2.*

2. John Pyllesdon, gentleman usher of the chamber. To be receiver of the lordship of Denbigh and Denbighland, parcel of the earldom of March, North Wales, *vice* Sir Ranulph Brereton, who did not satisfy the King of the issues. Windsor, 29 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 2 July.—P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 29.*

2. Ric. Bassett, of Aburley, Worc., *alias* of Kynton, marches of Wales. Pardon. Windsor, 7 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 2 July.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 10.*

2. Floris Typton, clk. Presentation to the canonry in the deanery of Pontesbury, Salop, *vice* Th. Jenyns, clk., in the King's hands by the minority of Edward lord de Powes. *Del. Westm., 2 July 11 Hen. VIII. Endd.: "Apud Windesore, ij^{do} die Junii, a^o r. r^o H. viij^{vi}. xj^{mo}. Tuke."*—S.B.

2. Th. Hennage. To be customer of the petty custom of the port of London, *vice* William Compton. *Del. Westm., 2 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.*

4. John Pynkernell. Licence to alienate one messuage and ten shops in the parish of St. Sepulchre without the Bars, London,

(held of the King in socage by a rent of 10d. a year,) to Margaret Capell, widow, and her heirs, in order that she may alienate the premises to James Randolfe, Wm. Walgrave, John Bowet and Th. Chambre, and their heirs, to the use of the said Margaret, and for execution of her will. Westm., 4 July.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 18.*

4. Joan widow of Thomas Clynton lord of Clynton and Say. Licence to marry any of the King's subjects, *Del. Westm., 4 July,* 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 15.*

5. John Forde, of London, draper, *alias* innholder, *alias* glazier. Protection for two years; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm., 5 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.*

5. Ric. Clement and Th. Clement. Writ notifying to the abbot and convent of Peterborough that they are to be admitted to a corrody in the monastery, surrendered by Ric. Dicons, to whom and Th. Goldyngton, deceased, it had been granted. *Del. Westm., 5 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.*

6. Commission of the Peace.—*Derbyshire*: Thomas cardinal of York, George earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas earl of Derby, Wm. Blount lord Mountjoy, Humph. Conyngesby, John Carell, Sir Hen. Saucheverell, Sir Wm. Gresley, Sir Th. Cokayn, John Porte, Godfrey Fuljambe, Wm. Bothe, Roger Maynours, Th. Eyre, Humph. Bradbourn, and John Fitzherbert. Westm., 6 July.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

1519.

July.

GRANTS.

6. For John Whyte, of Stowford, *alias* of the parish of Merstowe, Devon, steward. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petchye, deputy of Calais. Windsor, 4 July 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 6 July.—P.S.

7. Sir Ric. Weston. Wardship of Anne, daughter and heir of Sir Christopher Pykering, deceased. *Del. Westm.*, 7 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

7. Th. Gryffyth, Edm. Hasyllwode, and Maurice Osborne. Custody of the manors of Ianwaide and Monkenwike, Camb., and Parva Wygburgh, called Copsydhull, Essex, and all other possessions of Sir Robert Cotton, deceased, in the same places, during the minority of Thomas, s. and h. of the said Sir Robert; subject to the annual rent of 46*l.* to be reduced in proportion to any recovery that may be made by any right, except the title of the dowry of Alice, widow of the said Robert. *Del. Westm.*, 7 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 3.*

8. Wards and Marriages. Commission to James Baskerville, Ric. Mynours, John de la Hay, Rowland Morton and Roger Porter to make inquisition concerning wards and marriages of heirs in the King's custody, and all lands belonging to the crown, and concealed, in co. Hereford and the marches of Wales. *Westm.*, 8 July.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 5d.*

9. John à Bryggan, of Totenham, Midd., blacksmith, *alias* arrowhead maker. Pardon. Oking, 7 July 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 9 July.—P.S. and S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 11.*

10. Rob. Bailldon, page of the chamber. Annuity of 10*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 10 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 2.*

10. Chris. Rochester, gentleman usher of the chamber, and bailiff of the lordships of Colnewake and Lammershe, Essex. Annuity of 20*l.* out of the issues of the said lordships. *Del. Westm.*, 10 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 11 and 22.*

10. Th. Devenyssh and Anne his wife, a dau. and h. of Wm. Tawke, Ric. Ryman and Joan his wife, another dau. and h., Sir John Erneley, chief justice of the Common Pleas, John Stanney and John Ryman. Livery of lands. Erneley, Stanney and John Ryman were lately seized of certain possessions to the use of Tawke, then to the use of the said Thomas, Anne, Richard and Joan, and now to the use of Roger Copley and Joan his wife, for the life of the latter, and after her death to the use of the said Thomas, Anne, Richard and Joan, and their heirs. *Del. Westm.*, 10 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 12.*

11. Nich. Staunton, chaplain. Presentation to Woodborough Church, Salisbury dioc., *vice* John Walker, clk., resigned. *Westm.*, 11 July.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 18.*

11. Justices of Assize.—*Midland Circuit*: John Jenour with Sir Humph. Conyngesby and John Carell.—*Norfolk Circuit*: Th. Fitz Hugh with Sir John Ernele and Ric. Broke. *Westm.*, 11 July.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 11d.*—*Western Circuit*: Th. Elyot with Sir Ric. Elyot and Th. Pigot. *Westm.*, 11 July.—*Pat. p. 1, m. 22d.*

12. Ric., brother and heir of John Bataill. Livery of the lands of the said John, in co. Essex. *Del. Westm.*, 12 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 8.*

14. Wm. Honyman, John Egoke, John Warren, Ric. Wynslowe, and Wm. Trusteyne. Lease of the site of the manor of Cromesymmond, Worc., with lands appertaining, late of the Earl of Warwick, at the annual rent of 6*l.*, and 20*s.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 14 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 20.*

18. Th. Slade and Francis his son. To be general receivers, during good behaviour, of Warwick's lands and Spencer's lands, and of the possessions of John Huggesford, late surviving feoffee of Ric. Beauchamp earl of Warwick; of the town and lordship of Swafham, Norf., with appurtenances called Richemonde Fee; and of the lordship of Sturton and Kynfare, Staff.; and to be feodaries of "le Erles court" in the honor of Gloucester near Bristol, and general receivers of the manor and hundred of Barton near Bristol; on surrender of patent 22 Oct. 7 Hen. VIII., granted to the said Thomas and to Wm. Bedill, deceased. Also to be general receivers of Salisbury's lands, with 10 marks a year. *Del. Westm.*, 18 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 19.*

18. Edw. Tyndale. To be general receiver of Berkeley's lands in cos. Glouc., Somers. and Warw., and to be paler of the parks of Hawpark, Ockley, Newparek and Whitelyff, in the lordship of Berkeley, Glouc., during good behaviour, on surrender of patent 22 Oct. 7 Hen. VIII. in favor of Th. Slade and Wm. Bedill. *Del. Westm.*, 18 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 19.*

20. Th. son of David Midilton, and John son of John Moyle. Lease of the mills of Segroyt and Myvot, in the lordship of Denbigh, as held by Rob. Ruttour, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 50*s.*, and 50*s.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 20 July 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

22. Robert Hennage. To be auditor of the issues of the possessions late of the duke of Somerset, called "les Cooperacions londes," and of the manor of Weston near Baldok, Herts. Guildford, 16 July 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 22 July.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 29.*

23. Geo. Graunte, of London, mercer, *alias* of Essex. Pardon. Guildford, 20 July 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 July.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 10.*

1519.

GRANTS in JULY 1519—*cont.*

July.

GRANTS.

27. Agnes Sacheverell, of London, widow. Pardon of all matters before 15 March 10 Hen. VIII.—S.B. (*undated*.) Westm., 27 July. *Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 19.

29. Wm. Bustard, LL.B. Grant of part of the free chantry of Gybelyf, near Warwick, *vice* John North, deceased. Horsham, 22 July 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 29 July.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 30.

1 Aug. 406. [WOLSEY to the BISHOP OF WORCESTER.]

Mar. Ampl.
Col. iii. 1293.

* * Is to request the Pope to take these reasons into consideration, and not limit the legateship, which his Holiness can revoke whenever he pleases. Wolsey's only wish in retaining it is the service of God. Leaves the matter in [Worcester's] hands; but wishes the bull of the legateship should be expedited in the form desired, before Campeggio leaves England. Has heard from Silvester Darius and secretary Vannes that [Worcester] is very desirous of obtaining the King's permission to visit Lucca. The King grants permission, provided matters be so arranged as to suffer nothing from [Worcester's] absence. He must, however, return with all speed to Rome. Sends him 500 ducats by Giov. Cavalcanti, and will send 500 more on his return. [Worcester] will have no reason to repent any trouble he may have bestowed on the legateship. London, 1 Aug. 1519.

Imperfect.

1 Aug. 407. DE HESDIN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The wife of the prisoner in the Tower begs him incessantly to ask Wolsey for her husband's release. Prays Wolsey to do so, according to his promise. Has had letters from Flanders full of good news. Was told today that Wolsey was going away (*dehors*). Hopes he will soon return. London, 1 Aug. 1519. *Signed and sealed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

2 Aug. 408. ERASMUS to FISHER.

Er.Ep.xii. 25.

Hears that Reuchlin is teaching Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt on a salary of 200 crowns. He was advised by his friends to leave his country, for the following reasons. When it was feared that the duke of Wurtemberg, against whom Hutten writes, would take Stuttgart (Stockardia), Reuchlin advised the citizens to migrate. He remained behind; the Duke was driven off; Reuchlin's house was spared; but the citizens after their return molested Reuchlin. All Germany is very angry with Lee, and Erasmus cannot pacify them. Louvain, postridie kl. Aug. 1519.

3 Aug. 409. [CHARLES V. to FRANCIS I.]

Calig. E. 1.
124.
B. M.

Has received his letter by the sieur de Laussac, from St. Germain en Laye, the . . . July, and his congratulations on his election. No advancement of his will ever diminish his anxiety for their mutual amity, and the peace of Christendom; and as his correspondent has more power than any other in this respect, he should hold the first place in the extirpation of heresy. Begs credence for Dutreche his ambassador. Barcelona, 3 Aug.

Copy, Fr., pp. 2, mutilated.

6 Aug. 410. ROBERT LORDE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Eight hoys in wages have come laden with timber and stone, which, as the masons tell the treasurer and comptroller, is too brittle to work. The treasurer has therefore written to the mason at the quarry to send no more till they hear from Wolsey, and he wishes also to know whether the

1519.

hoys shall continue in wages now their month is expired, and they call for money. No one can make them answer, as Wm. Gonston is absent, and the council do not think it convenient to send them for more stuff. According to his orders, sent his warrant to the customer at Sandwich, who says he cannot pay it, as he has little money come to his office since Easter. The sum of 79*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* is still owing to ships of Dover, Sandwich and Calais, for transporting men, horses, and stuff, besides 50*l.* received of Robert Fowler, as several masters and owners have brought in bills for service done by them not mentioned in the book signed by Wolsey. They have all been examined by the Master of the Rolls, and found to be true. Has written to Wm. Lyllegrave, telling him that Wolsey wishes him to come here as soon as possible. He has not answered either Lorde's letter or the treasurer's. Hears he has gone to Bristowe by the King's order. Asks leave to return "to oversee my poor office, which is my great charge." The last time he was in the North Country for Wolsey, his servant "ran unto sanctuary" with 80*l.* and is there still, "by reason whereof I, my poor wife and children, is like to fare the worse whilst we live." Calais, 6 Aug.

Hol., pp. 2. *Add.*: To my lord Legate his good grace.

7 Aug.
R. O.

411. EDWARD LABORNE to the COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

On the 24th July, sent to her son,* "whom I beseeche God restore too helthe," letters by his servant, showing that affairs at Wimbourne are not governed to the comfort of her son the Dean. A malicious parson, named Rikman, with two adherents, has complained "both to your estate and to my lord," in the name of the whole parish. He did the same at Dorchester lately, but when he was examined by Sir Edw. Willowbie, one of the justices of the peace, many of the parishioners denied it, and were angry with Rykman; "only our sexton, and one John Watman," corroborated his assertion. The writer will forfeit the "living that my Lord your son gave me," if the sexton's life "in our house" is not abominable. He is outlawed at Salisbury for debt, and will be so in two places more by Michaelmas. He does no service nor worship to her son. An examination should be had, lest matters grow worse. Wimborne, 7 Aug. "By your daily beedman, Edwarde Laborne, priest, and ther scholemaster."

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: My ladie countice of Salisberie at Bissam.

11 Aug.
R. O.

412. PACE to WOLSEY.

Found the King playing with the French hostages. He is glad, considering the enormous expense, he did not obtain the empire; said the same to the duke of Suffolk, and showed the duke of Buckingham how well Pace had been received in Almain. Two of the English ambassadors with the Pope are corrupted by France. This night the King goes to Otford. The duke of Buckingham makes him excellent cheer. Penshurst, Aug. 11.

Hol. *Add.*: My lord Legate, &c.

12 Aug.
Budæi Ep.
f. 71.

413. BUDÆUS to MORE.

Is proud of the rings, the hunting dogs and house dogs More has sent. His gift would have been more munificent had More accompanied it with one of his witty letters. Values nothing so highly as the letters of his friends. Has distributed the dogs among his friends, the cramp rings among female relatives. Paris, pridie id. Sextiles, 1519.

Commends Christ. Longolius, who is going to England, and will visit More.

* Pole, presented to Wimbourne, 12 Feb. 1518.

1519.

14 Aug. 414. RIC. FOX BISHOP OF WINCHESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Received his letters by the bearer, stating that the attendance to be given upon him, as in last Lent, is to be prorogued. As Wolsey asks his advice, thinks next Lent a much more "propice" time for such treaties, and in the mean time he can the better discover the resolution of religious persons in matters concerning their reformation. Considers also that to attend on him before the resolution would be unprofitable, and perhaps not honorable.

"Would God that the poor lodging of Esher did content your grace as much as it rejoiceth me that it can please you to use it." "Use it all ways, as often and as long as it shall please you, right as your own, and make it a cell to Hampton Court, as the King that dead is, whose soul God pardon, made Hampton Court and it cells to Richmond." Suthwyk, 14 Aug.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To, &c. my lord Cardinal of York, legate of England and chancellor of the same.

415. [WOLSEY to SIR THOMAS BOLEYN.]

Calig. E. II.

(22.)

B. M.

Stating the reasons for the King wishing to decline the interview at present, as supposing that it would be very inconvenient for the French king. His sincerity in desiring it may be judged from his preparations at Calais. Considering the time of year is so far past, and the King's mother is desirous to put off the said meeting by a commission to be sent into England, Boleyn shall confirm them in this intention as most convenient to all parties. If Francis should fulfil his purpose of coming by post, he could bring neither his queen nor any of his council with him.

Draft in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, p. 1.

14 Aug.

416. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. VII.

143.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 30th ult. Has since received by his priest Wolsey's letter of the 28th July, in accordance with which he has told the [French] king how Henry had labored to procure his election until it was hopeless, and desired him to take the event in good part, as it was not to his dishonor. Francis thanked the King for his good offices; assured Boleyn that the first proposal to make him Emperor had come from some of the Electors, and, considering what "inquietness" he should have had if he had attained to it, thought himself "much bound to God" that he was quit of it. Boleyn also expressed to him Wolsey's satisfaction at understanding his readiness to send compensation to the English merchants whenever the amount should be certified, and told him Wolsey was taking measures to ascertain it, and would inform him of it by the feast of All Saints. Francis renewed his assurances that whenever the amount was ascertained the money should be sent without delay; affirming with "a great oath" that there were "right few men living" whom he trusted so much as Wolsey. Boleyn has not yet heard of any Frenchman robbed in like manner.

As to the interview, he explained to Francis how Henry was no less desirous of it than himself, but that it was almost impossible it could take place this summer; arrangements might be made before the end of summer for it to take place the next. As a proof of the King's desire, he had resolved to wear his beard till the said meeting. To requite this token of his affection, Francis "laid his hand on his beard, and said surely he would never put it off till he had seen him." He desired to see the Cardinal more than any priest living; thought it might take place at the end of May, between Calais and Boulogne; and proposes to send to England this Christmas Mons. La [Bastye] to make arrangements. Boleyn

1519.

told him that although England had made a peace with the Emperor, yet, in consideration of the marriage of the Dauphin with the Princess, preference would in all things be given to France. The King replied that he, too, had an alliance with the Emperor, and proposed that he should marry his daughter, and, referring to the meeting, said though England was an island, assured from all enemies, and he open to attack on all sides, he was not afraid. The Pope and the Venetians had many in the realm of Naples, so that if Charles and he fell to debate they would readily revolt against him. He has lately sent Seint Marsault, one of his minions, to the Pope.

Sends a letter addressed by the duke of Albany into Scotland "for the well entreating of the Queen there." The Duke desires the prolongation of the truce ending St. Andrew's day. The Pope's legate here should have had the bishopric of Cotance, and the cardinal Boysy that of Alby, but the chapter claim their own right to elect. The Queen has been sick. The bastard of Savoy, Villroy the ch[ancellor], Robertet and the generals are away for their holidays to Bloys. The Admiral is expected at the end of the month. Has arranged with the controller of the posts for the conveyance of his letters to Calais. Thinks "a gown cloth of silk or a hoby once in the year" will satisfy him.

Has received a letter from Wolsey, dated the 9th, by William Pawne, for the sale of timber and stuff at Tournay. The time is unfavorable, as Chatillon has left. Last night the ambassador "passed by Paris out into England ward." "A bishop him levesque Dyon, he sayth it is the Jacobin that was late in England." It is thought strange that he does not visit the court. The King Catholic has arrested all the ships of Biscay;—it is supposed, for his coming into Flanders. Will send his priest back shortly with an answer to what Wolsey showed him. Melun, 14 Aug. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 9.

14 Aug. 417. For SIR ROBERT WYNGFELD, King's councillor.

S. B.

Annuity of 100 marks, out of tonnage and poundage in the port of London. *Del.* Westm., 14 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed:* T. Carls Ebor.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 21.

15 Aug. 418. SIMON MATTHEUS to HENRY GOLDE.

R. O.

Sends him his relative, whom Gold had entrusted to his care. He has been elected on the royal foundation (*in sodalitium nostrum regium*). The writer will serve the young man in any way he can, for he is under great obligations to his mother. Begs he will receive by Bernard the small sums of money due to the writer. King's College, (*E contubernio nostro Regio*), 18 kal. Sept.

Hol., p. 1. *Lat. Add.:* To Maister Golde, chaplain to my lord of Canterbury.

16 Aug. 419. INSTRUCTIONS of CHARLES V. for his AMBASSADORS in England.

Mon. Habs.
103.

Jehan de la Sauch, the bearer, shall first, in company with the bishop of Elna and Hesdin, present his letters of credence to the King, and thank him for sending Pace to the Electors, and for persuading the Pope to send Sion, as well as for his kind letters, and the offers made by Spinelly. Sends de la Sauch to answer more thoroughly those offers contained in Wolsey's letters, and matters proposed by the King to Hesdin. The more power increases, the more anxious he is to preserve his alliance with

1519.

INSTRUCTIONS OF CHARLES V. for his AMBASSADORS in England—*cont.*

England. Though some are jealous of his power, he intends to use it in the service of God and the Holy See, and for the destruction of the enemies of religion. They shall thank Henry for the wish he has expressed to preserve and increase their present alliance, and assure him that Charles means to gratify him in all things possible; but as he has not declared the manner and the points in which he desires the alliance to be more strict, wishes for a statement of his intention and his advice, and will then send a great personage with clear instructions.

Has granted all the Pope's demands, who, he thinks, can have no just occasion to ally himself to the Emperor's prejudice. According to Henry's advice, treats the French King with all gentleness, and adheres to the treaties. Though he has not yet accepted a diet (*journée*), has sent a gracious reply to his letters of congratulation, of which De la Sauch may show him a copy. Ever since he concluded the hereditary league with the Swiss, has endeavoured to bind them wholly to himself. Has given them pensions, and sent ambassadors to the diet to be held at Baden on the 15th, knowing that others offer them plenty of crowns and pensions. Wishes Henry to write to Sion, and send ambassadors to treat with them. It is necessary to gain the Swiss for the common good; for if Henry mean to do any feat he should make sure they do not fight against him. It is the secret of secrets to gain them at any price. Thanks the King for his wish that Charles should pass by England. These offers are very agreeable, and he does not intend to refuse them. They are to communicate these matters to Wolsey, thanking him for his messages by Spinelly, and his great services in the election. They shall also present Charles's letters to the Queen, Ponnynges and others. Barcelona, 16 Aug. '19.

Fr.

16 Aug. 420. ERASMUS to ALBERT CARDINAL OF MAYENCE.

Er. Ep. xi. 11.

Congratulates him on the exaltation of Charles to the empire. Did not doubt that Pace would be acceptable to the Cardinal. On his return to Erasmus, Pace congratulated himself on having made the Cardinal's acquaintance. Antwerp, 17 kal. Sept.

16 Aug. 421. To the LORD CHANCELLOR.

S. B.

To issue letters patent to Sir Gregory de Casalis, "being born of the nobles of Rome," the King having knighted him, and granted him an annuity of 200 crowns of gold for life. Greenwich, 16 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.

17 Aug. 422. CHIEVRES to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. i.
291*.

B. M.

The Bishop of Elna has been sent ambassador to England, and since John del Sault his secretary. Learns from Thomas Spinelly, the English ambassador, Wolsey's sincere desire for a good understanding between himself and the writer. Barcelona, 17 Aug. 1519. *Signed:* G. de Croy.

Lat., p. 1. Add. Endd.

17 Aug. 423. For SIR CHRISTOPHER GARNEYS.

S. B.

To be chief gate-keeper of Calais, with the appointment of officers under him, and the usual fees; on surrender of patent, 10 May 7 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Robert Wotton. *Dcl.* Westm., 17 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 21.

1519.

- 17 Aug. 424. For SIR ROBERT WOTTON, late chief gate-keeper at Calais.
S. B.

To be comptroller of Calais, with fees, &c. pertaining, as held by Sir John Wylshere or Adrian Whetehill;* also an annuity of 80*l.* out of the customs and revenues of the town, for expenses to be incurred by him in its protection. *Del.* Westm., 17 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 21.

- 17 Aug. 425. For SIR ROBERT WOTTON, late chief gate-keeper of Calais.
S. B.

Annuity of 20*l.* out of certain customs of the said town; on surrender of patent, 10 May 7 Hen. VIII., granting him the above office. *Del.* Westm., 17 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 22.

- 17 Aug. 426. SIR JOHN WYLTESHYRE.
S. B.

Annuity of 100*l.*, in consideration of his services as comptroller of Calais, out of the customs of the port of London or those of Exeter and Dertmouth; on surrender of the said office, at the King's request. *Del.* Westm., 17 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 22.

- 18 Aug. 427. HENRY VIII. to LEO X.
Add. MS. 15,387. f. 79.
B. M.

Could not but regret that the Pope recalled cardinal Campeggio. Doubts if any other man could have performed his office with such splendor, skill and assiduity, and served the cause of Christendom with equal honor to his Holiness. Has given him his ratification of the five years' truce, and entrusted him with a message to the Pope. Greenwich, 18 Aug. 1519.

Lat., copy, pp. 6.

- 18 Aug. 428. TAVISTOCK ABBEY.

For Richard, the abbot, and the convent of Tavistock.

Inspeximus and confirmation of, viz. :

i. A patent, dated 18 March 5 Hen. VIII., being a licence to obtain bulls of exemption for the monastery and for their priory of Cowyke, and also of confirmation of exemption granted by pope Celestine III.

ii. A bull, dated 18 Sept. 1517, reciting another, dated 29 May 1193, confirming to Herbert abbot of Tavistock certain possessions. (*Here follows an enumeration of various lands, churches, &c. belonging to the monastery.*) The bull also grants exemption from jurisdiction, subject to the payment of half an ounce of gold (20*s.* English).

Westm., 18 Aug.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 24.

- 18 Aug. 429. KATHARINE THE QUEEN.
S. B.

Grant of the manor of Chilton Foliat, Berks, at an annual rent of 11*l.* 17*s.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, in lieu of the manors of Brettis in Hamme, Essex, and Perbright, Surrey, and certain lands, &c. in Depford Stronde, Kent. The manor of Brettis, by the act of restitution (passed in the parliament held 4 Feb. 3 Hen. VIII.) for Margaret Pole, now countess of Salisbury, kinswoman and heir of Richard late earl of Salisbury, was taken from the possession of the Queen; and the said manor of Perbright, and lands, &c. in Depford, were surrendered by the Queen. Also provision that if

* In Pat. Roll it is "Adrian Wylshere."

1519.

KATHARINE THE QUEEN—*cont.*

the said manor of Chilton Foliatt, or any part thereof, be taken from the possession of the said Queen by any prior right or title, the King shall grant her other property of equal value. *Del. Westm., 18 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.*

"*Ex^a per me, Joh'em Daunce.*"

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 22.

18 Aug. **430.** To GEORGE EARL OF SHREWSBURY, steward of the
S. B. Household.

Warrant to arm 40 of his retainers for quelling the rebels in Ireland, who withhold the revenues of his inheritance there. *Del. Westm., 18 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

19 Aug. **431.** WOLSEY to the BISHOP OF WORCESTER.
Mart. Amp. Campeggio, who is now returning, has acted with great moderation
Coll. iii. 1294. and prudence, and gained the good opinion of all men. Takes this opportunity of writing to Worcester. Has explained already the King's resolve respecting the confirmation of the five years' truce. He is content that, after the Pope has signified by his breve that he will enter no league adverse to the truce, the said truce shall be ratified in his name, and solemnly confirmed, if possible, by the German and French ambassadors. As Wolsey has stated already, the King was not well satisfied with the Pope's neglect in the affairs of Germany; but Wolsey and Campeggio have removed his dissatisfaction. The last communications of Worcester demand consideration. Waits the completion of the affair of the legateship. London, 19 Aug. 1519.

432. HENRY VIII. to LEO X.

Mart. Amp. Is anxious to promote the welfare of Christendom, and to comply
Coll. iii. 1297. with the Pope's wishes for an expedition against the Infidel, as enforced by Campeggio and Wolsey. Pledges his kingdom to the enterprise; and if, by the mercy of God, he should have an heir before the expedition commences, vows to head it in person. Offers 20,000 foot with all munitions; 70 sail. The expedition will be joined by the nobles; its expences be met by a tenth from the clergy, and a fifteenth from the laity. Campeggio, who now takes his leave, will explain more to his Holiness.

22 Aug. **433.** CAMPEGGIO to HENRY VIII.

R. O. Now that he is leaving England, thanks Henry and Wolsey for their kindness and liberal gifts of plate. Sir Edward Belknap, who has accompanied him from London, has been very attentive. Dover, 22 Aug. 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

22 Aug. **434.** SAME to WOLSEY.

R. O. To the same effect. Dover, 22 Aug. 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

22 Aug. **435.** COLETT, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

Knight's Col. 400. The will of John Colett, dean of St. Paul's, s. of Sir Hen. Colett and dame Christian his wife. The legatees are Edm. Knyvet, John s. of Wm. Colett, Dr. Aleyn, Dr. Morgan, John Banbrughe, Mast. Dancaster, Rob. Hopwood, Thos. Lupset, Wm. Garrard, Nic. Curlews, John Danet,

1519.

Bart. Barham, Wm. Bawrman, Benj. and Hen. Digby. All his lands to be feoffed to the use of his mother, if she survives him; after her death, to Edm. Knyvet and his heirs, &c.

23 Aug. 436. A MASQUE.

R. O.

"The meskeller at New Hawll, the 11th year." On 23 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII., the King, Queen and court being at Havering [atte] Bower, he sent for Ric. Gybson, and ordered Sir Wm. Compton to make out letters to Wm. Bottre, mercer, to deliver to Gybson silk according to his previous instructions, for him to make [for the said] meskeller twelve Ahnain coats with Italian sleeves, [six] of yellow satin, and six of green satin, the latter and set with scales like the scales of a dragon or sturgeon, each scale of flat gold of damask fringe fretted; the yellow coats, the same in silver. Also twelve bonnets and twelve pair of hose and shoes, 12 pair of wide shirt sleeves, with "reban semys" of fine cloth, and inparell of mantles of sarsenet, buttoned with party gold; also garments for minstrels and drumsblads;—all which were to be delivered at New Hall in Essex, 4 Sept. next. Received accordingly, from Bottre, green and yellow satin, and many other articles.

P. 1, mutilated. In Gybson's hand.

24 Aug. 437. CAMPEGGIO'S SHIPPING.

R. O.

Expense of the passage of the lord Legate and his company, by the commandment of Sir Edw. Belknapp, 24 Aug.

The freight of the *Henry*, 5*l.* The *Myghell Bayly*, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* For more mariners for the Legate being in the said ship, 20*s.* The *Myghell Yong*, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The *Barbara Foche*, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Prymmage of the horses and stuff, 20*s.* The bridges, 5*s.* For the boats carrying the company on board, 8*s.* For the porters carrying the company into the boats, 2*s.* 6*d.*—Mem., my lord Legate's whole charge of shipping amounted to 17*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* 24 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. "There is a privy seal for three of the ships, directed to the customer there." Examined by Sir Edw. Belknapp.

P. 1.

25 Aug. 438. LORD G. GREY.

Addit. MS.
22,115. f. 1.

B. M.

Acknowledgment by lord George Grey to Robt. Toney, clerk, of a loan of 20*l.*, with obligation to repay it. 25 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. Signed.

Endd.

26 Aug. 439. CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Since his last letter from Dover, has crossed to Calais. Left on the 24th, at 7 o'clock, and arrived, after a good passage, about 11. Was well received by the magistrates and townsmen, and especially by the treasurer. Started this morning, at 7 o'clock, for Flanders. The people here have asked him to write to Wolsey on their behalf. Calais, 26 Aug. 1519. Signed.

Lat., p. 1. Add.

26 Aug. 440. T. STRANGWAYS to the BP. OF DURHAM.

R. O.

Accounted to the Bishop's auditor, in the presence of his brother Rothall, and his chancellor Master Franklin. If Ruthal doubts the accuracy of the accounts, requests that twelve indifferent artificers may view the works, and he will abide their verdict. "There was never so great works so sumptuously and curiously wrought in so many parts within all the King's realm with so little money as I have demanded." Has received little or no money since Midsummer "was a twelvemonth." But the works go

1519.

T. STRANGWAYS to the BP. OF DURHAM—*cont.*

forward, and shall till they are finished, so long as he has money, or anything to make money of. Wishes Ruthal knew what money he has raised upon his own goods rather than they should be stopped. Not a penny is owing to the workmen. Prays to God and St. Cuthbert that Routhal may see the works. Auckland, 26 Aug. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*

27 Aug. 441. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O. Desires credence for the letters of Silvester bp. of Worcester. Rome, 27 Aug. 1519, pont. 7.

Lat. *Signed*: Ja. Sadoletus. *Add.*

442.

GRANTS in AUGUST 1519.

Aug.

GRANTS.

1. St. John's College, Cambridge. Grant of the site and mansion of the hospital of St. Mary, Osprenge, in Feversham, Kent, called "le Measendieu," and of all its possessions (named); to hold of the King as of his manor of Middleton; with exemption from tolls, view of frankpledge in the manor of Hodecron, &c.: it having been found by inquisition at Depford, 8 Nov. 10 Hen. VIII., that the hospital, founded by patent of Hen. III., had been void since 22 Edw. IV. by death of the master, Rob. Darell, and of the friars. *Del.* Westm., 1 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 13.

12. Sir John Dygby, and Simon Dygby, his son. To be bailiffs of the lordship of Barrowdon, Rutland, in survivorship, with 4d. a day. *Del.* Westm., 12 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 28.

14. Recognizance cancelled: made by Th. West lord Lawarr, 22 July 21 Hen. VII., for 1,000*l.*, to Sir Th. Lovell, Sir Ric. Emson, Edm. Dudeley and Henry Wyott. Greenwich, 14 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

17. Recognizance cancelled: made by John Dyngley, of Charleton, Worc., groom of the privy chamber, 5 July 7 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 17 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

18. Stephen Jobson, of New Salisbury, Wilts, merchant, *alias* chapman. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petchy, deputy of Calais. *Del.* Westm., 18 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

22. Th. Palmer, gentleman usher of the chamber. To be overseer of the petty cus-

toms; of the subsidy of tonnage and poundage in London; and of the bills called "cokkettis;" and to have the regulation of the customhouse wherries; with 36*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year for himself, and 10*l.* for a clerk; *vice* James Clarel. —S.B. (*defaced*). *Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 10; Westm., 22 Aug.

23. Martin Dokerey and Wm. Symple and Alice his wife. Inspecimus and exemplification of an inquisition taken at Coventry, 21 June 7 Hen. VIII., which states that Wm. Betley died 6 Aug. 11 Edw. IV.; that Joan, six years, and Alice, two years, were his daughters and heirs; and that Margaret, his widow, afterwards married Thos. Shirwodd. Westm., 23 Aug.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 4.

23. Geoffrey Hopkys. To be serjeant of Wigmoresland, Salop, *vice* Ralph Baty, usher of the hall. Windsor, 7 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 23 Aug.—P.S.

24. William Hogge, of London, sherman. Pardon, having been falsely convicted of felony, at the sessions holden at Tower Hill, near London. *Del.* Westm., 24 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

25. Nic. Benet *alias* Launder. Grant of part of the free chantry of Gibelif, near Warrewyk, *vice* Wm. Bustard, resigned. Havering, 22 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 25 Aug.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 29.

27. Nicholas *alias* Nicholyn de Egra, an Italian, now residing at Southampton. Denization. *Del.* Westm., 27 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 22.

1 Sept.

R. O.

443. SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER to HENRY VIII.

Received two letters from him at the same time, recommending Dr. John Veysy, a councillor, and dean of the chapel, to the bishopric of Exeter. All his efforts on Veysy's behalf were unavailing. The cardinals would not consent to the diminution of the tax, as they say it is not usual either to increase it with the increase of the revenue of a bishopric, or diminish it as it diminishes. Has written more fully to Veysy. John of

1519.

London, the Cistercian monk, in whose favor the King wrote, and who was to have been promoted to the see of Down, died a few days after his arrival at Rome. Rome, 1 Sept. 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

1 Sept.

R. O.

444. SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

Received on the 20th inst. his letter dated the 1st, concerning the election of the Emperor, and containing the King and Wolsey's complaints of the Pope. Answers that portion of the letter in cipher. After explaining to the Pope the contents of the letter relating to the legateship, in which Wolsey gives reasons why the duration of the office should not be limited, he exhorted Wolsey to continue in such a holy work, saying that though he cannot comply at once, since he has granted the French legateship for a year only, he will prorogue the office before it expire, as often as necessary. Is sure that he will do as he says. The Pope approves of the visit next summer of the Emperor to Germany to correct the excesses* there, and of the visit of the lady Margaret to Spain, who is a woman of great prudence. Told him what Wolsey wrote about the ratification of the truce. He will wait the arrival of Campeggio, as Henry proposes, with letters of confirmation, relating to the Turkish expedition.

Thanks Wolsey for obtaining from the King liberty for him to visit his native place and family. Will return by the 15th Oct., when the Pope will leave for a holiday according to his yearly custom. Will return earlier, if necessary, as he will be within four days' journey. Thanks him also for the gift of 500 ducats. His income is insufficient for his attendance at Rome, except he be assisted by the King's and Wolsey's liberality. Will attend to the expedition of the bulls for the elect bishop of Exeter. Is surprised at the report of the merchants that the charges at Rome are increased, and new offices appointed to extort money. Believes the charges remain as usual. Can do nothing for the reduction of the ancient tax on the bishopric, for which the bishop elect wrote to him, although he solicited all the cardinals. The courier has been kept back two days on account of a crime which has just been committed at Rome. A noble Spaniard, a physician, and knight of the order of the Red Sword, was surprised at night in his bed, and carried off towards Naples, by the order of Don Lewis Carroz, the Spanish ambassador, because he was engaged in some suit in the court affecting the interests of the King Catholic. The Pope was angry with Carroz, more so than ever the writer has seen him, threatening to have his head cut off unless the man were brought back, and desiring he should never appear in his presence again. This is a sample of what will happen after the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and the confirmation of the empire. People anticipate many evils will arise. Rome, 1 Sept. 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 5. Add.

1 Sept.

R. O.

445. SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

The Spanish ambassador, who is afraid to leave his house, has asked him and the other ambassadors to intercede for him with the Pope. Could not induce the Pope to pardon him unless the man were brought back to Rome, and his Holiness threatens all the accomplices of the crime. Informs Wolsey of this, at the Pope's request; that if he has to proceed to further measures, Henry will not be surprised, but assist him in a cause so just. If it be necessary to resort to such proceedings, many scandals will arise. Rome, 1 Sept. 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

* i.e. of Luther.

1519.

6 Sept.

446. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.

148.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 14th Aug. The King tells him that he has heard from his ambassador that the king of Castile will go next summer into Flanders, thence to Frankfort. He thinks Charles will go to Rome to be crowned, and must pass through France or the Venetian territory; but neither the Pope nor the Venetians wish him to go to Rome. He thinks also the Emperor will not be able to pay for his coronation. Had a long talk with the King's mother respecting Don Ferdinand and his prospects. She thinks it will be a long time before his brother Charles can have children; and Madame Charlotte, the King's daughter, is only three years old. She said she heard he had few folks of honor about him, "and said how Bouton was put to him." Her son will be this winter at Lyons, near the king of Castile, the Swiss and the Pope, the Venetians and Milan. The King has been curious to know what sort of a man the English ambassador in Spain is. The Queen will, in the course of a fortnight, send a gentleman to England with a token to queen Katharine, and another from the Dauphin to the Princess. The Venetian ambassador is on his return here from England, of which he gives a good report. The Pope's legate and the ambassador of Venice have more communication than usual with the King, and the Spaniard less. William Pa[wne] has been despatched with a letter to Loogis, governor of Tournay, commissioning the latter to buy such material of him as may be needful for the repair of the castle. Seigneur Marcantoyne de Coloigne (Colonna) is here, in great favor with the King, "and is of the order of France." He is sick, but not dangerously. The Admiral is still sick. The Legate will have the bishopric of Coutance. The cardinal of Roussy died lately at Rome. Great sickness reigns here. Blois, 6 Sept. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

6 Sept.

447. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has heard by his priest, the bearer, Wolsey's intentions respecting the controulership of the King's household, and his wish that Boleyn should have the treasurership. Whatever grant he has had of the former, he now resigns it to the King and Wolsey's hands, as the bearer will further inform him. Is much bound by Wolsey's promise to send him his diet for the half year. Blois, 6 Sept.

Hol., p. 1. "My lord legate, cardinal and chancellor of England."

11 Sept.

448. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Ellis, 3 Ser.

i. 198.

Mr. Hesdin desires him to inform Wolsey that he has today received letters from my lady Margaret, stating that the French king tries hard to induce the king of the Romans to pass through his realm into Almayne, offering the Queen and her children as hostages for the safety of his person. Hesdin thinks the bishop of Elna, now arrived at Gravesend, should be well entertained at his coming, that he may have no occasion to write otherwise than well. The dean of Paul's (Colet) has lain since Thursday *in extremis*, and is not yet dead. London, 11 Sept.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

12 Sept.

449. DE HESDIN to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. v.

330.

B. M.

The bishop of Elna and John de la Sauch arrived yesterday at London. Has received commands from his master to apply to Wolsey for an audience with the King. The envoys abovesaid bring agreeable proposals. As Wolsey has been the great mover of this alliance, begs he will see them favorably received. They will thank the King for the offers made by him

1519.

to their master. John de la Sauch will speak to him of the marriage he knows of. The matter will be easy to colour (*bonne a excuser*). Both have been well received in Calais; they were conducted half a league out of the town, and the old controller [Wiltshire] came with them the whole way. Is advertised by my Lady that Francis uses every effort to induce the King (Charles) to pass through his dominions, offering his wife and children as hostages. Wolsey is omnipotent in all these affairs, as Charles will be entirely governed by the counsel of England. London, 12 Sept. '19.
Signed.

Fr., pp. 2, mutilated.

16 Sept. 450. JOUGLET to TUKE.

R. O.

On Wednesday last was with the Legate about some affairs of the Emperor. Wolsey said that Tuke had gone to the King on the same business; and at his return, which was expected in a day or two, Tuke would give Jouglet an answer. The bearer, Richart Courrier, is charged to bring back the said reply speedily. London, 16 Sept.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. Add.

16 Sept. 451. SIR RICHARD MALYVERER to LORD [DARCY].

R. O.

Desires to know wherein he has offended, "to be thus unkindly intreated and discharged" from the "office of Knarsburgh," notwithstanding Darcy's promise. Although he has been disabled by the "stroke of God," prays for the 50 marks due for five years' fee. Adwykk, 16 Sept.
Signed.

P. 1. Endd.: Copy of Sir Ric. Mallyverer's letter to my L. in Sept. anno 11.

21 Sept. 452. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. IV.

26.

B. M.

Has not written to him since his last from Calais. Proceeded thence through France to Brussels;—paid his respects to the lady Margaret and prince Ferdinand, and satisfied them of the King and Wolsey's good feelings towards them. Arrived at the court of France on the 19th. Had an interview with the King next day. Spoke of the kind treatment he had received in England. The King expressed his great affection to England, and his desire for a firm union. He is well aware of Henry's cordiality, from other proofs than the restitution of Tournay, and begged Campeggio to say so;—stating that he would consider Wolsey, not as his servant, but as his special friend. On Campeggio presenting his letters, he embraced him, and offered him, with great delicacy, a pension of 8,000 francs. Is indebted for this liberality to the king of England, but would accept no benefit except from England. Proceeds on his journey tomorrow. Blois, 21 Sept. 1519.

P.S.—Card. S. M. in Portieu sends his compliments. *Signature burnt.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. Add. and endd.

24 Sept. 453. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. I. 13.

B. M.

Begs credence for the seigneur de Saint Romain and master Pierre Cordier, and requests that they may have liberty to go to the borders of Scotland. Hopes he will prevent any inconvenience such as happened to his ambassador Poillot. Blois, 24 Sept. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: "A mons. le cardinal Dyort, mon bon ami, legat," &c.

1519.

24 Sept. 454. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.

150.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 6th, which he sent by his priest. On Sunday came the Pope's legate that was late in England, and was brought to the court on Monday by the cardinal of Bourbon and others. The King received him "in his dining chamber, somewhat within the door," embraced him, and led him by the hand "to a beddys syde in the same chamber, and so stonding there talked with hym half a quarter of an howre," when he delivered the King a letter from England, which he read; and calling the other Legate, "talked with hym, lenyng on the bedde more than half an howre," whilst the cardinal of Bourbon discoursed with the other Legate. The Legate speaks very highly of the liberality of England; says that the King here willed the other Legate to show him that he would give him an annual pension of 8,000 francs a year, which he refused, as he could not serve two masters, and wished to remain faithful to Henry. He left Blois yesterday morning, when Boleyn accompanied him a mile on his way, and received from him two letters, transmitted herewith; one to Wolsey, the other to the Venetian ambassador in England. He had no other convoy but his own company of 24 horses and 5 mules.

Hither is also come the ambassador sent to Scotland, and taken prisoner there, who reports well of the great cheer made to him by Wolsey in England, and of Henry's interference to procure his deliverance. Two ambassadors are now sent to Scotland, the one of the great Council and Parliament here, the other Lafayette's brother, captain of Boleyn. They are to go through England, show their instructions to Henry, and be ordered by him in everything. It is reported by the French ambassador in Spain, that Charles will go next March through England to Flanders. In hunting yesterday, "and riding under a [tree] with a bough," the King hurt his brow, for which he keeps his [chamber]. The admiral is coming from Orleans within Divers gentlemen of the court have gone to meet him. In consequence of the sickness, it is forbidden, on pain of death, that any one coming from Paris, Tours, Amboise, or Vendôme, enter this town. The Chancery is to be kept for awhile at Meun near Orleans. My lady the King's mother has the gout. The Queen is supposed to be with child. Blois, 24 Sept. *Signature half burnt.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add. Endd.

28 Sept. 455. MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Writes in behalf of Antony Savage, brother of Susan Savage, a servant of hers. At Wolsey's last being with her and Suffolk, at Letheryng-ham Hall, he promised to show some favor to Savage in his trouble. Butley Abbey, 28 Sept. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: "My lord Cardinal."

29 Sept. 456. JOHN SHIRLEY, cofferer of the Household.

R. O.

"Desperat tailles in a^o x^o r. Hen. VIII."

For the assignment made upon the Hanaper, 500*l.* "Upon the Warwick, Spencer and Sarum is lands," 633*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Upon the lands in the Isle of Wight, 88*l.* 17*s.* 8½*d.* Upon "censu forestæ de Cornbury," 7*l.* Upon the ulnage of Northampton, 4*l.* 10*s.*; of London, 16*l.* Upon the custom of Southampton, 200*l.* 1,449*l.* 14*s.* 4½*d.*

ii. Petition of John Shirley, cofferer, for letters of privy seal to Sir John Heron, ordering him to pay the above sum to Shirley, in full satisfaction of the said "desperate tailles" remaining in his accounts from Michaelmas 10 to Michaelmas 11 Hen. VIII.

Pp. 2.

1519.

Sept.
R. O.**457. SHERIFFS OF BRISTOL.**

Yearly expenses of the sheriffs of Bristol, which they are bound to pay of their yearly receipt of 60*l.* of the chamber of the same town, for the lands taken out of their predecessors' hands, and of the tolls, forfeitures, deodands, &c. which they receive. The following charges have always been paid by the sheriffs and bailiffs until Wm. Dale, now one of the sheriffs, refuses to pay, contrary to his oath and an ordinance made by a former mayor and council; "and to any other charges specified in the articles of the said sheriff, the said sheriffs ben not bounden nor need not to pay but at their pleasures."

The King's fee farm in the Exchequer, 102*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* The abbot of Tewkesbury, 14*l.* 10*s.* The prior of St. James, 3*l.* The constable of the castle, 28*l.* 7*s.* 3½*d.* The foresters of Kyngeswood, 11*l.* 7*s.* For the proffers at Michaelmas, 3*l.* 3*s.* For writing them, 2*s.* Wax to seal them and wine, 14*d.* Sending them in a box, 4*d.* For the "proffers" at Easter, 41*s.* 8*d.* Making the sheriff's account yearly, 8*l.* Wages of the sheriff's four waiting men, 26*s.* 8*d.* a year each. To the porters of Newgate, Ratclif gate, Temple gate, Frome gate and Pithey gate, 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To the keeper of the key, 26*s.* 8*d.* To the keeper of the back, 26*s.* 8*d.* For the winter livery, 9*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* The summer livery, 5*l.* 16*s.* To the mayor: for his pension, 20*l.*; for 12 yds. scarlet, 8*l.*; the fur, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; wine, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; for the minstrels, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; for 2 torches, 13*s.* 4*d.*; for the commission of the Staple Court, 22*s.* 6*d.*; for 2 scabbards, 30*s.* To the swordbearer: for his pension, 3*l.*; his fur, 6*s.* 8*d.*; his summer gown, 13*s.* 4*d.*; two hats, 40*s.*; a winter gown of six broad yards, at 5*s.* a yd. To the mayor's four servants: four gowns of 16 broad yds. at 4*s.* 4*d.* To the recorder: for his fee, 10*l.*; 10 yds. scarlet, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; his fur, 3*l.* To the town clerk: for his fee, 4*l.*; his fur, 6*s.* 8*d.*; parchment, wax and wine, 20*s.*; for two law days, 6*s.* 8*d.*; a gown of six broad yards, at 5*s.* a yard. To the steward: for his fee, 3*l.*; his fur, 6*s.* 8*d.*; parchment, paper and wine, 9*s.* 4*d.*; a gown of five broad yards, at 5*s.* the yard; 20 quires of paper for him and the town clerk, with two forells and two bags, 6*s.* 8*d.* A gown of four broad yards for the townclerk's clerk, 4*s.* a yd.; a gown for the steward's clerk, ditto. To the town attorney: for his fee, 3*l.*; his fur, 6*s.* 8*d.*; a gown of five broad yards, at 5*s.* a yard. The under sheriff's fee, 40*s.* To the chamberlain, a gown of five broad yards, at 4*s.* 4*d.* a yd. To St. George's priest, his wages, 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and a gown. To the water bailly, a gown. The waits of the town, 29*s.* 8*d.*, and three gowns. To the keeper of the market, a gown. The charges of Spycer's Obyte: to the mayor, 6*s.* 8*d.*; the town clerk, 3*s.* 4*d.*; four servants, 16*d.*; 20 priests, 6*s.* 8*d.*; four orders of friars, 13*s.* 4*d.*; the vicar of St. Nicholas, for light, 3*s.*; bellringing, 4*s.*; the bellman, 4*d.*; bread dealt to poor people, 30*s.* 4*d.* Keeping St. Nicholas' clock, 26*s.* 8*d.* Ringing the common bell on Michaelmas day, 4*s.* Six torches at St. George's Tide, 20*s.* Drinking at the same feast, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Drinking at Trinity Chapel, 20*s.* Costs at sessions and gaol delivery, 40*s.* Drinking on St. Nicholas' day, 3*s.* 4*d.* The wrestling at St. Laurens, 6*s.* 8*d.*; pears and wine, 6*s.* 8*d.* Wrestling at St. James's Tide, 6*s.* 8*d.* The bearwards, 3*s.* 4*d.* The minstrels, 6*s.* 8*d.* The messengers of the Exchequer, 4*s.* For a sermon at St. Austin's, 6*s.* 8*d.* The four orders of friars, 32*s.* The charges of Midsummer watch, which is at their pleasure, but by estimation 20*l.*

Total costs, 346*l.* 0*s.* 5½*d.*, stated by the sheriff to be 317*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* more. Average receipts, 286*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, stated by the sheriff to be 147*l.* 7*s.* less. Average expense, 50*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*, "which is not for any honest person called to any worshipful room in any town to complain of." The 240*l.* mentioned by the said sheriff is charge for meat and drink and raiment for his own household. "It is thought their apparel for them and their wives is too sumptuous, and

1519.

SHERIFFS OF BRISTOL—*cont.*

proceedeth of their high and prodigal minds," for it is "more than good reason and discretion, and would agree rather to be for a mayor and his wife than a sheriff," and can be diminished at pleasure. The fees and casualties received by the recorder, town clerk, steward and town attorney cannot be diminished as the said sheriff alleges. All his considerations are insufficient. His predecessors have always been content to bear the said charge.

Pp 4.

458.

GRANTS in SEPTEMBER 1519.

Sept.
—
GRANTS.

4. Charles De Moy. Licence to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine. Greenwith, 16 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Newehall, 4 Sept.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 31.

4. Rob. Adams, porter, *alias* soldier, of Calais, Wm. Gilbert, *alias* Northfolk, of Calais, watchman, and John Bolt, of Calais, commoner. Pardon for an affray. *Del.* Newehall, 4 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 21.

12. Wm. Vertue and Hen. Redmayn, mason. To be master masons of the King's works in the Tower of London and elsewhere, during pleasure, with 12*d.* a day, and a robe like the suit of esquires of the household; on surrender, by Vertue, of patent 28 July 2 Hen. VIII. "T[este]," Westm., 7 July 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 12 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 23.

20. Edward and Miles Forest. To be bailiffs of Middelham and keepers of "le West parke" there, in survivorship, on surrender of patent 27 Jan. 20 Hen VII., granting the same to James Conyers, serjeant-at-arms. *Del.* Westm., — Aug. — Hen. VIII.—S.B. Westm., 20 Sept. *Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

23. Sir Rob. Constable. To be steward of the lordship of Hothom, York; with an annuity of 20 marks out of the issues

thereof. *Del.* Westm., 23 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

24. Sir John Walop. Licence to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad. Newhall, 8 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 24 Sept.—P. S. *Fr.* m. 5.

26. Th. Nott, grocer, London. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Havering, 22 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 26 Sept.—P. S.

26. Humph. Coke. To be head carpenter of the King's works during pleasure, with 12*d.* a day. Havering, 22 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 26 Sept.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 31.

26. Tho. Thwaytis. Annuity of 20*l.* out of the customs and subsidies of the port of Ipswich, Suff. *Del.* Westm., 26 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 28.

27. Nich. Jenyns, of London, leather dresser. To be the King's leather dresser or serjeant furrier (*serviens pelletria*) vice Th. Jenyns, deceased, with 12*d.* a day. Westm., 27 Sept.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

Draft of the same.—R.O.

28. William Dod, vintner, *alias* merchant, of London. Protection; going in the suite of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. *Del.* Westm., 28 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

1 Oct.
R. O.

459. The KING'S HOUSEHOLD.

A view of the expenses of the household for the year ending 1 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII., arranged under the following heads:

Bakehouse, * * * Pantry, cxxx . . . *l.* Buttery, 3,389*l.* 2*s.* 8½*d.* Wardrobe, 2,919*l.* 19*s.* 5½*d.* Kitchen and larder, 1,658*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.* Accutry, 3,839*l.* 10*s.* 2½*d.* Poultry, 2,151*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* Scullery, 595*l.* 6*s.* 8½*d.* Saucery, 119*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* Hall and chamber, 555*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* Stable and marshalsy, 1,554*l.* 5*s.* 8¾*d.* Vadia de cõe (commune?), 1,171*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* Wages of the chapel, 3,045*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* Alms, 73*l.* Sundries: Feast of St. George, 417*l.* 17*s.* 1½*d.* Payments by warrant to Henry Webbe, Wm. Dawbeney, and Marcellus de la More, &c., 518*l.* 15*s.* 8½*d.* Gifts and rewards, 118*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* To the Princess, 462*l.* 15*s.* 1¾*d.* Total, 20,359*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.*

Lat., pp. 3. *Endd.*: Anno x^{mo} regis Henrici Octavi. *Mutilated at the commencement.*

1519.

2 Oct. 460. HENRY VIII. to FRANCIS I.

Calig. D. vii. 155. Credence for Sir Thomas Boleyn. Greenwich, 2 Oct. 1519. *Signed.*
B. M. *Countersigned: Menutis.*Fr., p. 1. *Add.*

3 Oct. 461. CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O. Arrived here on the 1st, intending to cross the Alps in two days. Since he wrote from Blois, nothing worth mentioning has occurred, except that by reason of the rain the roads have been very difficult. Hopes before long to reach Rome. Wishes to be commended to the King. Lyons, 3 Oct. 1519. *Signed.*Lat., p. 1. *Add.*

3 Oct. 462. DE HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. v. 376. Thinks that the King his master will be pleased if Henry would write a letter to him in his own hand, of five or six lines, which Hesdin will take to Madame. Advice should be given to the secretary, who goes to the King his master to dissuade him from agreeing to any new diet with the king of France, as there is no need of it. The king of France presses it eagerly. The advice will be exactly in accordance with Charles's wishes. Will be glad if he can despatch the business by Wednesday. In taking leave of the King yesterday, did not like to speak of the affair of Mortaigne. Would be glad to promote the King's wishes on all occasions, if he had the power. If Wolsey is willing to see him on Wednesday, may let him know by one of his servants; otherwise he will keep the arrangement for Thursday. London, 3 Oct. 1519. *Signed.*Fr., mutilated, p. 1. *Add.*

6 Oct. 463. ROYAL JEWELS.

R. O. The King's jewels in the keeping of Sir Wm. Compton, 6 Oct. 1519. Crown gold.—A baldrick of gold, with nine balasses, standing between angels, and 36 pearls; total weight, 99 oz. Another of Spanish work, with 16 fair balasses, and 44 pearls, 84 oz. A golden girdle, well wrought, with roses and pomegranates, 119 oz. A "carkeyn," with "ees," enamelled blue and white, having an owehe at the end, in which is set a table balas, and 4 diamonds, 2 of which are pointed, 1 a tablet, 1 a lozenge, $7\frac{3}{4}$ oz.; with a hanging pearl, weighing, with the pin in it, 47 carats. Another, with "ees," enamelled white and black, with an emerald and 4 diamonds, 7 oz.; and with a hanging pearl, weighing 24 carats lacking 1 gr. A carkeyn of hearts, with a hand at each end holding a balas garnished with 5 pearls and 3 diamonds, 11 oz. 4 dwts.; and with a hanging pearl of 32 carats lacking 1 gr. Another, with a diamond called "the mirror," 6 oz. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters; and with a hanging pearl of 39 carats. Another, black, with a black eagle with a diamond rose in his breast, and a pointed diamond, which was the prize at the jousts in Flanders, 8 oz. 6 dwts.; and with a hanging pearl, 17 carats. Another, of "Syphres," with 10 diamonds and 11 pearls, and at the end a fleur de lis, an emerald and 8 diamonds, $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; &c.A gold chain, "gable" fashion, 122 oz. A chain, of Spanish work, enamelled white and red, 26 oz.; with a balas hanging to it, 3 oz. $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. A gold whistle hanging to a ring, set with a ruby and 7 diamonds, $46\frac{1}{2}$ oz. A "proper" St. George on horseback, set with diamonds, and on the belly of the dragon a pearl, $19\frac{1}{2}$ dwts. A Michael, set with diamonds, and a ruby on the belly of the dragon, and a pearl on the end of his staff, 1 oz. 2 dwts. A tabernacle, of silver and gilt, with Our Lady's image inside;—(note in margin,—*Inquiratur, quia non fuit exhibitum hac vice.*)

1519.

ROYAL JEWELS—*cont.*

"Owches and baages":—An I. H. S. of diamonds, $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. 1 dwt.; with 3 hanging pearls. A ship of diamonds, $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. 1 dwt., with a hanging pearl. A bage, with a rocky diamond, a ruby and an emerald, set between 2 naked children, $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and half a quarter. A great "spynell" with a great "cours" pearl hanging to it, $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. 2 dwt. A bage with a great table diamond held by a gentlewoman with an emerald in her breast, garnished with rubies, 1 oz. 9 dwt.; &c.

A St. Andrew's cross, with a rose of diamonds in the middle, 19 dwt. A virgin pearl, 12 carats 1 gr. A pierced pearl, 16 carats, 2 gr.—"*Vide ulterius ut in rotula indentata, viz.*," 2 great pearls standing in "platers," 2 smaller pearls with small chains, 36 pearls "of a less sort," &c. 16 gold rings, with stones, one enamelled white with a ruby in it, wherewith the King was sacred, 7 dwt. 24 small bead stones of gold, a gold doghook, a golden girdle with roses and pomegranates, 119 oz. Another, enamelled blue and green, with 12 fair balasses in it, 63 oz. $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. A collar with a "towzan" (toison), 18 oz. $1\frac{1}{2}$ q. A little toison, 8 dwt. Ribbon points, with and without gold agletts;—"*inquirantur, quia liberata in Garderoba, ut dicitur.*"

Pp. 5. Endd.

R. O. 2. A fair copy of the preceding, in a vellum cover. *Pp. 13, badly mutilated.*—*A small portion of another account [of jewels?] adheres to the cover.*

R. O. 3. * * * A garter with letters of gold; castles [and pomegra]nates, a ruby on the buckle, a turquoise and a hanging pearl. 11 other garters "wrought in the stoole," with gold buckles and pendants. A blue garter of letters, with gold buckle and pendant set with a rose of diamonds, . . . rubies, 6 pearls and a lozenge diamond, &c. Images: a Michael, several Georges, and a tabernacle (*as above*). A tablet of the Passion, with St. [Pet]er on one side, and St. George on the other. A target of the Passion. 3 golden targets. A shield "with a pyler at it." A toison.

. . . . Oct. a^o 11. Gold molten clearly, $24\frac{1}{2}$ oz., "in fynes" 21 carats, that is, 35s. the oz.

A St. George, full of relics. A flower enamelled white, with 3 diamonds and a ruby. A water flower with a balas, a table diamond and a hanging pearl. A J.H.S. of diamonds with 3 hanging pearls. A ship of diamonds, with a hanging pearl. "The brooch with the sapphire that was in a gilt goblet." A St. Andrew's cross with a rose of diamond. A gold cross with diamonds and pearls. A gold spoon and knife. A silver gilt spoon in a green bag. A pair of gold snuffers. Several signet and other rings. A ruby hanging by a loop. A balas set in a paunce. A pointed diamond. A balas standing in a sun, with a hanging pearl. Pearls (*as above*). A pair of gold bracelets. A leather bracer, painted, with gold buckle and pendant. A gold girdle, wrought with roses and pomegranates, 119 oz. A gold doghook. Collars. A square silver coffer, lined with tawny . . . ; another, with lock and key, containing relics; another of "byrall" standing on lions. 2 small gold flagons for ros[e water? with] chains, [delivered] to Sir Henry Wyatt. A pomaunder of black. A gold "zyphus," set with 73 pearls. Various bags of leather, satin, and velvet, variously embroidered, set with rubies, diamonds, &c. A Spanish purse with gold tassels. A bag embroidered with 2 peacocks. A black velvet bonnet with a brooch breast of a jacinth. A russet velvet bonnet with a zyphus, a Millayn bonnet, with a gold brooch, and many others. Coifs of silk and gold, set with pearls. 2 "virellys" for hawks, with the arms of England. A lure embroidered with a bear on one side, and a fountain with

1519.

2 unicorns on the other. A hawk's hood set with 6 rubies and 7 pearls. 32 other hawk's hoods, gold and silver bells, a pair of "loynes" with a button, a hawk's glove, &c. A silver box with a rose on it. A silver gilt box for green ginger, with a dragon on the top. Dog collars of "stole" work, with silk and gold "lyalmes." A red and white silk leash with collars. 4 greyhound collars with gilt turrets, &c. Ribbon points with aglets. A unicorn's bone, with a chain and ring, delivered to the cellarer. A gold toothpick, with a ruby and diamond, given to my lord Cardinal. A goblet with a gilt cover, wherein sapphire. An ostrich feather, garnished with 4 2 gold whistles. "Gold coined": a sovereign, 2 nobles, half a noble bowed, and 2 pieces of strange coin. cloth of gold, wrought in the stole, for the sacrament at Windsor. A silver gilt buckler, with the arms of England, roses, castles and pomegranates. A piece of arras with the Passion upon it, delivered to the closet. A primer with gold clasps; others covered with green and crimson sa[tin]. A silver standish, with H and C. A dragon's tongue at a "black" A silver gilt comb case, with H and K. Another, of crimson satin. A shaving cloth. A dial of latén.

In the same hand as §2, pp. 15, with a leathern cover, badly mutilated.

8 Oct. **464** SIR WM. SANDYS to WOLSEY.

R. O.

At three o'clock this afternoon received a letter from the captain of Boulogne, stating that the money appointed by their ambassadors to be brought for the King has already arrived. A pursuivant is sent over to inform them of it. Calais, 8 Oct. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

10 Oct. **465.** NOE DE LA SALLE, Minstrel.

R. O.

Warrant to Sir John Heron to pay 20*l.* a year to Noe de la Salle, newly appointed minstrel to the King, commencing 1 Oct. inst., during pleasure. Greenwich, 10 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*

10 Oct. **466.** FOR LUKE SPINULA.

Rym. XIII.

700.

Safeconduct to him as provost of the Genoese merchants, with liberty of buying and selling. Westm., 10 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.

Fr., 11 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

3 Oct. **467.** QUEEN MARGARET to DACRE.

Calig. B. 1.

247.

B. M.

and . . .

Since her last she received a letter from my lord governor, by his servant, stating that he could not come to Scotland. Dacre knows the cause. He is willing that she have the government of Scotland, and the keeping of her son, as before, and bid her ask the mind of the Lords of Scotland; which she did, and has found them quite against her, and with the earl of Arran. They say she may have right of the Duke, but they will not consent to her; so that Dacre will perceive the lords are not her friends, as he supposed. Has done her best to reconcile the West-land lords and my lord of Angus, "as this fathdar Jedward vol informe you." The lords are utterly bent on Angus's destruction. Trusts he will have more help from England, now she is with him, than he had before, when Dacre bore him great favor. Desires to know his mind by the bearer, "my l. of Jedvard," to whom she begs him to show favor. He has few friends here. Trusts they keep a good part to her, "and the better and ye will bid them." "Lat not Jorge Hwmbe take the lordys partys and leffe owrs." Lythco, 13 Oct.

Hol., pp. 2. Add.

1519.

- 15 Oct. **468.** [BOLEYN to WOLSEY.]
 Calig. D. vii. 156.
 B. M. Wrote his last on the 24th Sept. Whilst the King, the Queen and my Lady were in a forest two leagues hence, the bishop of Limoges, brother to young Momerancy that is in England, died here of the common sickness. They have consequently removed to Amboise. Proclamation is made that no townsman enter the castle where the King's children are. The admiral arrived yesterday from Orleans. He was said to be "sore sick, nat like to recover ; but I saw him leepe up and downe of his mewle as well as he was wont to doo." The sickness has prevented the sending of the presents into England. It is reported that the armament prepared by the king of Castile has been injured at sea. Blois, 15 Oct.
Pp. 2.
- 16 Oct. **469.** DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM to SIR EDW. CHAMBERLAIN.
 Egerton MS. 1049. f. 1.
 B. M. Has caused his claim to the manor of Penshurst and lands in Kent to be investigated "by our counsell," according to the promise made to him at Woodstock. Is willing to allow him a recompense, "not so much for doubt of your title, as for that we set more by a friend than any profit." Has appointed Thomas Cade, his surveyor, to communicate with him. Thornbury, 16 Oct. *Signed.*
P. 1. Add. Endd.
- 16 Oct. **470.** ERASMUS to PACE.
 Er. Ep. xiii. 11. Regrets for the death of Colet.* Saw Campeggio at Bruges. Has not heard from the King or Wolsey. Recommends Anthony à Grimberg, "filius principis Bergani." Louvain, postrid. id. Oct. 1519.
- 16 Oct. **471.** ERASMUS to TUNSTAL.
 Er. Ep. xiii. 24. Disputes occasioned by Lee. Is aware that Lee was advised by Tunstal to suppress his work ; but this is no advantage to Erasmus. Laments the death of Colet. Commends to his notice Anthony à Grimberg. Longolius has wasted him two days. Supped with Campeggio, and liked his sincerity and openness. Would like to see Lee's notes. Louvain, postrid. id. Oct. 1519.
- 16 Oct. **472.** ERASMUS to WM. DONCASTER.
 Er. Ep. xiii. 13. Laments the death of Colet. Intends to write his life, and asks for materials. Begs his remembrance to Gerard the steward.† Louvain, postrid. id. Oct. 1519.
- 16 Oct. **473.** ERASMUS to LUPSET.
 Er. Ep. xiii. 12. Desires to embalm the memory of Colet, and wishes Lupset to give him any information he thinks important. Devoted nearly three days to Longolius. Commends to him Anthony à Grimberg. Earnestly begs to have a copy of the book (Lee's Notes ?)—"liber ille ; exemplar est isthic apud tres aut quatuor." Does not expect it can be suppressed. Louvain, postridie id. Oct. 1519.
- 16 Oct. **474.** ERASMUS to MOUNTJOY.
 Er. Ep. xiii. 14. In favor of Anthony à Grimberg and his tutor Adrian Barlandus. Laments the death of Colet. Louvain, postridie id. Oct. 1519.

* He died of dropsy, according to Erasmus, Er. Ep. xiii. 16.

† Wm. Garrard, Colet's executor.

1519.

- 16 Oct. 475. MARMADUKE ABBOT OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY, YORK, to
R. O. WOLSEY.

Received on Saturday, the 8th Oct., his letters dated 1st. Sept., stating that the Pope had appointed him and Campeggio legates in England for the reformation of the monasteries; and on the departure of Campeggio had given similar powers to Wolsey alone, by bull dated iv. id. Jun. 1519; in accordance with which Wolsey calls on him to attend, on the day after Martinmas next, at Westminster, to deliberate with other abbots and priors. Cannot attend personally, being 80 years old and subject to paralysis and the stone, but will appoint proctors to appear for him. Fountains Abbey, 16 Oct. 1519. *Signed*: "Fontaynes Cistercien."

Lat., parchment. Endd.

- 17 Oct. 476. ERASMUS to BISHOP FISHER.

Er. Ep. XIII.
4.

Had intended to send his remarks on Fisher's work against Faber. Hochstrate has left Cologne from fear of the plague, and is at Louvain. Is sorry to have to complain of Lee. As Frobenius threatens a new edition of the New Testament, will be glad of Fisher's corrections. Has not for 30 years lamented any one's death so much as Colet's. Has twice received letters from Frederick Duke of Saxony, Luther's patron. The Duke was offered the empire, and refused it, the day before Charles's election, who, but for the Duke, would never have obtained it. He was offered 30,000 florins, but would not accept them. When he was urged to allow 10,000 to be distributed among his retinue, he replied, "They may take them if they please; but if any one of them touches so much as a crown, he does not remain in my service tomorrow." Next day he mounted his horse, and departed. The duke of Wurtemberg, who was lately defeated, has renewed the war. The return of Charles from Spain is expected.

Louvain, prid. Lucæ, 1519.

- 17 Oct. 477. ERASMUS to WOLSEY.

Er. Ep. XIII.
15.

Thanks him for reading the letters Erasmus sent, and being pleased with them, as Campeggio informed him. Commends to him Anthony à Grimberg, son of the prince of Berghes. He is a lad of great promise, and born to a great estate.

Louvain, pridie Lucæ, 1519.

- 18 Oct. 478. ERASMUS to SIR HEN. GUILDFORD, Master of the Horse.

Er. Ep. XIII.
10.

The lord of Berghes is so charmed with the virtue and fame of Henry VIII., his Queen and his court, that he is very anxious to have his youngest son Anthony brought up in England. The ill fortune of Erasmus induced him to turn a deaf ear to the invitations of Wolsey and Lord Mountjoy to push his fortunes in the English court.

Louvain, Nat. S. Lucæ, 1519.

- 18 Oct. 479. ALFONSO DA ESTE [DUKE OF FERRARA] to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Was glad to hear by his letters that Sir Thos. Cheney had arrived in England, with the horse he presented to the King, and was more pleased at the King's accepting it. Thanks him for the two richly caparisoned palfreys and a horn brought by Sir Griffith Don. Desires credence for Sir Griffith. Ferrara, 18 Oct. 1519. *Signed*.

Lat., pp. 2. Address mutilated.

1519.

19 Oct. 480. DACRE to WOLSEY.

Calig. B. III.

16.

B. M.

The sickness has been so sore in Edinburgh that the lords could not meet. The young King is conveyed to Dalkeith. His master cook and four servants are dead. The Lords Regents have appointed a council at Stirling on Saturday the 22nd, on the coming home of the earl of Murray, "a springeold of 20 years of age." As Dacre wrote last, David Home and his brother have slain the prior of Coldingham, son of the old archbishop of Glasgow and the old Earl Bothwell's sister. They have put in the earl of Angus's brother, brother to David Home's wife. The chancellor of Scotland and the earl of Arran have nominated a brother of Lennox to the same, and written to Dacre upon it. Morpeth, 19 Oct. *Signed*.

P. 1. *Add.*: "To my lord Cardinal's grace."

19 Oct. 481. ANGUS to HENRY VIII.

Calig. B. I.

141.

B. M.

Friar Henry Chaidworth, minister of the Observant Friars in England, has arrived with letters from Henry to the Queen his sister. He has discharged his mission so well that the Queen is willing to remain with Angus her husband. Cannot express his gratitude to Henry for the result. Will be always ready to do him service, even if Henry commanded him to go on foot to Jerusalem and fight with the Turks. His brother, George Douglas, has been two years detained in France by the duke of Albany. Begs Henry to write to the king of France and the governor for his deliverance. Dalkeith, 19 Oct. *Signed*.

P. 1. *Add.*: To the maist excellent, maist hye and maist mychty prince the king of Inglande, &c.

22 Oct. 482. DACRE to WOLSEY.

Calig. B. II.

333.

B. M.

Has received his letter from Westminster, 31 July, by the provincial friar Henry Chadworth, who thereafter proceeded to the queen of Scots at Stirling, and delivered to her the King's letters and credence, remonstrating with her on her separation from her husband, and her reported "suspicious living." The Queen repeated the substance of his message to the archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of Scotland, and Arran, the former of whom strongly urged her not to be reconciled to her husband; but the friar, having continued with her seven or eight weeks, has now got her to consent to it. Perceiving this, the Chancellor, with the bishops of Galloway and Argyll, the earls of Arran and Lennox, the lords Fleming, Semple, and Maxwell, came to Stirling, and told her if she agreed with her husband they would leave her. She replied, she was resolved to go to him. The lords then departed to Lithgow, where she had another conference with them, to effect an agreement between them and her husband, without effect. On Monday the 15th* she came to Edinburgh. Angus met her by the way with 400 horse, and conveyed her within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh Castle, where she visited the King. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, and Murray, the earls of Huntley, Argyll, Ruthven (?), Morton, Glencairn, and Marshall, the lords Glamis, Hay, and Grey, (of the opposite party,) met her there "with great triumph, in shooting of guns, and great melody of instruments playing, and said she was welcome to the town." These lords intend to make a new chancellor on their side. Messages have been sent between Edinburgh and Linlithgow for a concord, without effect. Albany has sent Carrick herald with a letter of credence to the Queen, that as he cannot come to Scotland he wishes her to have the rule if the lords will consent, as appears by her letter to Dacre, enclosed. Harbottle, 22 Oct. *Signed*.

Pp. 3. *Add.*: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

* The 15th October was not a Monday, but a Saturday, in 1519.

1519.

22 Oct.

R. O.

483. CHAPEL ROYAL, GREENWICH.

Warrant to Sir John Heron to pay to Thos. Forster, comptroller of the King's works, 200*l.* for the gilding and painting of the Chapel Royal at Greenwich, the new making of two lodgings there over the gallery into the Thames, and the conveying of a conduit out of the King's great garden into the kitchens; also for repairs at Eltham. Greenwich, 22 Oct. 11 Hen.VIII. *Signed.*

22 Oct.

R. O.

484. THIEVES AND SUSPECTED PERSONS.

Decree made, 22 Oct. anno xi., for search, in London and the suburbs, to be made by the same persons named 8 July last.* The search to be made on Sunday, 23 Oct., at midnight, and to be kept very secret. Men and women suspiciously taken to be committed to ward till Tuesday morning, then to be brought before the lords. Their names to be sent to the lords on Monday.

P. 1. Endd. : "Serche."

24 Oct.

S. B.
Rym. XIII.
703.

485. FOR CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Offices of bailiff of the honor of Chesthunte, Herts, and parker of Brantynghishey park therein, from the death of William Bedill, with 4*d.* a day out of the issues. *Del.* Westm., 24 Oct. 11 Hen.VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. *p. 1, m. 10.*

26 Oct.

R. O.

486. SAMPSON to WOLSEY.

Wolsey's goodness has been so great to him that he can speak his thoughts freely, especially considering that this age has not produced a wiser man than Wolsey, as is visible from his management of the affairs of church and state, requiring no compliments from him. Begs he will not, therefore, lay upon him the management of his household, a subject of which he is entirely ignorant, and would rather be employed in something more in accordance with his earlier studies. Bruges, vii. kal. Nov.

Hol., Lat., pp. 3. Add. : To my lord Legate's grace.

28 Oct.

R. O.

487. WOLSEY to WM. FRESSELL, prior of Rochester Cathedral.

Appointing him coadjutor to Thos. abbot of the exempt Benedictine monastery of St. Alban's, Linc. dioc., on account of the great age and infirmity of the latter. Westm., 28 Oct. 1519.

Latin, draft.

28 Oct.

Calig. D. vii.
157.

B. M.

488. BONNIVET to [WOLSEY].

The King has appointed him to the place of his late brother the Grand Master. Begs the continuance of Wolsey's favor. His master is anxious for the interview, and has written to Mons. de la Bastye to speak to queen Mary and the duke of Suffolk touching the charge which the late Grand Master held for them in Xaintonge. This matter has been referred to Wolsey. Has written to Mons. de la Bastye to speak to him more at length on the subject. Amboyse, 28 Oct. *Signature half burnt.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

28 Oct.

R. O.

489. LORD DARCY.

Receipt by Robt. Jenour, for Thos. Bonham, receiver general of the duchy of Lancaster, and John Burgoyne, auditor, of 66*s.* 8*d.*, from lord Darcy, for his fee due at Michaelmas last. 28 Oct. 11 Hen.VIII.

Lat.

1519.

31 Oct. 490. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has shown the King Wolsey's letters to himself. He is sorry to hear of Wolsey's sickness, as he wished to see him this night. Sends back the letters signed, in which it appears that Wolsey "hath so substantially and abundantly looked upon the King's causes, that his highness can nothing further commit unto your grace therein." Greenwich, 31 Oct.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Legate's grace.

Oct.

491. LIVERIES in the ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

R. O.

Daily liveries in the King's household, Oct. 11 Hen.VIII., at Greenwich.

Breakfasts.—The King; the Queen; the French queen; the Princess, 1; my lord Cardinal, 1; duke of Suffolk, 1; duke of Norfolk, —; earls of Surrey, 1, and Devonshire, 1; the King's chamberlain, 1; lord and lady Hastings, 1; the Queen's chamberlain, 1; my lord Steward, my lord Marquis, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Comptroller, lord Burgeny, Mr. Marney, and Mr. Secretary, 1; Mr. More and Mr. Clerk, 1; Sir Hen. and Lady Guilford, 1; Mr. Norres, 1; Mr. Brian, 1; Mr. Karewe, 1; Mr. Compton, 1; Mr. Poyneys, 1, and Kary, 1; lady Salisbury, 1; lady Bullayn, 1; my lady Willoughby, 1; lady Parre, 1; lady Gray and the Queen's maidens, 1; the "henxmen," 1; the King's and Queen's watches, 1; the young minstrels, 1; Mr. Cofferer, 1. Total, 37.

The King's Chamber.—The King; the King's board; my lord Chamberlain, 2; the Vice-chamberlain, 1; knights, 2, and squires for the Body, 2; chaplains, 2; gentlemen ushers, 2; yeomen ushers and yeomen, 2; Master Compton and Mr. Tyler, 1; the King's robes, 1; grooms, porter grooms and pages, 3; the serjeant porter, 1; Mr. Compton's and Mr. Tyler's servants, 1; the master cook, 1; Pero, 1; yeomen cooks and grooms, 2; Mr. Carewe, 1; my lord Cardinal's chamber, 2; sewers of the King's chamber, 1; knights for the Body in the King's privy chamber, 1. Total on the King's side, 32.

The Queen's Chamber.—The Queen; the Queen's board; ladies in presence, 2; the Queen's chamberlains, 2; ladies and gentlewomen, 7; chaplains and gentlemen ushers, 3; chamberers, 6; yeomen ushers and yeomen, 6; sewers of the chamber, 1; the Queen's sewer, 1, confessor, 1, and physician, 1; the apothecary, 1; Frances Philipp, 1; gentlemen waiters, 2; groom porter, groom and pages, 3; the chambers of the Queen's chamberlain, 1; of lady Bolayn, 1; of lady Willoughby, 1; of the Queen's vice-chamberlain, —; and of the Queen's chancellor, 1; cooks, 3. Total on the Queen's side, 48. The Princess and her chamber, 16.

Liveries to Officers and others in the Court.—Mr. Treasurer; Mr. Comptroller; Mr. Secretary (Pace) and Mr. More, 1; Mr. Cofferer, 1; the clerks of Green Cloth, 2; the clerk controller, 1; the chief, 1, and under clerks of the kitchen, 2; the under clerk of controlment, 1; the clerks of the spicery, 2; the counting-house, 1; the pantry, 3; the cellar, 3; the buttery, 3; the bakehouse, 2; Mr. Chamber, 1; Mr. Lenaker, 1; the henchmen, 3; the minstrels, 3; Marcellus, once a day, 1; the Frere and Gylis, 1; Dawbourne and Parker, 1; the lord Chamberlain's chamber, 1; the duke of Suffolk's, 1; duke of Norfolk's, —; earl Surrey's, 1; earl of Devonshire's, 1; my lord Marquis's, —; lord Burgeny's, —; lord Hastings, 1; lord Montague's, 1; lord Steward's, —; Mr. Treasurer's, —; Mr. Comptroller's, —; Mr. Secretary's, 1; Mr. Marne's, 1; Mr. More's, 1; Mr. Clerk's, 1; Mr. Norres', 1; Mr. Poynes' and Kary's, 1; Mr. Brian's, 1; Sir H. Guldeford and his lady, 1; knights for the Body, servants of the Privy Chamber, 2; Mr. Dean's servants, 1; Mr. Amener's servants, 1; the master cook, 1, and grooms of the hall kitchen, 1; yeomen cooks, 1; serjeant

1519.

of the larder, 1; Sir Thos. Newell's chamber, —; the pitcher-house, 2; the "chamere," 2; the confectionary, 1; the wafre, 1; the ewre, 3; the lawener, 2; the porters at the gate, 2; the King's beds, 2; the Queen's robes and beds, 2; the marshalsea, 1; the jewel-house, 1; Mr. Heron's servants, 1; Master Wyatt, —; confessor of household and under amener, 1; the marshal of the hall, 1; the sewers, and the surveyors of the hall, 2; the harbejors, 2; the servitors of the hall, 3; the amery, 2; the woodyard, 3; yeomen and grooms lardeners, 3; boylers, 1; the squyllere, 3; the pastry and salsere, 3; the pultre, 1; the scalding-house, 2; the cartakers, 1; the grooms of King's chamber, 2; the clerks of avere, 1; yeomen farrier, saddler, and mailer, 1; the clerk of stable and carriage, 1; grooms of the stable, 1; hunts and lesshe, 2; the servants of the King's and Queen's gentlemen ushers, 2, and of the serjeants of arms, 1; Mr. Dykon's and the Queen's serjeant-at-arms, 1; Sir Edw. Nevell's servants, 1; the squires for the Body's, 1, and the King's sewers', 1; my lady Parre's chamber, 1; Mr. Fitzwilliam and my Lady his wife, 1; the servants of the Queen's maids, 2, and of Maistres Coke and Laur (?), 1; the King's and Queen's footmen, 2; my lady Gray and Maistres Jerningham's servants, 1; the trumpets, 1; messengers, 1; the herds, 1; the keeper of the plate, 1; the King's fool, once a day, 1; the parish clerk on Sunday, 1; children of the kitchens, 3; porters and scourers, 3; Sym and his fellows, 1.—Breakfasts, 37; King's chamber, 32 ff; Queen's chamber, 48 ff; Princess's chamber, 16 ff; liveries, 157 ff; waste and commandments, 12 ff.

Pp. 3.

492.

GRANTS in OCTOBER 1519.

Oct.
—
GRANTS.

1. John Shurley, the King's servant. Release, having been authorized to seize the goods of Th. Haydoke, found guilty of the murder of Wm. Thomlynson at Bampton, Oxon., by inquisition taken before Ric. Gibbes. Newhall, 9 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 1 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 10.

1. Rob. Toteyard, clk., A.M. Presentation to the church of Glawstre, St. David's dioc., vice Ric. Bede, resigned. Westm., 1 Oct.—Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.

3. John Dowse, clk. Presentation to the church of Borley, London dioc., vice Th. Newman, resigned. Westm., 3 Oct.—Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 22.

10. Wm. Wise. Licence to act by deputy as receiver of customs in the port of Bristol, being an officer of the Wardrobe, notwithstanding statute 4 Hen. IV. Newhall, 7 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 10 Oct.—P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 31.

10. George Whelpely, haberdasher of London. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pette, deputy of Calais. Newhall, 7 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 10 Oct.—P.S.

11. John Haukyn, the King's servant. To be purveyor of the King's works at the manor of Newhall, Essex, with 4d. a day out of the issues of the manors of Newhall, Boreham, Wakefordhall and Powers, Essex. Greenwich, 6 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 11 Oct.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 17.

12. John Whale, of Seynt John Street, Middx. Pardon for killing John Bagnall in self-defence, as was found before Th. Mirfyn, mayor of London. Westm., 12 Oct.—Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 17.

12. John Dymmok, gent. usher of the Chamber, alias merchant of Bristol, alias of Andewarp. Protection; going in retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Enfield, 19 Aug. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 12 Oct.—P.S.

12. John Ashton. To be auditor of all possessions in the King's hands by reason of any mortgage, exchange, or other transaction of Henry VII. or of Henry VIII., with Tho. marquis of Dorset, Sir Tho. Bulleyn and others, or by forfeiture, in all counties of England where there is no auditor, with 20*l.* a year, during good conduct; vice John Buttes. Greenwich, 12 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 12 Oct.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 6.

14. Ric. Newton, of Agmondesham, Bucks, alias of Stanwell, Midd. Pardon.—S.B. (undated). Westm., 14 Oct. Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.

ii. Matthew Kyverston, of Agmondesham, Bucks, alias of Stanwell, Midd. Pardon.—S.B. (Undated, but attached to the preceding.)

14. Roger Whitton, yeoman usher of the Chamber. To be bailliff of the town and lordship, and keeper of the park and woods, of Watlington, and keeper of the woods of

1519.

GRANTS in OCTOBER—*cont.*

Oct.
—
GRANTS.

Netilbede, Oxon., with 4*d.* a day, during pleasure. Greenwich, 10 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 14 Oct.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 23.*

15. Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais, Sir William Sandys, K.G., treasurer, Sir Edward Guldeford, marshal, Sir Ric. Carewe, lieutenant of the castle, Sir Robert Wotton, junr., and Thos. Elys, lieutenant of the staple of Calais. Commission to make inquisition concerning the possessions of Ric. Helperby, merchant of Calais, and Joan his wife; no heir having, within a year and a day of their decease, put in a claim to their possessions in the said town, the isle of Colne, the county of Guisnez, and the lordships of Bavelyngham, Sandegate, Hammes, Mark and Oye, as required by charter of king Edw. III., and the custom of the town. *Westm.*, 15 Oct.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 19*d.**

16. Christ. Asplyn, of Enfeld, Midd. Pardon for killing, in self-defence, John Pake, butcher of Totenham, Midd., at the Highcrosse. *Westm.*, 16 Oct.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.*

16. Rob. Litle, groom of the wardrobe of beds. Corrody of the monastery of Bordesley, Worc., *vice* Rob. Russhton. Greenwich, 12 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 16 Oct.—P.S.

17. James Greseley. Wardship of Clement, s. and h. of John Agarde. *Del. Westm.*, 17 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 14.*

19. Henry s. and h. of Sir Henry Fro-wik, Sir John Legh, Edm. Denny, baron of the Exchequer, and Th. Roberdis. Livery of lands; Legh, Denny and Roberdis having been seized of lands to Sir Henry's use. *Del. Westm.*, 19 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 13.*

20. Sir Rob. Brudenell, justice, and Sir Maurice Barkeley. To make inquisition concerning the possessions and heir of John Coly, in Rutland. *Westm.*, 20 Oct.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 13*d.**

20. John Parker, clk. Presentation to the church of Feocke, Exeter dioc. Greenwich, 18 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 Oct.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 17.*

20. Rob. Porter, of Saint Bride's, London, chaplain. Pardon. Greenwich, 15 Oct.

11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 Oct.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 31.*

20. John du Paris. To be the King's tailor, with 12*d.* a day, *vice* Wm. Hilton. *Del. Westm.*, 20 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 31.*

20. Sir Th. Exmewe. Pardon for not possessing lands to the annual value of 20*l.*, as required by the statute, on his appointment as justice of peace in cos. Midd. and Surrey, &c. *Del. Westm.*, 20 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 19.*

21. Walter Arnall, of Carcolston, Notts., husbandman. Pardon for killing John Rikkus in self-defence. *Westm.*, 21 Oct.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.*

22. Ric. Harmon, of London, haberdasher, and Thomas Davy, of Crainbrok, Kent, mercer. Licence to export 1,000 woollen cloths within the next seven years, without barbing, rowing, or shearing the same, notwithstanding the statute 3 Hen. VII. *Del. Westm.*, 22 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

24. Wm. Robynson. Pardon for killing Th. Robynson, of Wigton, Cumb., in self-defence. *Westm.*, 24 Oct.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 14.*

25. Fras. Pointz, squire of the Body. Annuity of 50 mks. Greenwich, 15 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 25 Oct.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 17.*

25. Edw. Kyngesmyll. Pardon for killing Rob. Redhat in defence of himself and of Edward Cooke, at Longfield near Estrop, Hants. *Westm.*, 25 Oct.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.*

27. Rob. Brograve and Katharine his wife. Custody of Joan, widow of James Twichet lord Audeley, and of all her possessions, during her insanity, on surrender of former patents. Greenwich, 20 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. [Westm.]*, 27 Oct.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 23.*

29. Ric. Paris, of London, leatherseller, *alias* of Berwick, constable. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Anthony Utrede, captain of Berwick. Greenwich, 28 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 29 Oct.—P.S.

29. Th. Magnus, clk. Presentation to the church of Myvot, St. Asaph's dioc. *Del. Westm.*, 29 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

4 Nov. 493. SIR WM. SANDYS, Treasurer of Calais.

Indenture, 4 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII., between the King and Sandys, leasing to the latter the lordship of Mark and Oye, with appurtenances and privileges, as held by Sir John Turbervyle, late farmer thereof; with certain reservations, among others, the Meane Broke and Couswade marshes; for seven years, at the annual rent of 1,320*l.* (Calais), with power to appoint

1519.

English officers, excepting the "vaunt parler, coroner, curatour, chamberlains, preysours, meter, and a man."

Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p.2, m. 25.

4 Nov. 494. To WOLSEY, as Chancellor.

P. S. To issue writs on the preferment of John Veysey to the bishopric of Exeter. Greenwich, 23 Oct. 11 Hen.VIII. *Del. Westm., 4 Nov.*

ii. Bull of Leo X. containing the preferment. Rome, 31 Aug.

4 Nov. 495. BISHOPRIC OF EXETER.

Rym. xiii.
703.

i. Writ to the escheator of Devon for restitution of the temporalities of the see of Exeter on the election of John Veysey, *vice* Hugh late bishop, deceased.

ii. Similar writs for Cornwall, Surrey and Sussex, Hants and Middlesex.

iii. Mandate to the tenants of the bishopric.

Westm., 4 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p.2, m. 5.

5 Nov. 496. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Recommends to him a son of lord Berghes, sent to be brought up in England. Brussels, 5 Nov. 1519. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. and endd.

5 Nov. 497. For EDWARD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

P. S.

Wardship of Thomas Fitzgerald, brother of Henry son of Gerald earl of Kildare and Elizabeth his wife, deceased. Greenwich, 20 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 5 Nov.*

Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p.1, m. 7.

6 Nov. 498. [TUNSTAL]* to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.
169.

B. M.

[At his] last being at Antwerp two men [of the] said town came to him, and told him h[ow] Nicholas Tyrry, as one of the King's purveyors, had taken of them certain [stuff] to the King's use when his grace was last [at] Guysnes, which they had only delivered because he came in the King's name. Told them he was sure the King had ordered all his purveyors to pay for what they took. Desired them to make written memorials of their demands, that he might advertise the King; on which they promised to send Tunstal copies of "the bills of his own hand," given for assurance of their payment. Heard no mo[re of] them until he came here, when one of them sent [him] the copy of his bill enclosed. They told him Tyrry had done the same thing at Antwerp. Will send the other memorial, if it come.

The Electors still refuse to give place to any ambassadors, and even to the three cardinals here, as they did at the Emperor's coming to Acon. Has, therefore, to preserve the King's honor, abstained from solemn acts. The Pope's ambassador has done the same. Thinks, from what he hears from Chievres and the Chancellor, they are not likely to be better treated at this time, nor at the diet, "for the Electors will not be ordered nor advised by them touching their h. . . . ceremonies of the empire. A heard that in times past the hath given place to orators of which now they do not." Thinks Chievres and [the] Chan-

* In margin :— "1520, 6 Nov. Coleyn, Cuth. Tunstall."

1519.

[TUNSTAL] to WOLSEY—*cont.*

cellor "have not or dare not [tell] them of it." Has sent the news in the King's letter. Begs to know if he shall remain longer. Only matters of the empire will be treated in the diet. As to taking the crown imperial, thinks it is far from their minds, seeing that Spain is in disorder, whence money must come to maintain the enterprise. Here is great expense to the Emperor, and little revenues. [Cologne], 6 Nov.

P.S.—"Much of the Emperor's gayest and best is sent back into Brabande, whereb[y it doth] appear to all men that after t they will ret[urn]."

In Tunstal's hand:—"The Car. . . ."

Add.: "To the most rev." &c. "my lord Card. of York," &c.

Pp. 3, badly mutilated.

7 Nov. 499. . DE BERGHES to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. v.
390* b.
B. M.

Would have sent his son before to England as requested, had not Mons. wished to take him at his last journey from Germany, on the affair of the empire. Begs the King will receive him into his service, as the writer is growing old. Brussels, 7 Nov. 1519. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

500. SHERIFF ROLL

S. B.

Cumb.—Ambrose Crakenthorp, Hugh Hoton (?), * Sir Edw. Musgrave.

Northumb.—* Geo. Skelton, Hen. Wallace, Rob. Ribton.

York.—* Sir Peter Vavasour, Sir John Norton, Sir John Rowelyff.

Notts. and Derby.—Humph. Hercy, Sir Th. Cokeyn, * Godfrey Foljambe.

Linc.—Sir Rob. Dymmok, Th. Robertson, * Sir Rob. Tirwhitt.

Warw. and Leic.—Sir John Dygby, * Sir Hen. Willoughby, John Villers.

Salop.—* Sir Th. Cornewaill, Th. Vernon, Fras. Yong.

Staff.—Sir Lewis Bagot, Sir Wm. Gresley, * Sir Edw. Grey.

Heref.—Jas. Baskerville, * Ric. Cornewaill, Th. ap Harry.

Worc.—Sir Wm. Compton.

Glouc.—Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir Wm. Kyngeston, * Wm. Denys.

Oxon. and Berks.—Ric. Norreis, * Th. Inglefeld, John Cheyne.

Northt.—Th. Lovett, John Tresham, * Sir Th. Lucy.

Camb. and Hunts.—* Sir Giles Alyngton, Sir Ric. Cholmeley, Rob. Frevyl[e].

Beds and Bucks.—Sir John Hampden, Sir Ralph Verney, jun., * John Mordaunt.

Norf. and Suff.—Sir Th. Wyndham, * Sir John Heydon, Sir Th. Bedyngfeld.

Essex and Herts.—Sir Geoff. Gate, * Sir John Veer, Th. Tey.

Kent.—Th. Cheyne, * Sir John Wilshire, Sir John Fogge.

Surrey and Sussex.—Sir Edm. Bray, * Sir Goddard Oxenbriggs, John Shelley.

Hants.—* John Caillewey, Peter Philpott, Sir Wm. Gifford.

Wilts.—John Horsey, * Sir Edw. Darrell, Hen. Baynton.

Som. and Dors.—Sir John Seymour, * John Bourgher, Th. Stukeley.

Devon.—* Ric. Pexsall, Sir Edw. Pomerey, Nich. Kirkeham.

Cornw.—Jas. Eresy, * John Arundell, of Talvern, Wm. Lowth.

Westmor.—Hen. Lord Clifford.

Rutl.—* Wm. Fyldyng, Th. Sherrard, Geo. Makworth.

Signed by the King in two places.

* * * Those persons were chosen sheriffs whose names were pricked by the King, and are marked above by an asterisk prefixed.

1519.

8 Nov. 501. JO. CAMPUCCI to WOLSEY.

R. O.

It is several months since he was compelled by his calamities to apply to Wolsey. His chief loss was sustained in the time of Henry VII., and Wolsey promised to assist him. Supposes, from press of business, Wolsey has forgotten him. Has paid his creditors 5,000*l.* as part of his debts, and is so much pressed by Heron for 290*l.* he owes the King that he cannot leave his house, and is not safe even there. Asks again for assistance, hoping the services of his uncle the bishop of Worcester, and his whole family, will be remembered in his favor. London, 8 Nov. 1519.

Hol., Lat., pp. 2. Add. and endd.

8 Nov. 502. For CARDINAL WOLSEY.

S. B.

Wardship of John s. and h. of John Broughton. *Del. Westm.,*

Rym. xiii. 704. 8 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 17.

8 Nov. 503. ABBOTESBURY ABBEY.

Inspeximus and confirmation to John abbot and the convent, of pat. 5 July 8 Hen. VII. confirming:—

i. Patent or charter of 8 Edw. II. confirming.—1. A charter (in Anglo-Saxon) of Edw. [the Confessor], granting privileges to Urk his "huskarl;" 2. Charter of same King, empowering his man Urkeslafe to assign lands to the abbey; 3. Charter of Wm. I to the abbot and monks; 4. Charter 54 Hen. III. confirming others of Wm. I., Stephen, Hen. I., and Hen. II.

ii. Charter 20 May 56 Hen. III. granting the abbot a market and fair at Helton, Dors.

Westm., 18 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 8.

9 Nov. 504. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Intended to have visited him this morning, but has been attacked in the night by a fever; "and joined with another troublesome passion, necessity compelleth me to signify unto your grace, by writing," the King's mind. The King wishes that at any time Wolsey shall certify him of any business to be expedited and send for Pace, Pace shall attend; at other times he is to remain in the court; "which his highness' commandment I shall be at all seasons ready to obey according to my duty, and as it appertaineth to mine office, and to do unto your grace also the most diligent service I can." Greenwich, 9th Nov.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate, &c.

9 Nov. 505. SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. iv. 28.

B. M.

Has not sent any letters, not wishing to interrupt the King, as he has communicated everything to Wolsey. The return of the legate Campeggio, who has sounded the King's praises everywhere, has greatly augmented the King's reputation at Rome. He extols the balls, music, and tournaments, and the wonderful splendour of the English court, and is an excellent trumpeter. Rome, 9 N[ov.] 1519. *Sig. burnt.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

9 Nov. 506. For JOHN CLERK, Dean of the Chapel of the King's household.

P. S.

Grant of the deanery of the collegiate church in Windsor Castle. Greenwich, 7 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.

1519.

For JOHN CLERK—*cont.*

2. Writ to ——— Denton, president of the collegiate [church] in Windsor Castle, to put the said John Clerk in possession of the deanery of Windsor, lately held by John Veysy, promoted to the bishopric of Exeter. Westm., 9 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.

10 Nov. 507. For CARDINAL WOLSEY, as Abp. of York.

S. B.

Grant, in frank almoigne, of a parcel of land, formerly belonging to the king of Scotland, in co. Midd., lying between a hospice of the archbishop of York, on the south; the chapel of St. Mary, of Runcevall, on the north; the river Thames, on the east; and the highway which leads from "Charyng-crosse" to Westminster, on the west. *Del. Westm., 10 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.*

Endd.: "For the ground called Scotland, by York's Place."

12 Nov. 508. BONNIVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The bond for the payment of the 7,000 crowns per ann. has been agreed to by the King, but not yet passed, by reason of the absence of some of the Council. It shall be expedited immediately by Pierre Corsy. Amboise, 12 Nov. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: Cardinal d'Yort, chancelier et legat en Angleterre.

12 Nov. 509. For SIR HERMAN RYNGK, merchant of the Hanse towns, and HERMAN his son.

S. B.

Annuity, in survivorship, of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, out of the petty custom of the port of London; on surrender of patent 2 Aug. 17 Hen. VII., granting the father an annuity of 20*l.*, and of patent 25 Nov. 18 Hen. VII. granting him another of 30*l.* *Del. Westm., 12 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.

14 Nov. 510. JOHN STONYWELL, Prior of Tynemouth.

R. O.

Letters of Wolsey, exempting John Stonywell, S. T. P., prior of Tynemouth, a cell of St. Alban's, from the jurisdiction of the said monastery during Stonywell's life, by consent of Thos. Ramriche, abbot of St. Alban's, and in accordance with his powers, as legatine visitor, granted by the Pope, 1519, 4 id. Jun. Stonywell is to retain his vote in the election of an abbot at St. Alban's, his seat in the choir, place in the chapter, right of residence, &c., on continuing the old pension of 7*l.* Westm., 14 Nov. 1519. Nostræ translationis, 6.

Vellum. Lat.

R. O.

2. Corrected draft of the preceding, to which is appended:—

Assent of Ramriche and Wm. Fresell, prior of Rochester, who has been appointed his coadjutor by Wolsey.

Memorandum, that the prior of Tynemouth will pay towards the school 6*l.* 8*s.* yearly, and 20*s.* on the anniversary of Ric. Trewyng, formerly prior.

Lat., pp. 5, corrected draft.

15 Nov. 511. BERWICK-UPON-TWEED.

R. O.

Muster book of the 50 gunners in the town and castle of Berwick, from 16 Aug. to 15 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII., in the time of Sir Anthony Ughtredd, captain of Berwick. Names given. *Signed by Ughtredd.*

Pp. 3.

1519.

15 Nov. 512. MONASTERY OF LILLESULL, Cov. and Lich. dioc.

Congé d'élire to the prior and convent, *vice* James Cokerell, last abbot, resigned. Westm., 15 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 8.

16 Nov. 513. JOHN GRENE to LADY LUCY.

R. O.

Commends himself to her and her husband. Sends a doe with the shoulders and the wombylls, and three couple of coneys and a mallard. The coneys are so much washed by the weather, they are scarce worth bringing to London. Delivered 40s. of the 4*l.* she required, to Master Fehn, your auditor. Warwick, 16 Nov.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my ryght worshypfull lady Luce at Clopton well thys be delyverd wyth spede.

16 Nov. 514. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VII.
158.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 31st Oct. Yesterday se'night the King and Queen came hither from Amboise. On Wednesday Mountpesat arrived from England, praising his entertainment there. My Lady told him that Mountpesat had informed her "how the King my master had put off his beard, and axed me if I knew not of it. I said that Mountpesat had been with me at my lodging, and towlde me likewise; and further said that, as I supposed, it hath been by the Queen's desire; for I told my Lady that I have here afore time known when the King's grace hath worn long his beard, that the Queen hath daily made him great instance, and desired him to put it off for her sake." Thinks that she had taken some offence at him because he had shown a letter from Wolsey of the 28th of July, in which the King promised to wear his beard till the meeting. She also "axed" him "if [the] Queen's grace was nat awnte to the king of Spain." Boleyn answered he was her sister's son, but that the king of England had greater affection for her son than any King living. She was well appeased, and said, "Th[eir love] is nat in the berdes, but in the harts."

Next day the King asked him if he had heard any news from England. On his replying in the negative, Francis "laid his hand on his breast, and said, By the fay[th] of a gentleman, that, but for the very trust he had of the said meetin[g and] entrevieu, he would have been at this day at Myllan."

There is a talk of the duke of Albany going to Scotland; but my Lady assured Boleyn he should not, though he was much desired there. He is now in . . . with his wife, but at the court no one is so familiar with the King. The Pope's legate, who had received the bishopric of Coutances and great presents, has returned to Rome. If the Pope die it is thought Francis will help the legate to the papacy. An ambassador is expected from Denmark for new aid for the adventurers th[at went] thither this last summer. Many of them are in prison. The king of Denmark detains their captain, brother of the seneschal of Normandy. The bastard of Savoy has been made Grand Master. He perceives by Mountpesatt, that French gentlemen are much better treated in England than Englishmen in France. Blois, 16 Nov. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add. Endd.

17 Nov. 515. SAMPSON to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Had written to him very plainly a short time since, knowing that he is one not likely to take offence. Begs Wolsey, who has offered him the management of his whole household, not to desire him to undertake any task incompatible with his studies. He has but little experience. Had

1519.

SAMPSON to WOLSEY—*cont.*

always determined to devote himself to letters. Begs he will excuse him for this freedom. Is much devoted to Wolsey, but is satisfied with his own condition, and wishes no such exaltation as all others would covet. A court life is disagreeable to him. Will never be forgetful of his goodness. Bruges, 17 Nov.

Hol., Lat., pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace. *Endd. in a modern hand:* Intelligence from Rome, Italy and France, and letters to cardinal Wolsey. Notatu dignum. Scr. 15 Junii 1615.

17 Nov.
Vit. B. IV. 30.
B. M.

516. SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

Gives an account of his journey to his own country. On the 1st Sept. before he left Rome, had written to Wolsey of all occurrences to clear his mind of all business. The heat was excessive. When he reached Lucca was attacked by the gout, afterwards by the fever; so all his pleasure in visiting his country was turned into sorrow. Before the time prefixed for his return, took his journey to Arrived safe there on the 27th; visited the Pope. On account of the unusual sickliness of the season, the Pope had given up his ordinary retreat till the time when he usually returns to Rome. Campeggio had arrived at Bologna. Nothing has as yet been concluded with regard to the investiture of Naples, as the Spaniards quibble about some punctilios. The rent of 7,000 ducats to the Pope for the said kingdom is agreed upon, and the Emperor consents. The French king has dismissed a great part of his infantry, but has raised a small fleet in Italy. This has made the Emperor divert his forces from Africa to Italy. They will winter in Sicily. The Emperor is inflexible against the restitution of Navarre. Begs money. The Pope will leave Rome for 20 days. Rome, 17 Nov. 1519. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

20 Nov.
R. O.

517. SIR WM. SANDYS to WOLSEY.

On Friday the 18th, at 4 p.m., Mons. de Berghes' son arrived here on his way to England. His father has asked him to write to Wolsey in his favor. All the people in these parts are much pleased at the pardon sent to three poor men in this town for their lives and goods. "A poor miserable man," Harry Ledar, is still in prison, not knowing what determination he shall come to. His offences are not so grievous as they were alleged. "Howbeit, I will not say but that he hath offended, and needs he must offend, exercising the room that he did, for otherwise he should attain to no knowledge but that he must sometimes both do and say things sounding to offence." Asks Wolsey to obtain the King's pardon for his life, goods, and lands. Does not ask this from affection to his person, but from mere pity, and he is the first man for whom he has ever made suit. Calais, 20 Nov. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: [To my lord Cardinal's] grace, l[egate de latere] and chaunc[ellor].

20 Nov.
R. O.

518. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Has received his letters by John de Sault, his secretary, with which he is much pleased, and also with Sault's message. Is very anxious to maintain the friendship between himself and Henry. The bp. of Helna will explain all. Ex Molendino Regio, 20 Nov. 1519; anno imp. 1, aliorum 4. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add. Endd.

1519.

20 Nov. 519. ABBEY OF ST. JAMES, NORTHAMPTON.

Inspeximus and confirmation to Henry Cokkis, abbot, and the convent, of a charter, 20 July 52 Hen. III., granting them a yearly fair for three days at the abbey; viz., on the feast of St. James the Apostle, and the preceding and following days. Westm., 20 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 14.

21 Nov. 520. TILT AT GREENWICH.

R. O.

Warrant to Sir John Heron for payment of 300*l.* for finishing the tilt at Greenwich, and making a new bridge or landing place by the Thames side there. Greenwich, 21 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.

Signed.

23 Nov. 521. GUILDFORD, SURREY.

Inspeximus and confirmation to the town of charter 1 July 3 Hen. VII. inspecting, with some additional grants, a patent of Ric. II., which is a constat and exemplification of:—

i. A charter of 41 Hen. III. relative to exemption from arrest for debt.

ii. Another of same period, appointing the county assizes to be holden at Guildford.

iii. A charter, 14 Edw. III., confirming another of 41 Hen. III. touching the assizes, and granting a fair and exemption from toll.

iv. Another, 20 Edw. III., altering the fair time from Trinity to Whitsuntide.

v. Another, 40 Edw. III., granting the town (except the castle, gaol, and park) in fee farm to the inhabitants. Westm., 23 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 30–32.

24 Nov. 522. For HARMAN TULYMAN, priest in the diocese of Paderborn.
P. S. Denization, as a native of Germany. Guildford, 15 July 11 Hen. VIII.
*Del. Westm., 24 Nov.*26 Nov. 523. HENRY VIII. to SIR THOMAS LUCY and WILLIAM
R. O. SAUNDERS.

Warrant to examine the complaint of [B]arett and Agnes his wife against Sir Richard Knightley. Richmond, 26 Nov. *Signed with a stamp. Countersigned: Jo. Clerk, decanus.*

Add. Endd.: Md. that always land is in Everdon.

28 Nov. 524. For ALICE wife of WILLIAM DAVY.

S. B.

Annuity of 10*l.* out of the customs of the port of Bristoll; on surrender of patent 5 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. granting her the same, for services to the Queen Consort and Margaret queen of Scotland, out of the port of Portesmouth. *Del. Westm., 28 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 11.

29 Nov. 525. MAURICE BIRCHINSHA to WOLSEY.

R. O.

His friend Thomas has returned safe, laden with silken raiment and gold, worthy of Wolsey's dignity. He has also brought letters more acceptable than gold or even jewels, which state that the pains taken by the writer in educating the boy have pleased the Cardinal, though far from satisfying himself. Does all he can to deserve the praise, if not of a pru-

1519.

MAURICE BIRCHINSHA to WOLSEY—*cont.*

dent servant, at least of a faithful one, in the matter entrusted to him. Hopes Wolsey will in time reap the fruits of his (Birchinsha's) labor, when Thomas has attained an age more fit for solid education. Concerning his speaking less Latin than Wolsey desired, it is neither the boy's fault nor his own, but rather that of his plan of study, which, like other things, has a commencement, through which those must pass who wish to succeed. Much care shall be taken that he shall have the Latin language at his command. Louvain, 29 Nov.

Hol., Lat., pp. 2. Add.: "Amplissimo, &c. card. Ebor. necnon Leonis [Decim]i a latere Legato."

29 Nov. 526. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

We have received your letters by the sieur de Montpesac, giving him leave to come hither for four months on his private affairs. He shall return at the time stated, and will leave his brother in his place. We thank you for your continual good treatment of our servants in England. Bloys, 29 Nov. *Signed. Countersigned: Robertet. Sealed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

Nov. 527. ——— BREQUEFAS to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Asked Hesdin to speak to Henry for him during his embassy in England. Was treasurer of Tournay while Henry held it, which office served to keep him honorably in his mistress's service, and "*votre povre Breecqvast*" depended principally on that for his living (*avoit fonde le principal de sa cuisine sur cella*). Is very badly off, and begs for some small pension as a recompense. Guyot has promised to remind the King of him. Brussels, — Nov. 1519. *Signed: Brequefas.**

Fr., p. 1. Add.: Au Roy.

528. The ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

R. O.

"Liveries with the King, the Queen, the French queen, the Princess and whole household, in the month of November, anno xj^o regis Henr. vij^{vi}," under the heads of Breakfasts, in the King's, Queen's and Princess's chambers.

The lord Cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the lord Marquis, the earls of Surrey and Devonshire, the King and Queen's lord Chamberlains, the lords Hastings, Bergavenny and Ferrers, Master Treasurer, Mr. Marnay, Mr. Secretary, Sir. Th. Nevill, Mr. More and Mr. Clirke, the Master of the Horses, Mr. Cofferer, Messrs. Carowe, Norres, Poyntes, and Cary, the "henxmen," the children of the chapel, the King's boys, the lady mistress, the ladies Bullain, Willoughby, Parre, Gray, and the Queen's maids, Master Compton, and the King and Queen's watches.

The King's board, the lord Chamberlain, the Vice-chamberlain, knights and esquires for the Body, chaplains, gent. and yeomen ushers, yeomen, knights in the privy chamber, Messrs. Compton and Tyler, the King's robes, serjeant-porter, the master and yeomen cooks, the groom, porters' grooms and pages.

The Queen's board, the lord Chamberlain, ladies in presence, ladies and gentlemen, chaplains, gent. and yeomen ushers, chamberers, yeomen, the Queen's confessor, physician and apothecary, Fras. Phellip, grooms, &c., the French queen and lady Willoughby's chamberers, the master cook, &c.

* The signature here is quite different from that in document No. 16 of this volume.

1519.

The compting house, the pantry, buttry, cellar, porters, King's and Queen's beds, Queen's robes, jewel-house. Mr. Heron's clerks, the laundry, poultry, scalding-house, scullery, pastry and saucery, lardeners, Marshalsea, the prisoners, Mr. Chamberlain (?), pitcherhouse, the chambers of the lord Cardinal, of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the lord Marquis, the earls of Devonshire and Surrey, the lord Chamberlain, the Queen's lord Chamberlain, the lord Ferrers, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Marney, Mr. Secretary, and of the lord Hastings, "the keeper of the place once a day," the children of the Kitchen, porters and scourers (?).

Total, 317.

Pp. 2.

529

GRANTS IN NOVEMBER 1519.

Nov.
—
GRANTS.

2. Th. Lightfote. Licence to alienate the moiety of the manor of Newland near Writell, Essex, in tail, to Thomasia wife of Wm. Danyell, leather dresser of London, and a daughter and heir of Thomas, brother of John Bardefelde; with remainder to John s. and h. of Alice Lightfote, sister of the said John B., or else to Th. s. and h. of Edw. Clovile, of Coldehall, or to John s. of John Leventhorp, of Shengill Hall. Westm., 2 Nov.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.*

2. Wm. Rede, goldsmith of London, heir of Barth. Rede. Licence to alienate to the same Thomasia the moiety of the manor of Gyg Margarete, Essex, with remainders as above. Westm., 2 Nov.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.*

2. Fra. Jermyn and Anastasia his wife, and Robert Jermyn and John Spelman. Licence for the conveyance of a messuage and land in Marham to Hen. Frowyk, Hen. Makwilliam, Wm. Spelman, Wm. Martyn, Erasmus Forde, and Hen. Spelman, and their heirs, to the use of the said John Spelman and his heirs, and for the fulfilment of his will. Westm., 2 Nov.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 19.*

4. John Bate, of Estgrenewiche, Kent, alias of Kethermyster, Worc., alias of Bewdeley, mercer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm., 4 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. —S. B.*

5. Asymus Kyrkener, armorer for the Body. Annuity of 10*l.* Greenwich, 27 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 5 Nov. —P. S. Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 17. V. vacated on surrender, 8 Eliz.*

5. Rob. Willeyn, of Henley-on-Thames, butcher. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Windsor, 8 June 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 5 Nov. —P. S.*

8. Recognisances cancelled. Made by Sir Rob. Clifford, of Aspeden, Herts., and his son Th. Clifford, of London, 23 Hen. VII. Greenwich, 8 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.—*S. B.*

8. Wm. Cooke, yeoman of the chamber. Licence to export 300 tons of beer. Greenwich, 9 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 8 Nov. —P. S.*

9. Commission of the Peace. *Devon.*—Thomas cardinal of York, Hugh bishop of Exeter, Henry earl of Wiltshire, Robert Willoughby lord Broke, John Bouchier lord Fitzwaren, Sir Ric. Eliott, Th. Pygott, Sir Lewis Pollard, Sir Peter Egecombe, Sir John Basset, Sir John Kirkeham, Sir Th. Denys, Wm. Courtney, John Rowe, Edm. Larder, Rob. Yeo, John Gilbert, Th. Steukeley, Wm. Wadham, John Crokker, Andrew Hillarsdon, John Cailwey, and Ric. Coffyn. Westm., 9 Nov.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

12. Henry earl of Essex. Inspecimus and confirmation, as tenant of the manor of Byldeston, of a charter 1 March 48 Hen. VI. (*sic* for III.) granting to Mathew de Luveyn a weekly market at his manor of Byldeston, Suff., and a fair there annually for three days, commencing on the day before the feast of St. Michael. Westm., 12 Nov.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 17.*

12. Ric. Dracottes and Ric. Hydton, of Middx. Pardon. Greenwich, 16 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 12 Nov. —P. S.*

14. William Wade, clk. Grant of the perpetual chantry of Holy Cross in the church of Tateshale. Greenwich, 2 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 14 Nov. —P. S.*

15. Eliz. Godstone. Pardon for alienating, without licence, to John Maykyn, the fourth part of the manor of Southall, and lands in Raynam, Wennyngton, Alveley, and Upmynstre. Also pardon to Hugh Elys and Joan his wife, for alienating to Sir John Raynesford, Humph. Wyngefeld, John Strangman, jun., Wm. Wyot, John Cristmas, jun., John Coksale, John Clere, John Heron, Th. Batecock, and John Stonard, the fourth part of the manor of Southall and lands in Reynham, Wennyngton, Alveley, Upmynstre, and Okyngton, in right of the said John Strangman. Westm., 15 Nov.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.*

16. Sir Ralph Chamberleyne and his heirs.

Inspecimus and confirmation of the following:

1. Charter 21 Oct. 36 Hen. III. granting free warren to Robert de Mortimer (*Mortuo*

1519.

GRANTS in NOVEMBER—*cont.*Nov.
—
GRANTS.

Mari in his demesne lands of Acleburg, Hernham, and Sculeton, Norf., Kyngeston and Foxton, Camb., and Herlaweston, Linc.

ii. Charter, 1 May 12 Edw. III., granting free warren to Constantine de Mortimer, in his demesne lands of Attelburgh, Besthorp, and others. Westm., 16 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 9.

16. Giles Blyke, of Alveley, Salop. Pardon for insurrection and all matters before 10 Nov. last. *Del.* Westm., 16 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 15.

16. Ric. Elys, minister of the Chapel Royal. To have the pension which the bishop elect of Exeter is bound to give to a clerk of the King's nomination, till he be promoted to a competent benefice. *Del.* Westm., 16 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

16. Hugh Pole. Presentation to the church of Mountgomerie, Heref. dioc. Greenwich, 13 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 16 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 28.

16. Wm. Dixon, the King's servant. To be a forester of Galtrasse F., York, during pleasure, with *4d.* a day out of the issues of Shirefhoton. Also pardon for having received by an invalid patent the fees of the office since 17 Dec. 1 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 14 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 16 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 7.

16. Sir Wm. Herbert, of Troy. Lease of the site of the manor of Magna Troy, late of the earl of March, for 21 years; rent, 7*l.* 12*s.*, and 2*s.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 16 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 7.

17. John Dawtrey, of Petworth, and Th. Sherley. Wardship of Francis, s. and h. of Sir John Dawtrey, and custody of the manors of Lesham and Westyderly, Hants. Greenwich, 14 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 17 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 7.

17. John Dawtrey, of Petworth, Th. Sherley, and John Mylle. Custody of all possessions (except the manors of Lesham and Westyderley) during the minority of Francis, son and heir of Sir John Dawtrey, at an annual rent of 17*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* Greenwich, 14 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 17 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 7.

17. John Emondes *alias* Chese. Grant of the perpetual chantry of Brayles, Warw., *vice* John Johnson. Greenwich, 16 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 17 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 12.

18. John Palterton, of London, goldsmith. Lease of the custody of messuages and lands in Langrake and Barley, Yorkshire, and in the latter town a tenement called Watermannys Crost, acquired by John Ufflete, late prior of Drakes, with free fishery in the Owsse (Ouse); rent, 16*s.*, and *4d.* of increase. Westm., 18 Nov.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.

18. Jas. Yarford, mayor of London, Christ. Urswik, clk., Wm. Bromwell and Th. Collet, of Kymbell. Licence to alienate the manor of Weldon, *alias* Weldon Magna, Northt., which is held of the King in chief, to Edm. Knyvet; with remainder to Christ. Knyvet, brother of Edmund; with remainder to Anth. Knyvet, brother of the said Edmund and Christopher. Westm., 18 Nov.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 29.

18. John Wellesbourne, groom of the privy chamber. Corrody in the monastery of Chertsey, void by death of Gervase Bukland. Greenwich, 15 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 18 Nov.—P.S.

19. Th. Bruyn. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Wm. Bruyn, and kinsman and h. of Wm. Rengebourn. Greenwich, 16 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 19 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 13.

20. Ric. Cowley, soldier of Tournay, *alias* of Bushbury, Staff. Pardon for all offences before 20 April 10 Hen. VIII. Richmond, 1 May 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 20 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 15.

23. John Halspounde, *alias* Hart, gunner. To be gunner in the Tower on vacancy, with 12*d.* a day. Greenwich, 20 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 23 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 10.

24. Roger Whitton, yeoman usher of the chamber. Lease of the herbage, conies, &c. of the park and moor of Watlington, Oxon., and the farm of the market, and toll of the fair and stallage there; rent 60*s.*, and 3*s.* 4*d.* of increase, payable to the receiver of the duchy of Cornwall. The tenants of the manor to have common therein. *Del.* Westm., 24 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 11.

24. Edw. Sherman. Lease of the meadow under Ludlowe Castle, called "Castell Medowe," in the lordship of Staunton Lacy, Salop, late of the earl of March; rent 26*s.* 8*d.*, and 3*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 24 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19.

24. Th. Ude. Grant of the free chapel of St. Margaret near Conysbrough, York, on surrender by John Porth, "keeper of certain our books of records"; in same manner as Sir Edm. Boswell held the same. Greenwich, 21 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 24 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 14.

27. Wm. Purde and John Hyde. To be engrossers of the great roll of the Exchequer, or clerks of the Pipe, in survivorship, *vice* Th. Darnall and the said Wm. Purde. Greenwich, 3 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 27 Nov.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 26.

28. Wm. Burdon, clk. Grant of the hospital of St. Leonard, Stoke by Newark, Notts. Westm., 28 Nov.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 3.

1519.

Nov.

GRANTS.

28. Ric. Bailly. To be keeper of Cornattyn Forest, N. Wales. Greenwich, 25 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 28 Nov.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 17.

28. John Hailys. To be feodary of crown lands in Kent, and to take custody of minor heirs, and deliver them to Sir Th. Lovell, treasurer of the household, and Sir Ric. Weston.

Similar patents:—

Surrey and Sussex: Henry Wykys.

Northt. and Rutland: John Eastell.

Somers. and Dors.: John Morton.

Yorkshire: John Warde.

Warw. and Leic.: Th. Slade.

Oxon. and Berks: Wm. Yong and Wm. Bonde.

Cornwall: John Welashe.

Linc.: Adam Penington.

Westm., 28 Nov.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 8.

28. Geo. Nevile, lord Bergevenny, Wardahip of John, s. and h. of Th. More of Benynden, Kent. Lambeth, 24 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 28 Nov.—P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 29.

530. BOLEYN to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.
161.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 22d Nov. Received on the 27th a letter from Wolsey, another in French for the King, and a certificate signed by the Cardinal of the losses sustained by the English merchants in the affair of La Fontaine. It has been referred by the King to the Admiral. Boleyn has pressed the latter to send the money at once, but is answered the Treasurer is out of the way. Yesterday, was assured that the money should be sent shortly; that the Admiral does not know "whether Marynyx, which came yesterday, shall carry yt with hym whan he goyth into England, or that he shall cawse marchaunts, being there, to pay yt; for he and the treasurers be styll about the same to depeche yt." He then retired with him and Robertet into a secret chamber, and told Boleyn that, on his departing from England, he promised to inform the King of anything he heard detrimental to the alliance of the two crowns; that when he went from Paris to Almayne to secure the election of his master, La Bastye had been told that England had promised all the aid it could to the cause of Francis; but when Master Pace went as ambassador to Almayn, "he was with the marques of Brandingborow in the town of Mayance, in the said Marques lodg[ing] ayenst the great chirch of Our Lady, where he was behind a tapett; [and] there he sayth he hard Master Pace, in his oracion that he made [unto] the said Marquis, desire that noone might be accepted to the digni[tee] imperiall that was [not] of the nacion or tong Germanique, but rath[er] to be preferred oon of their own princes of Almayn, and finally he hard hym speke for the advancement of the King Catholic, which he thought straunge; and further said that, forasmuch as he made [this] request, which he hard, to the marques of Brandingborow, he is [sure] that he made semblable to all other of the Electors." Mar[ynyx] will state more of this when he comes to England. Robertet finds great fault with Bouton's being allowed to stay there. The King still expresses great anxiety for the meeting. The cardinal of Bourges is dead. The King's confessor will have his bishopric, and the legate of France the abbey of Fécamp. Seynt Marsault is lately come from the Pope, and the talk is that the King will go to Lyons; the King himself says to Coignyac, before Christmas. The four eldest hostages in England are to be replaced by four others. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

531. WOLSEY to BOLEYN.

Calig. D. vii.
125.

B. M.

Instructions from cardinal Wolsey to Sir Thomas Boleyn: (1) for a sharp remonstrance with the Great Master and others of the French king's council for delays in making restitution to the English merchants; (2) for explaining certain points in the treaty; and (3) arranging a meeting between the two Kings.

Draft, corrected by Ruthal, much mutilated, pp. 30.

1519.

1 Dec.

Rym. XIII.
732.**532. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.**

The friends and relatives of the hostages in England have requested that, conformably with the contents of the treaty, they may be exchanged for others. As they are highly connected, and offers of marriage have been made them, their interests will suffer by their absence. Has selected four other names, as De la Bastie will show the King. Hopes the exchange may take place as soon as possible, and similarly of the "petit Grimault," who, for reasons which the ambassador will explain, would occasion inestimable loss to his house if he do not at once return. Blois, 1 Dec. *Signed.*

Fr.

4 Dec.

Vit. B. IV.
32.

B. M.

533. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

Has not written since his last from Blois. Has had very bad weather; much rain. Reached Bologna on the xx . . . Oct., and stayed there to recruit till the 14th Nov. Started for Rome on the 26th, with no better weather. Entered the city incognito. Next day, the 28th, was received by all ranks at the city gates, and conducted from Santa Maria ad . . . to the palace; saluted the Pope and cardinals. Afterwards, the consistory being dismissed, had with the bp. of Worcester an audience of the Pope. Expressed to him the King's friendship for the Holy See, his desire for the peace of Christendom, and presented his letters, which he returned to Campeggio to read; then he presented those relating to the treaty; thirdly, those referring to his own return; fourthly, those containing his promised promotion to the see of Salisbury. Thanked the Pope for his favors, which had been productive of so much benefit to him. Then offered the Pope the truce, of which he had sent him before an exact copy, and explained to him the commission he had received, in conjunction with Worcester, for the ratification of the five years' truce. Then asked the Pope for a confessional for the King and the Queen, for the princess Mary, for their sons, daughters and descendants; which was granted. Then presented Wolsey's letters, on which Campeggio offered a running comment in Wolsey's praise, which was favorably received. Begged the legateship might be prolonged "ad Sanctitatis ejusdem placitum;" declaring that Wolsey's petition had no regard whatever to his own interests, but the more authoritative reformation of the monks and clergy. The Pope would not give any answer then. He then proceeded to talk of the dismes. Campeggio expressed Wolsey's regret that he could not bring the matter about as the Pope wished. Explained the difficulty, and was efficaciously supported by Worcester. On returning to the subject next day the Pope said, "Domine Campegie, nos cuperemus [ut majes]tas illa serenissima et reverendissimus Eboracensis diligentiores essent promissorum suorum observatores . . . de decima nolumus heri aliquid disputare, utrum aut quomodo fuerit nobis promissa; certe quod nobis totiens promiserunt, et intercessionibus nostris respon[sione] confirmarunt de domino Wigorniensis, nihil unquam effecerunt; quod nos valde nec sine [causa] mirati sumus; quum nec promissorum suorum, nec nostri, nec viri de ipsis profecto [optime] meriti, rationem aliquam habuisse videantur, ac nostram et illius spem et expecta[tionem] elusisse, cujus officia et studiosissima obsequia ac servitutem in eorum gloriam [am]plissime testari possumus," &c. Begs that Worcester's services may have some acknowledgment. Campeggio promised he would report to England the Pope's wishes. He is satisfied at present in the matter of the tithes, and hopes it will be brought to effect by Easter.

A consistory was held on the 2d, in which the Pope announced the return of Campeggio from England, commended the King, and ordered his letters to be read. This was done by dom. Cornarus, the "diaconorum decanus," with a loud voice. The rules of the consistory did not allow Campeggio to make an oration, but he seconded the Pope's eulogium by buzzing about the King's praises "seorsum et levi susurro." Has been

1519.

visiting the Bishop of Worcester, who has kindly received him as a sharer in his negotiations. Commends his dexterity and clearness. The Pope is in some grief at the loss of his sister Magdalena, mother of card. Cibo, and intends to retire for eight days to Ostia, after which he will reply to the King's letters. He and Worcester have paid a visit of condolence to the Pope, who talked over with him the prorogation of the legateship. He has agreed to it for two years longer. The fleet that was said to be at Sicily is going to Naples; but Worcester will write more fully. Rome, 4 Dec. 15[19]. Kept till the 9th. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 7. T. card. Ebor. Angl. primate ac S.D.N. legato de latere. Endd.

5 Dec. **534.** BONNIVET to HENRY VIII.

[Calig. E. i.
ii.?] iv. 252.
B. M.

Has received his letter by Richmond herald, and the complaint of an English merchant, who states that he has been plundered by the French. There shall be no fault on their side. Boleyn, the English ambassador, will write upon the subject. Blois, 5 Dec. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add. Endd.

5 Dec. **535.** BONNIVET to [WOLSEY].

[Calig. E. i.
ii.?] i. 148.
B. M.

Remits all things to Mons. de la Bastye for the present. He will be superseded in a few days by La Bastye, who will explain the King's perfect confidence in the Cardinal. Has written to the duke of Suffolk. Will inform him of anything that may happen. Blois, 5 Dec.

P.S.—On the arrival of Richmond, had despatched the affair touching the English merchants according to the letter of the king of England. There is a person named the earl of Kildare in Ireland who has much communication with French merchants. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Endd.: "The admiral of France's letters."

5 Dec. **536.** A DU PRAT "f. g." to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. i.
154.
B. M.

Congratulates him on the peace established, through his means, between the two crowns. Paris, 5 Dec.

Lat., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: [R^{mo} in] Christo patri [cardinali] Romanæ Ecclesiæ Eb[oracensi].

8 Dec. **537.** HENRY VIII. to LEO X.

Add. MS.
15,387. f. 82.
B. M.

The Pope will have understood from his letters and Wolsey's his objections to ratifying the five years' truce, which he thought should be by a universal league, as it would otherwise seem to derogate from the perpetual alliance he has with all Christian princes. At the request, however, of Wolsey and Campeggio, and not to afford a pretext for refusal to other princes, has at length consented, not only to ratify himself, but to endeavour to persuade the French king, with whom he has just† formed an alliance, to ratify them also; with the proviso, however, that they in nowise derogate from previous alliances. Greenwich, 8 Dec. MDXVIII. (*qu. MDXVIII?*).‡

Lat., copy, pp. 7.

8 Dec. **538.** CAMPEGGIO to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. iv. 35*.
B. M.

In behalf of Ralph Bryerton, accused of casual homicide, whose pardon the King had promised Campeggio. Rome, 8 Dec. 1519. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated.

† dudum.

‡ One r is inserted in pencil in the transcript with a query. The document is headed "Ann. 1519" by the transcriber.

1519.

9 Dec.

R. O.

539. RIC. PACE to WOLSEY.

Is informed by the bearer that Wolsey has pleased to accept his excuse for delay in coming to him, by reason of his disease. Thanks him for doing so. Will come as soon as his health is restored. London, 9 Dec.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Legate's grace. *Endd.*: From Master Pace, the 9th day of September (*sic*).

9 Dec.

Calig. E. I.

147.

B. M.

540. [WOLSEY] to FRANCIS I.

Will do all he can to promote the interview. Will not trouble him with his bad handwriting. The friendship of the two Kings is what he desires most. "A ma pl[ace] de Hampton Court le ix^{me} jour de Decembre." *Not signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. *Add.*: "A la bonne grace du Roy Tres Chretien."

9 Dec.

Vit. B. III.

261.

B. M.

541. ——— to ———

Has received his letters and money. Has been assiduous for five or six years in advancing his causes (*proces*). If his correspondent have no pity on him, he will [become] a beggar (*chetif*). Has waited two years in vain, [on the promise of a] great provision. His correspondent's affairs are in good train. The opposite party is making desperate efforts to defeat him. Within little time many great personages have died, as the bishops of Nevers and Limoges, and the card. of Bourges, brother of the general of Normandy, who was abbot of Fécamp, and Olivier, the president of Paris, who [went] to Germany with the admiral. The bastard of Savoy is made Grand Master. The Admiral is omnipotent. The card. of Boissy, his brother, [is bp.? of] Coustancez in Normandy, abbot of Bec, with a pension of 10,000 crowns, and legate in France. The King and Queen and the court are at Bloys, making good cheer. An ambassador is expected from Spain to treat for peace. [*Some lines greatly mutilated.*] In spite of the alliance, France is more afraid of England than of all the other powers put together. The French king intended to have sent card. Bourges to manage the Pope, and intimidate him by the pragmatic sanction, as if the concordat were not popular in France in consequence of the money it took out of the kingdom. He has despatched thither Mons. de Lescut, and sent to Basse Allemagne for 12,000 lanzknechts. The French ambassador in Switzerland has not succeeded in gaining any but the *vilains*. The King Catholic has sent to the Swiss to protest against their joining with any sovereign. Understands that the King has paid them a large sum, to little or no purpose. He still pays his pension to the duke of Gueldres. He has prepared the most sumptuous lists for the coming of the Spanish ambassador. He is going to marry Madame Renée to the king of [Navarre].* Lautrec is unpopular with the Milanese, [who] wish for Bourbon, but he is unwilling to undertake the charge. Amboise, Friday, 9 Dec.

P.S.—Begs speedy assistance.

Fr., pp. 3.

9 Dec.

P. S. b.

542. The PRIOR and CONVENT of ST. MARY AND ST. JOHN, TALLEY, St. David's dioc.

Petition for a congé d'élire *vice* David ap Jevan, abbot, who died 11 Nov. 9 Dec. 11 Hen. VIII.

* Supplied from margin.

1519.

10 Dec. 543. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Credence for the sieur de Marigny, counsellor and bailly of Senlys, who is to reside in England in place of lord de la Bastie, returning to France on account of his wife's ill health. Bloys, 10 Dec. *Signed. Countersigned: Robertet.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A. mons. le Legat, mon bon amy, cardinal et chancelier en Angleterre.

10 Dec. 544. FRANCIS I. to DE LA BASTIE.

R. O.

Sends money (*l'argent tauxe*) to be distributed, according to Wolsey's directions, to the English merchants robbed by Jean de la Fontaine of Bayonne. Some, whose names are enclosed, have been paid by his commissioners. Bloys, 10 Dec. *Signed. Countersigned: Robertet.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. de la Bastie, mon ambassadeur en Angleterre

10 Dec. 545. BONNIVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The King is sending Mons. de Marigny, the bearer, to reside in England in place of Mons. de la Bastie, who is obliged to return. Marigny will tell him of the King's good will to him and of other matters. Bloys, 10 Dec. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A. mons. mons. le cardinal York, legat et chancelier en Angleterre. Endd.

10 Dec. 546. FRANCIS I. to [WOLSEY.]

Calig. E. I. 11.

B. M.

Has written to the King, requesting his consent, in compliance with the terms of the treaty, to accept the substitutes for hostages now in England, whose relatives are very anxious for their return. La Bastie is to treat with Wolsey to have this exchange effected as soon as possible. So great is his authority and prudence, &c. . . ., 10 Dec. *Signed.*

Fr., pp. 2, mutilated.

10 Dec. 547. FRENCH HOSTAGES.

Calig. D. VII.

163.

B. M.

Names of the hostages to be sent over to England; *sc.* the eldest son of M. d'Assigny, baron de Bretagne, the son of M. de Champdenier, seneschal of Thoulouse, St. Simon, le jeune Brosse, le jeune Tournon, the eldest son of M. de Jarnac, the eldest son of La Ferte. Blois, 10 Dec. 1519. *Signed by Francis.*

P. 1.

11 Dec. 548. SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote last on the 4th.* Came to court on the 6th, where he learned that the King had received letters from the bishop of Helna, and was much pleased to be assured of the good will of England. They are sending thither John de la Sauche, to show that they intend to meet with Wolsey in England, if compelled to land, or else in Flanders; if the wind be very favorable they cannot afford to lose it. Was told yesterday by the ambassador of Portugal, that he had pressed for a better answer touching the alliance with his master's daughter, instead of being remitted into Flanders, and they had answered they would take the advice of England as their principal ally. He had therefore written to his master to send thither, and solicit Wolsey's favor. Chievres lately charged Spinelly with having written some things to England, asking who was his informant. Told him it was the Chancellor; who on this asked him to dinner, and

* "24th" in Tuke's decipher.

1519.

SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to WOLSEY—*cont.*

spoke with him on the subject. Spinelly said he thought he had given him information to send to England. The French king is coming to Cognac, 14 leagues from Bordeaux ; some say, that he may be nearer to intrigue ; others, to begin business in Navarre, where good provision is made against him. Chievres says the secretary is instructed to inform the King and Wolsey how they stand with France, whom they mean to entertain with fair words, and England with good deeds. They intend to be in Galicia "by all April" at the furthest, when the whole army will be ready. The final answer has not come from the Pope, but they are in good hopes. Some say the Count Palatine will have the government of Castile ; others, the cardinal of Tortosa. The Austrian ambassador says they will not allow Fellingier to have the control of the revenues. The bearer, John de la Sauche, has made the best possible report of the King and Wolsey. Molyn de Rey, 11 Dec. 1519.

Hol., cipher, pp. 4.

Vesp. C.1.292. 2. Decipher of the above, in Tuke's hand, on the cover of the letter.

B. M. *Add.* : To my lord Cardinal's grace.

R. O. 3. Modern decipher.

11 Dec. 549. SIR THOMAS BOLEYN to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.
164.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 5th. Marynix has been dispatched this day for England, with an account of Pace's oration ; *scilt.*, that as the empire was won by Almans they should choose one of their own nation ; if none such could be found, one of that lineage ; and if it came to a question, Charles in preference to Francis. If the Cardinal wishes it, Marynix shall be recalled from England in two or three months, and La Bastie sent in his place. Mons. de Seint Blancey, the chief of finance, has ordered John Cavalcant to England to pay the Cardinal by La Bastie 14,006 crowns and 18 so[us] Tournois, for the English merchants. The Queen mother is desirous that the interview should take place in April or May next, as the Queen expects to be delivered at the end of July. The Admiral has given Marynix a list of hostages in exchange. The King and the court had gone to Cognac. They will keep their Christmas at Lochys or Chastellarault. Blois, 11 Dec. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

12 Dec. 550. FRED. MARQUIS OF MANTUA to [HENRY VIII.]

Vit. B. iv. 36.

B. M.

In commendation of Gioan Andrea da Camino, descended from the lords of La Marcha Trivisana, who desires to enter the service of England. Mantua, 12 Dec. 1519.

Hol., Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

12 Dec. 551. CHARLES V.

Mon. Habs.

Abth. 2.

Bd. i. 203.

Instructions to the bishop of Elna and to Jehan de la Sauch, his secretary.

After presenting their letters of credence to the king of England, and thanking him for the last overtures made to Charles's ambassadors and secretary, they shall say that although Charles has already made answer to Henry's invitation to pass by his kingdom, he sends back La Sauch, who has heard the matter debated in council, to explain more fully his sentiments for the conservation of the alliance, and upon the four points in Wolsey's overtures. Approves of Wolsey's proposal for a meeting in order to perpetuate the amity. Cannot promise to pass through England, for the reasons mentioned in his letter to the bishop of Elna, but will be glad to do so if the opportunity occur ; should the weather prove unfavorable, is

1519.

determined to meet him as soon as possible after his arrival in the Low Countries, when they can deliberate on all that will be to their mutual benefit, and consider the means "pour assembler le tiers." Are to assure the King and Cardinal that there is no truth in the report that Charles was treating secretly, without their advice, for a marriage with lady Renée of France, for which purpose my lady Regent of France was to meet with the marquis d'Arsehot, and that if the said marriage did not take effect Don Fernando was to marry her on condition of Charles renouncing to him the kingdom of Naples. Although the match was suggested to him by the Pope, he made no reply. A false rumor had reached Francis that Charles was treating at Rome for the renunciation of Naples in favor of Don Fernando; and he complained of it as contrary to the treaty of Noyon, declaring that if broken in this point he would hold it broken in all. On Charles answering that there was no truth in the rumor, Francis declared to him that he intended to preserve the alliance, and proposed to his ambassador that D'Arsehot should come to France to arrange matters for the common good. D'Arsehot writes in answer to the ambassador, giving him good words, but no encouragement to the proposal.

To show his confidence in the King and Wolsey, means to communicate to them all his great affairs. The Pope showed himself very glad of Charles's election, as appears by his brief, of which the Secretary shall exhibit a copy. In other matters, agrees very well with his Holiness. The Venetians are holding a diet with Charles for the observance of the treaties made with the late Emperor. They desire an entire peace, to which Charles is also inclined, so far as may consist with his honor, but has remitted the affair until he shall have information from his German dominions, or can be there. Has put off till after his coronation in Germany, those who have sent embassies to do homage to the empire, such as the dukes of Savoy, Ferrara, the marquises of Mantua and Montferrat, the sieur De la Mirandola, and other potentates of Italy. The duke Frederick Palatine has lately come hither, and brought him the decree of the election. He is charged to accompany Charles into Germany. Has already dispatched his *escuyerie* by land, and will leave in two or three days, going by Castile to see the Queen, his mother, and arrange about the government. Intends to embark by the beginning of April at the latest. Has sent the bishop of Burgos before him to prepare the army and vessels for his voyage. His aunt Margaret has transmitted to him the letters of Mons. de Sevenberg about the Swiss. Trusts they will assist to defend the empire, if invaded. They have shown their good will lately by refusing the duke of Wirtemberg assistance, when driven a second time from his duchy by the league of Swabia, of which Charles is chief, on his taking refuge among them. This has caused him to submit. Charles has committed him to his commissaries in Germany until his arrival, as also the duke of Lunembourg, who had begun war on the dukes of Brunswick, and has written to submit his dispute to Charles. The marquis of Brandenburg and the city of Nuremberg have also referred their differences to him. Requests the advice of the King and Wolsey on all these affairs. Has heard news of the death of the king of Scotland, which he hopes is not true, as the last letters do not mention it, and the French ambassadors were in England (*par de la*) going to Scotland to prolong the truce. Thinks they might, on the part of their master, cause the truce with Scotland to be observed, as Francis causes that of Gueldres to be, so that both Henry and Charles might have some settlement. They may mention, if an opportunity occur, that Charles is treating with his brother-in-law of Denmark to satisfy him as to his right. They are to visit the Queen, the Cardinal and others, to whom Charles has written, and present their letters of credence with suitable words. Molin del Rey, 12 Dec. '19. *Signed.*

Fr.

1519.

- 12 Dec. **552.** CHARLES V. to QUEEN [KATHARINE OF ARRAGON.]
 Tit. B. i. 226. Sends John de la Sauch to England about matters which he and
 B. M. the bishop of Elna will explain to her. Molin de Rey, 12 Dec.
Hol., p. 1. Add.: "[A] madame ma [bo]nne tante la [r]eyne d'Engle-
 ter[re]."
- 12 Dec. **553.** CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.
 Tit. B. i. 225. Thanks him for the overtures made to his secretary John de la
 B. M. Sauch. Will send him back with an answer. Molin de Rey, 12 Dec.
Hol., p. 1. Add. Endd.
- 13 Dec. **554.** ERASMUS to LUPSET.
 Er. Ep. Hears from a friend, who is not unfavorable to Lee, that a rumor is
 xvii. 2. in circulation that Erasmus had written a threatening letter to Lee. Won-
 ders who can have had the impudence to make such a statement. Gives
 an account of a meeting he had with Lee, and the arrangements set on
 foot for printing Lee's criticisms, to which Geoffry Lee was a witness.
 After a long tirade against Lee, declares he is half inclined, when he has
 completed his Paraphrase on the Psalms, to take leave of literature.
 Louvain, natali S. Luciae, 1519.
- 13 Dec. **555.** GUILLAUME DE CROY [LORD CHIEVRES] to WOLSEY.
 R. O. Although the Emperor wrote to the King and Wolsey, after his in-
 terview with John de Salice, his secretary, he has since heard from the
 Bishop of Elna, his ambassador, of conferences he had with them, and
 thinks it necessary for his secretary to return to England, to explain his
 mind more thoroughly. Expresses his zeal to serve them, and desires
 credence for De Salice and the Bishop. Ex Molendino Regio, 13 Dec.
 1519. *Signed.*
Lat., p. 1. Add.
- 17 Dec. **556.** FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.
 R. O. Credence for Denis Poullot, whom the King's mother is sending to
 England. Bloys, 17 Dec. *Signed. Countersigned:* Robertet.
Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.
- 19 Dec. **557.** CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.
 R. O. Hearing that the bearer was going to Lyons, sends this letter, as he
 was unwilling to miss the opportunity, though he has already sent him an
 account of occurrences since his arrival. Will send the briefs in answer to
 Henry and Wolsey, with the bulls for the prorogation of the legateship and
 for granting indulgences. The Emperor and the Pope are coming to an
 agreement. Respects to the King. Rome, 19 Dec. 1519. *Signed.*
Lat., p. 1. Add.
- 20 Dec. **558.** The KATHARINE PLEASANCE.
 R. O. Expense of making the *Kateryn Plesaunce* for transporting the
 King to Calais, 22 May 10 Hen. VIII.
 John Tanner, of Walderswike, 17 chalder of coal, at 6s., 19 March.
 Thos. Matoke and Champneys, Thames St., iron, 4l. 10s. a ton. Wm.
 Lovekyng, of Woolwich, 6 loads of stores, at 18d. To Robard Pope, for
 the master of the college of Lygfeld, and Henry Comfort, for John Basset,
 of Chelsam, timber from 12d. to 18d. a load. 20 May 1519, to Ric. Wynd-
 eham, of Lewsem, for carriage of one load from Chelsam to Depfford, 13
 miles, 2s. 11 June 1519, 1,200 trenails, 11d. a 100. 10 March 1519, Nich.

1519.

Foord, fishmonger, dwelling at St. Magnus' corner, Peter Swynbanke, of Petywalis, beer-brewer, and others, for haberdery, 26s. 8d. the 100; herring, 5s. 8d. to 9s. the barrel; pease for porridge, 12d. and 15d. the bushel; beer, 6s. 8d. the pipe. Chr. Horton, baker, Deptfordstrond, 5 score doz. bread and vantage, 5l., &c. &c.

Payments by Thos. Perse. — April 1519, for timber from my lord Marquis, from lord Borgeyny's common called Hadfyld, and Wooddam Park, at 12d. a load. His own labor for 30 days, 20s. Carriage of 8 loads of knees from Danbery Common, belonging to the prior of St. Mary Spytell, to Clement Green, 10s.; from Clement Green to Deptford by water, 13s. 4d. Carpenters' wages, 6d. a day. Loading Cox's great hoye at Clement Green, 5s. 2d. To the parker's wife, for keeping open the gate of Hadfield, 6d. Loading Jas. Clark's hoye, 7s. 8d. Peter Cotiar, carriage of 14 loads timber for trenails, from Bendflyt to Deptford, 14s. 2 hoyes from Battle Bridge to Deptford, 46s. To John Cox, fellmonger, 20 April 1519, 36 loads dry timber, at 5s. 8d. 8 loads trenail wood, at 2s. Freight of 10 loads green timber from Clement Green, Essex, to Deptford Strond, 12d. a load. Lord Borgeyny, 20 loads of timber from Andfyld Common, at 20d. Carriage of timber from Tadisfeld and Chelsam, to Deptford Strond, by land, 13 miles, at 2d. a mile. To John and Wm. Hobard, for carrying 2 carts of strackshids and timber to the sawpits, 2 days, 4s. To Herry Kyng, of Becknam, carrying timber from Chelsam, 2s. a load; from Bromley parish, 16d. a load. One piece of the keel from Wekam, requiring 2 carts, 2s. 8d. The other part and the stem piece, 4s. 2 great crooked pieces, being 2 loads, 4s.; 2 loads from Westwood, 2s. 4d.; and half a load bought from him, 12d.

Wages of 8 men for making a shed for a smith's forge, and for "dowbing" and tiling it and the kitchen, from 3d. to 7d. a day. To Thomas, Mr. Strangwishe's servant, 1,000 bricks, 4s. 6d. To Edgose, of Lymost, 2 loads lime, 2s. Ric. Tewsyn, 3 loads loam, 18d. John Hopton, 1,000 tiles, 5s. 800 lath, 6d. a 100. 5,000 "sprigge and roffe" (nails), at 6d. a 1,000. 6 rod pale for closing the ship, and timber board, 36s. Digging holes for the posts, 2 days, 10d. Hanging hooks for the gate, 15 lb., at 1½d. A pair of garnets, 6d. 2 bolts, 6d. 700 fourpenny nails, 2s. 4d. 2 hasps and 2 staples, 3d.

Wages of 11 carpenters hewing timber in Thondersey Park and the ground of the prior of St. Mary Spytell's, paid by Wm. Cotyll at 4d. and 6d. a day, 33s. 9d. Carriage to Benysflett, 31 carts, at 4d. each.

Wages of 15 carpenters working on the ship, from 22 Feb. 1518 to 19 March, paid by John Hopton, 2d. to 8d. a day. Wm. Harper, of Hadwich, 18 long oars, at 18d. To John Austen, for the prior of Farley, 14 loads of timber, at 16d. Wm. Causten, for a piece that was a forefoot, and another piece for a stem piece, 80½ ft. by 5 ft., at 16d. the load.

Carpenters working at Bexeley Park, Kent, paid by John Hopton, April 1519, from 8d. to 2d. a day. Sawing planks, 12d. a 100. 89 carpenters working on the ship, 21 March to 16 April 1519, at 1½d. to 8d. a day. Smiths' wages, 2d. to 6d. a day. To John Riall, for making room to lay the keel, 3 days at 5d. To Ric. Hatham, carriage of 2 loads to the Great Nicholas dock, 3s. 4d. To Thos. Weder, of Herethe, 16 Sept. 1519, 750 overlape board, at 4s. the 100. 200 quarter board, at 2s. 8d. John Whitlocke, 2 masts to make the thowbeam, laying of the postwyches to row at, 57s. 4d. 80 tons of ballast, 24s. To my lord of Rochester, for 10 loads of timber from Bromley Park, 2s. a load. 500 ft. carvell plank, 5s. the 100. 42 carpenters working on the ship, from 10 May 1519 to 11 June, at from 1½d. to 8d. a day. From 27 June to 10 August, 54 men, from 1½d. to 8d. a day. To Wm. Jonson, turner, Eastcheap, 2 doz. platters, 20d. 1 doz. drinking bowls, 6d. 2 two-gallon tankards, 2s. 2 gallon tankards, 16d. 4 pails, 12d. 2 doz. saucers, 4d. 4 doz. dishes, 12d. 3 pottle tankards,

1519.

The KATHARINE PLEASANCE—*cont.*

12*d.* 2 ladles, 1*d.* Smiths' wages, 6*d.* a day, and 16*d.* a week. Edw. Jonson, North Craye, 1 Oct. 1519, 71 loads of timber from Bexley Park, at 2*s.* 6*d.* John Webster, Peckham Ric, 2,000 tiles, 10*s.* 2*d.* 3 loads lime, 3*s.* 3 loads sand, 15*d.* 500 lath, 2*s.* 6*d.* 2,000 lath nail and pins, 16*d.* These were used for the stable that was broken to make way for the launching of the ship. 117 lb. of spikes, at 1½*d.* the lb. 1,000 tenpenny nails, at 10*d.* For the *Barbara* and the *John Baptist*, 300 lead nails, at 3*d.* the 100. 10 Aug. 1519 to 21 Sept., 15 carpenters and caulkers, 2*d.* to 8*d.* a day. To Wm. Cardmaker, 24 st. oakum, at 6*d.* 240 lb. tallow, at 9*s.* the cwt. 17 bushels salt, at 6*d.* To Wm. Bowerman, making a great cathook for the *Henry Grace a Dieu*, 4*s.* A bolt for the cathook, weighing 10 lb., 15*d.* A match for a gun weighing 80 lb., at 1*d.* a lb. 23 Sept. to 12 Oct. 1519, 7 carpenters. To Wm. Moptid and his company, helping the masts into the storehouse at Erith, 20 Nov., 3*s.* 10*d.* Ric. Painter, Barking Creek, for butter and mustard, from Easter to Aug. 1519, 10*s.* To the goodwife Bingley, for lodging 6 carpenters in two beds, for 14 weeks, 3*d.* a week for each bed. To John Baker, the younger, 20 Dec. 1519, lodging 15 carpenters in 5 beds, for 3 weeks, 3*s.* 9*d.* 11 March 11 Hen. VIII., 120 st. of hemp weighing 1,500 lb., at 6*s.* 1*d.* the cwt. Goats' hair for the boat, 10*d.* 14 lb. thrones, 2*d.* a lb. 4 cwt. rosin, at 4*s.* 51 st. oakum, at 4*d.* 1 cwt. flax, 10*s.* 3 cwt. tallow, at 8*s.* To John Hopton, for Spanish nails, 13*s.* 4*d.* To John Twill, for butter and oatmeal for porridge for the workmen, 19*s.* 20 oxen, 21*l.* 10*s.* Totals: wages, 125*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*; victuals, 84*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*; lodging, 52*s.*; emptions, 111*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* Sum total, 323*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*

Pp. 34.

- 22 Dec. 559. For ANTHONY CHABO, the King's surgeon.
P. S. Annuity of 20*l.* Lambeth, 23 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm.,
22 Dec.
Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. *p.* 2, *m.* 26.

- 23 Dec. 560. SIR THOMAS SPINELLY to WOLSEY.
R. O. Wrote last on the 13th by John de la Saulche. Has since then seen Chievres and the Chancellor, who are well disposed to his grace and England, and to make no new treaty with France; by whose good wishes the French practices may be considered totally extinct. The French press for the payment of the rest of the money due for Naples; to which answer was given that, as the French king professes so much good will towards the king of the Romans, he should not press for so small a matter. Is of opinion that when Charles arrives in Flanders this and other matters will be more easily settled, and, considering his fast alliance with England, the French king will keep quiet. The resolution has not yet arrived from Rome. The Pope proposes to send the crown into Almain, or that Charles should go to Italy with a small company. The King will not bind himself to anything against his honor and ancient customs. The Count Palatine is in great favor with him. Otho Henry, his nephew, is gone into Andalusia, Portugal and St. James, with 40 horses. The King is at Molinde Rey, waiting "to order the justice after the comons of Catalonia their desire; whereto the nobles contradict, alleging certain privileges to one untrue interpretation, and totale [contrary] to the said justice; the which, for the benefict of the said subjects, and of all those that ul be content with their own, the King is determined to reform, and shal doithe with his moche honor and prise." The duke of Cardona, accused of a murder committed by his steward in Barcelona, and resisting the law, is made a

1519.

prisoner, by the King's commandment, with the Duchess, for an example to all others. This has made the King popular. Chievres tells him they will take shipping at the beginning of May. The bishoprick of Gain is given to the bishop of Luke. "The lady Margaret wol in no manere condeshende to cume to the governance of Castila." La Tore de Galdes, 23 Dec.

Hol., cipher, pp. 4.

Vesp. C. XIII.
247.

2. Decipher of the above in Tuke's hand.

B. M.

24 Dec. 561. BONNIVET to [WOLSEY].

Calig. E. II.
166.

B. M.

Has received [his letters] and news by Montmorency, who also informed the King his master of the perfect affection of his good brother. Refers him for further information to Marigny. Montmorency has explained to the King the proposal made by the ambassador of Mons. de Savoy "pardela," requesting your advice upon the marriage of his master with the Portuguese princess, and how he is to conduct himself to the King Catholic, whose subject he is, and whether he ought to prefer his amity to that of the French king his relative. Francis is of opinion that the Duke ought not to contract such a marriage without consulting himself and his mother. *If Wolsey will insist upon the amity of the two Kings, he may stop the Duke's intention, who has no cause of complaint, as, notwithstanding all his errors, he has been highly favored by Francis. Cautions him against trusting the ambassador of Savoy. Maleherbes, 24

Signed.

Mutilated, pp. 4. Endd.: "[Bo]nyvett's letters unto Montmorancy."

25 Dec. 562. LOANS.

R. O.

Loans money received by Thos. Stokes, one of the tellers of the receipt to the King, according to letter missives directed before the Feast of the Nativity 11 Hen. VIII.

Bishop of Chichester, 100 mks. Bishop of Hereford, 100 mks. Abbot of Battel, 15*l*. Abbot of Hyde, 40 mks. Abbot of Walden, . . . Abbot of Ramsey, c [mks.] * . . . *

Abbot of St. John's, Colchester, 20*l*. Prior of Ely, 40*l*. Prior of Norwich, 50*l*. Mr. Wm. Pykenham, clerk, 50*l*. Nic. Goldway, clk., 100 mks. Sir Wm. Boleyn, 20*l*. Thos. Thorysby, 40*l*. Sir Thos. Bourgoyne (?) 100 mks. Total, 3,412*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. * . . . *

Paid to the kitchen upon the exhibition of the knygh[t] 10 weeks, at 20*s*. To John Shaan, of London, gold[smith] To Sir Thos. Lovell

Fragment.

27 Dec. 563. ROGER MILWARD.

R. O.

Complaint of Wm. Astell, of Nuneaton, Warw., gent., and Ric. Harrys, of London, haberdasher, against Roger Milward, of London, goldsmith, servant of Thos. cardinal of York and lord Chancellor, for detaining 200*l*. of their money which ought to have been paid on the Feast of St. John the Apostle, 1519.

Copy, Lat., p. 1. Endd.: "Rogerus Milwarde, serviens R. D. card. Ebor."

1519.

28 Dec.

R. O.

564. SIR WM. SANDYS to HENEAGE.

Sends by the bearer a bowl with a cover, as a New Year's gift to Wolsey, which he asks Heneage to present for him. Wishes him to send back by the bearer Wolsey's orders concerning Harry Ledar. Calais, 28 Dec.

Sends him 20s. for his fee, and a brooch as a remembrance. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my [cousin Henedge], with my [lord Cardinal's] grace.

Dec.

R. O.

565. NIC. WEST BISHOP OF ELY to WOLSEY.

Sends, "in token of this good New Year, my true and loving heart, which I humbly beseech your grace principally to regard, and secondary this poor present that this bearer shall deliver." Wishes him many good New Years, with health both in body and soul. Owing to Wolsey's advice, has had good health since he left him. However, one of his legs is broken out again, so that he can neither ride nor go any time. Fears it will engender much corruption inwardly for lack of exercise, and so shorten his days. Asks him to send him a mule. If he had one, would ride in the fields for exercise more than he does at present, and would try to make himself strong enough to visit him next summer. Downham, besides Elye, —* Dec. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

566. ERASMUS to PET. MOSELLANUS.

Er. Ep. vi. 2.

Criticisms upon his edition of the New Testament. Dined a little time since with card. Sion at Antwerp. The preachers are unfavorable to him. Excitement occasioned by them. There are two universities in England, at which Greek is taught;—in Cambridge, without molestation, as Fisher is chancellor there; but in Oxford, where there is a young Greek professor, an ignorant preacher declaimed against Greek, and was silenced by the King through the instrumentality of More and Pace. Gives an account of a sermon at court, in which the preacher had inveighed against the study of Greek; and of the discussion in which the King, More, and Pace had taken part. Louvain, 1519.

567. MORE to ——— (a monk).

Jortin's
Erasmus,
III. 365.

Has received his letter expressing his apprehensions lest More should be corrupted, and the salvation of his soul endangered, by his intimacy with Erasmus. Would be very ungrateful if he did not thank his correspondent for his excessive zeal, who dashes over rocks and precipices, at the imminent hazard of his neck, to save More from stumbling, who is leisurely walking in perfect security on level ground. Replies to the calumnies thrown out against Erasmus; believes that Lee is ashamed of his attack. The orthodoxy of Erasmus is proved by his intimacy with Colet, Fisher, Grocin, and others. Brings a variety of instances in which the later Church had departed from the dogmas of the Fathers. Defends the study of Greek, and purity of style. Objects to the Vulgate,—its inaccuracies, &c., its violation of grammatical propriety. Defends the change of *verbum* into *sermo*. Mentions Colet, Fisher, and especially John Longland, dean of Salisbury, "alter ut ejus laudes uno verbo complectar Coletus, seu concionantem audias, seu vitæ spectes puritatem," who admitted that more information was to be gained from the labours of Erasmus on the New Testament than from all other commentaries besides. Objects to the senseless iteration of Scriptural terms, and illustrates it by a story of a

1519.

buffoon who amused a crowd by an obscene tale, mimicking the dress, countenance, and gesticulation of a preaching friar, and expressing himself in words culled exclusively from Scripture. The jealousies and factions of rival religious orders; their arrogance and superstition.

Gives an account of his paying a visit to his sister at Coventry, and of the preaching of a Franciscan there, who had asserted that whoever repeated daily the psalter of the Virgin would escape eternal damnation. The parish priest, who had warned his parishioners from the pulpit against this, was abused and traduced as an enemy to the Virgin, and branded for impiety. More, on his arrival, found it the sole topic of discussion. Repeats the conversation which arose at table about it, and his own comments upon it.

Proceeds to a very glowing description of the virtues and labors of Erasmus, and concludes his letter by warning his correspondent not to trust too much to the peculiar sanctity or ceremonies of his order. "You can," says More, "fast of yourself, watch of yourself, and pray of yourself;—nay, you may pray *ex Diabolo*. But true Christian faith, by which Christ Jesus is truly so called in the Spirit,—true Christian hope, by which a man, despairing of his own merits, is led to trust exclusively in the mercy of God,—true Christian charity, which is not puffed up, is not provoked, seeketh not its own,—these are gifts which fall to no man's lot except by the mere grace and gratuitous favor of God."

568. HARMAN RYNG to [WOLSEY].

R. O.

How to provide bullion from Almaine for this realm with the greatest profit. In Almaine, a mark of Snebery fine silver is sold at the receipt of the silver for 28s. 4d. st. 21 of them make only 20, Troy weight, which is a loss of 5 per cent., or 7l. 1s. 8d. on the 100 marks (*sic*). In every mark Troy weight, $2\frac{1}{2}$ dwt., or $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. in money, is lost at the Tower; so that the marks cost, after this reckoning, 30s. $5\frac{1}{2}$ d., and it is not possible to have bullion or fine silver in this realm, seeing they only give 28s. 4d., whereby the coinage and Mint is wasted, many light clipped groats and "pence of twopence" are current, and there is no other money.

The best remedy for the evils that will arise from this is, to pay beforehand 2,666l. 13s. 4d. st. for every 2,000 marks weight of fine Snebery silver, which would give a saving of 20d. a mark. It should be received at every Frankfort mart, that is, half-yearly. When they are paid beforehand, they can afford to sell it cheaper, and find surety for its true deliverance. In this way it will be delivered at the Tower at 28s. 4d. st. a mark. If Wolsey will appoint a person to receive the money, will engage to deliver 2,000 or 4,000 marks' weight yearly at this price; but it must be secretly, as, if the purveyor were discovered, he would be in great danger, and the Princes would not suffer any silver to depart, because of their own mints.

Hol., pp. 2. *Headed*, 1519. *Endd.*: "Harman Ryng, for provision of bullion."

569. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

Sadoleti Epist.
Pont. xciv.

Recommends to his favor the Friars Observants. They are very ready to submit to Wolsey's visitation; of which the Pope has now given him the faculty, that he should punish the disorderly and such as have lapsed into Lutheranism. Rome.

570. UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD to WOLSEY.

Fiddes, C.
p. 39.

Thanks for the Cardinal's liberality. The lectures he has founded there have been of the greatest service, especially the theological, of which Thomas Brynknell is the professor. They will attend to the advice contained in his last letter* about the stagnant marshes and watercourses.

1519.

571. The STAR CHAMBER.

R. O.

The following councillors, my lord of Westminster, the dean of St. Paul's, my lord of St. John's, Sir Thos. Nevyle, Sir Andrew Windesore, Sir Ric. Weston, Dr. Clerc, and Mr. Rooper, have been appointed by Wolsey and the Council to hear the causes of poor men depending in the Sterred Chambre, and will sit in the White Hall in Westminster, where the said suitors shall resort.

P. 1.

572. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, to WOLSEY.

Faustina,
C. VII. 187.
B. M.
Wilkins'
Concilia,
III. 659.

Thanking him for having established peace among them, and appointed a president,* through whose influence they hope no similar occasion of dissension will arise. He is at liberty to use their quarries, "ad opus pientissimum, viz., hoc sacrosanctum musarum asylum."

Lat., pp. 2. *Add.*: Thomæ archiep. Ebor., S.R.E. presb. cardinali apostolicæ sedis et a latere legato, &c. *Endd.*

573. The BORDERS.

Calig. B. I.
125.
B. M.

"Rewardes yoven unto divers men of Northumberland by the handes of my lorde lieutenant for the casting down of Blakatur and other fortresses in Scotland, as it appeareth by a bill signed by my said lord lieutenant."

To the soldiers of Berwick, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To lord Ogill, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Sir Wm. Heron, 10*l.* To Sir Edward Graye, knt., 10*l.* To Sir Wm. Percy, knt., 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Sir Ph. Dacre, knt., 5*l.* To Sir Ralph à Fenwick, 10*l.* To Sir Wm. Lysle, 5*l.* To Sir Roger Gray, 4*l.* To Robert à Collyngwood, 4*l.* To the gunners, 5*l.* To Claveryng, 53*s.* 4*d.* To Sir John Delavale, 53*s.* 4*d.* To John Swinburne, 40*s.* To John Heron, of Crawley, 40*s.* To John Heron, of Chipehace, 4*l.* To Sir Wm. Hilton, 10*l.* To Sir Wm. Ellerker, 5*l.* To Cuthbert Ratelif, 4*l.* To Sir Nicholas Ridley, 40*s.* To certain guides, 40*s.* Total, 122*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

ii. "Rewardes yoven by the King's commandment" to men of the bishopric of Durham and of Northumberland and Cumberland, for the casting down of Cessford and other fortresses in Scotland, paid by warrants of the lord lieutenant.—(1.) In the bishopric of Durham. To my lord of Westmoreland and his retinue, for seven days, 80*l.* Bartholomew Harwood and his retinue, 20*l.* 4*s.* To lord Lomeley and his retinue, 81*l.* 4*s.* Sir Wm. Bulmer, for the retinue of the prior of Durham, the Chancellor of the same, Mr. Gretam, the master of the hospital of Sherborne, 280*l.* Robert Boys "and Boys" (*sic*), for their retinue, 20*l.* 8*s.* To Sir Wm. Hilton, 49*l.* 8*s.* —(2.) Northumberland and Cumberland. To lord Ogill, for his retinue for the same period, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To John Clavering and his retinue, 3*l.* To Edward Gallon and his retinue, 40*s.* To Sir Wm. Lysle and his company, 100*s.* To Robt. Collyngwood and his retinue, 100*s.* To Wm. Swynbourne and his retinue, 4*l.* To Nicholas Thorneton and his retinue, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Sir John Delavale and his retinue, 53*s.* . . . *jd.* To Sir John Heron, knt., and his retinue, 4*l.* To Sir Edward Ratelif, knt., and his retinue, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Sir Ralph à Fenwick and his retinue, 10*l.* To John Whitefield and his retinue, 40*s.* To Sir Thos. Elderton, knt., and his retinue, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Sir Wm. Percy and his retinue, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Sir Wm. Heron and his retinue, 10*l.* To Sir Nich. Ridley and his retinue, 40*s.* To Thos. Carnabe, esq., and his retinue, 40*s.* To Sir Wm. Ellerker, knt., and his retinue, 100*s.* To Thos. lord Dacre, warden of the West Marches, and his retinue, 76*l.* 7*s.*

Endorsed : "[Rewards to] certain persons in Northumb. . . . for the casting down of certain towns in Scotland in anno 11 R. viij." (*sic*)

Pp. 3.

* John Hygden, appointed 17 Dec. 1516.

1519.

574. WILL NANPAN to WOLSEY.

The King is much defrauded in the profits of the duchy of Cornwall, and in his coinage held there twice a year. Remits further particulars till he has an opportunity of seeing him.

Hol., p. 1.

"My lord Card. legatē a latere," &c. *Endd.*

575. LOSSES SUSTAINED BY CHRISTOPHER COO.

R. O.

"Here ensueth the demands of allowance of the statute of 500*l.* which Christopher Coo, at this present day, stonde bound unto Richard Reynolds, mercer; and also such losses sustained by the same Christopher Coo."

Concerning certain debts of Coo to Reynolds, which he went down to Lynn* in Norfolk to pay, a new bargain made by John Devereux about goods to be delivered to Coo at Bordeaux, the non-delivery of an anchor belonging to Coo's ship the *John Baptist*, and a ship freighted by Coo, called the *Christopher Hussey*, for Bordeaux, which was stopped by order at Blackwall on account of the war.

Pp. 4. *Endd.*

576. MEMORANDUM concerning the ADMINISTRATION of the KING'S AFFAIRS.

Titus, B. i.

180.

B. M.

"A remembrance of such things as the King's grace woll have to be done, and hath given in commandment to his Cardinal to put the same in effectual execution, as hereafter ensueth."

(1) 10,000*l.* a year for the King's extraordinary expences. (2) 6,000*l.* a year for his buildings of Bridewell, Newhall, &c. (3) Rewards of ambassadors, to be paid by Sir John Heron. (4) Views to be made and books kept; (5) of the plate and jewels in the keeping of Sir Henry Wyat, by the bishop of Armagh, Magnus and Sir William Kingston; (6) of the wardrobe in the Tower, by Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir William Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Jerningham; (7) of his ordnance, by Sir Edward Belknap, Sir Richard Wyngfield and Sir John Cutte; (8) of the ships, by Sir Wistan Browne and Sir Richard Wyngfield; (9) of his armory and stables, by Sir John Pechye, Sir Richard Sacheverell and Sir Andrew Wyndesore; (10) of Robert Amadas and Richard Gibson's accounts, by Sir Thomas Boleyn, Sir Robert Dymoke and Sir Henry Gilforde. (11) Sir John Heron to make monthly reports of his receipts and payments. (12) William Compton to do the same, and furnish a counterpart to the King. (13) The surveyor of lands to make a yearly declaration; (14) and of such sums as are spent in building;—the Master of the Savoy, William Pawne, Miles Gerard and Brisewood of Calais to view the same. (15) The Chancellor and the judges to make quarterly reports to the King in person; (16) also the duchy of Lancaster. (17) The Exchequer to report from the beginning of the reign to Michaelmas last, and thenceforth yearly. (18) Sir Edward Belknap, John FitzJamys the King's attorney, "and Roper the learned man," to assist the master of the wards in making quarterly reports. (19) The lord Cardinal, the duke of Norfolk, the lord Privy Seal, the lord Chamberlain and Sir Henry Marney to arrange the household. (20 and 21) Arrangements for certain sums.

ii. Points which the King will debate with his Council.

(1) For the administration of justice. (2) Reform of the Exchequer. (3) Ireland. (4) Employment of idle people. (5) Maintenance of the frontiers.

* See vol. II. no. 4318.

1519.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING ADMINISTRATION of the KING'S AFFAIRS—*cont.*

iii. "Privy remembrances."

- (1) For surety of the King's person. (2) Occupation of the King's ships.
 (3) Appointing annuities.

Pp. 8.

R. O.

577. ORDINA[RY BREAKFASTS] DAILY TO BE SERVED WITHIN THE [COUNTING HOUSE].*

The lord Steward. The King's and Queen's lord Chamberlains. The Treasurer. The Comptroller. Mr. Marney. Mr. Secretary. The henchmen. The Queen's The King's watch. Mr. Cofferer. The lady Princess. The French queen. The lord Cardinal. The duke of Suffolk. The Marquis. The lord Treasurer. Earl of Devonshire. Lord Hastings. Lord Ferys. Mr. More and Stokisley. Knights for the Body. Mr. Wyotte, treasurer of the Chamber. The Master of the Horse. Mr. Norys. Mr. Bryanne. Mr. Carey. The young minstrels. Lady Willoughby. Lady Lucy. Lady Parre. The Queen's watch. None under the degree of a baron to have any breakfast ordinarily in the King's house. Total, 32.

P. 1, mutilated at commencement.

R. O.

578. The ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

Lists of members of the Royal Household sworn to the King by the earl of Worcester, lord Chamberlain; arranged according to the counties from which they came, and distinguishing, under separate heads, knights, squires, carvers, cupbearers, sewers and gentlemen ushers.

At the end is a list of "Grooms of the King's chamber sworn sithens the crownneacion."

Pp. numbered 299—443. The writing is so faded as to be in many places illegible.

R. O.

579. HOUSEHOLD of the PRINCESS MARY.

"Money to be had of Maister Sidnour for Maister Coferer for store delyvered to my lady Princes, anno xi. R. H. VIII."

53 qrs. 5 bush. 1 pk. of wheat, at 6s. 8d. a qr.; 9 tuns of wine, at 4l. 13s. 4d. a tun; 3 cwt. of "poleyn wex," at 4l. 2s. a cwt.; 22 beefes, at 24s. 8d. the piece; 179 sheep, at 2s. 7½d. the piece; 121 coddies, at 3d. the piece; 7 cwt. of tallwood, at 4s. a cwt.; 450 fagots, at 2s. 8d. the 100. Total, 126l. 16s. 2¾d.

R. O.

580. 2. STUFF to be provided for the PRINCESS'S WARDROBE.

"A cloth of estate with 2 cushions of cloth of gold and red velvet panyd with valans of red silk and gold." 2 spervers of right satin paled with curtains and valance of the same sarcenet, a counterpoint of satin paled of 6 breadths, and 6 yds. long, lined with fustian. A travers of sarcenet, 10 breadths, and 5 yds. long. A cloth of gold and a velvet chair. 30 pieces of tapestry, 3½ yds. deep. A scarlet counterpoint, 1½ breadth and 4 yds. long. 6 feather beds of 10 qrs. Brussels. 3 pair fustians, of 5 breadths and 4½ yds. long. 3 pair woollen blankets, 2 yds. by 3½ yds., at 3s. 4d. the yd. 10 pair sheets, at 2s. the ell, 3 breadths and 4½ yds. long. 24 pair of sheets, at 1s. the ell, for the wardrobe, 2 breadths by 3½ yds. 10 pieces of green saye of the middle assize, to be "lyryd." 8 down pillows, an ell long by 1½ breadth, covered with "holmys fustian." 16 pillow beres, at 16d. the ell. 5 verdur counter-

* Supplied from modern endorsement.

1519.

points. 2 pieces of buckram for necessities. 1 chafer of Myllen brass. 3 round pewter basins for the Princess. 6 brushes for her gowns. 3 bare "hyeds." 2 cart canvasses. 4 trussing canvasses. 4 pallet cases. 2 "cloth saxsys of leather, with girths." 5,000 hooks. 2,000 crochets. 2 hammers. 200-fathom trussing line. 24 lb. round "lyes" of red and blue. 2 leather water jugs. 2 coal-baskets lined with leather. 3 plates for the chamber. 6 round stools. 6 lbs. white and black thread. 6 lbs. pack-thread. 20d. worth of needles. 6 carpets for cupboards and windows, and 2 foot carpets.

P. 1.

581.

GRANTS IN DECEMBER 1519.

Dec.
GRANTS.

1. John Skydamore and Th. Baskerville. Wardship of Thos. s. of Urras Delahaye, s. of Blanche Delahaye *alias* Hopkyn, widow of Jevan Ap Guillian Hopkyn, of Urrishaye, Heref. Lambeth, 26 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Dec.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 15.*

4. Peter Larke. Lease, for 10 years, of various lands in Leweny, late of David Ap Jor', Th. Llannergh, Rees Ap Jor', Matilda daughter of Henry Cay, Adam Hynde, Henry Semeston, Nich. Hynde and John Motlowe; lately held to farm by Jevan Ap Llewellyn Vaughan by patent under seal of the earldom of March. Also part of the town of Serior; 16 acres in Foreyn Angl', late of Madd' Ap Gr', in Dehengron; and other lands there late of Jevan Ap Madd', David Ap Gign', Madd' Ap Meredith, Jevan Ap Grono, Tudor Ap Jevan, Meredith Ap Hoell, Grono Ap David, Jevan Ap Grono, Jor' Ap Meredith, and Rees Ap Ithell; land "*in villa Liberatorum*," and in Brynfanyng; land late of David Ap Jevan; which lands David Ap Gign' lately held to farm. The premises are part of the lordship of Denbygh. Rent, 69s. 2½d., and 26s. 8d. of increase. *Del. Hampton Court*, 4 Dec. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 27.*

12. Baldwin Heth. To be surveyor of the King's "stalandes" and "studdes" in cos. Warw. and Worc., with appointment of 3 servants to attend them and break in their foals, and of a smith to administer medicines; with 4d. a day, 2d. each for the servants, and 40s. a year for the smith, out of the issues of Warwick's and Spencer's lands; and with certain pastures. To be keeper of the stables in the manor of Upton, Worc., and of the lodge and colthhouse in Budbroke, Warw. To have 100s. for mowing; 23s. 4d. for forage, collars, shoeing, &c. for each of three "stalandes"; and the same for every foal broken in. Richmond, 1 Dec. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 12 Dec.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 20.*

14. Th. Carvannell, groom of the chamber. To be keeper of the manor, orchard, war-

ren and wardrobe of Newhall, Essex, and bailiff of Newhall, Boreham, Walkeford, and Powers, Essex, with 16d. a day, and 60 loads of wood a year for the wardrobe. Richmond, 5 Dec. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 14 Dec.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

17. Hugh Pole. Grant of the free chapel of Saint Blaise, in the manor of Sutton in Colfeld, Warw. Richmond, 8 Dec. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court*, 17 Dec.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

20. Town of Kingesthorp, Northt. Inspecimus and confirmation of patent 23 Oct. 5 Hen. VII., inspecting patent 1 June 15 Edw. IV., confirming letters patent of Henry VI. granting the town to the tenants for 40 years from the death of Joan queen of England, at the annual rent of 50l. instead of 60l. on account of their poverty. Edward IV. granted the town to the inhabitants for 40 years, having previously granted to queen Elizabeth, his consort, by letters patent 7 July 7 Edw. IV., 40l. a year out of the farm of the town. Also grant of the farm of their town for the same term from Mich. 8 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 Dec. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 27.*

20. John Ap Day, clk. Presentation to the church of St. Blaise, near Gwynes, in the marches of Calais, Terouenne dioc., *vice* William Nelson, resigned. Hampton Court, 20 Dec.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 25.*

23. Sir Rob. Constable. To be steward of the lordship of Hothom, York, with annuity of 20 marks. *Westm.*, 23 Dec.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 28.*

23. Eliz. and Th. Hall. Release, as widow and son and administrators of Th. Hall, late customer at Ipswich, and administrator of Rob. Hall, of Ipswich, merchant. Also release to them, and John Flegge, of Nedeham Merkat, Suff., John Worsopp, of St. Pancras's, London, and James Lopham, of Gipping, Suff. *Del. Westm.*, 23 Dec. 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

1520.

A.D. 1520.

2 Jan. 582. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

R. O. In behalf of Jehan de la Sauch, Charles's secretary, who, having delivered his charge, is redispached to England by his master. Mechlin, 2 Jan. 1519. *Signed.*
Fr., p. 1. Add.

2 Jan. 583. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

R. O. To the same effect. Mechlin, 2 Jan. 1519. *Signed.*
Fr., p. 1. Add.

2 Jan. 584. WM. PAWNE.

R. O. Mem.—On the 2d Jan. 1519, English style, 11 Hen. VIII., about noon, in the house of Wm. Burdon, under customer of Calais, Richard Bowden, soldier in Calais, declared before Sir John Byrde, parish priest of St. Nicholas, Sir Oswald, a priest of the same parish, Brian Vavasure, Wm. King, Wm. Howell, soldiers, and Ric. Scras, that a certain man secretly conveyed 1,000*l.* out of Tournay, “in voyde boots upon a voyde horse,” by means of Matthew Hall, upper clerk to Wm. Pawne. The person himself confessed this before his death.
P. 1.

6 Jan. 585. HESDIN to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. IV. Herman Ryn, in repassing here “devers la sacree majeste du Roy et de vostre reverendissima,” requested Hesdin to procure a letter from my Lady to the Electors, who have tolls upon the Rhine, to give free passage for 1,000 lances which the King desired to have. Margaret would willingly have consented; but as no request has been made to the Electors since the election, she thinks it unadvisable to trouble them about such a small matter. Will be happy to procure for the King any harness or ammunition he may require. Reminds Wolsey of what he told him when last [with his] reverence, of the expense he had been at in getting Mortaigne into his [hands], and restoring it to the King. Has written of it to the secretary Pace. Antwerp, 6 Jan. 1519.

P.S. in his own hand.—Wishes he could express to Wolsey in person his high esteem. Wrote, when in England, in such high terms of the policy pursued there that some, who had counted him an Englishman, at his return counted him an Englishman and a half. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

6 Jan. 586. HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. VI. Had written by his servant, who is sent to England with presents for Wolsey from Madame and himself. As the way by sea is uncertain, sends 110. [Wolsey news by land. Wrote by his servant partly of his own affairs. Is not much concerned, though malevolent reports have been spread about him. Wolsey will not regard them, but devote himself to the good of their two majesties. Jehan de la Souch has gone to England. The King his master has taken in good part the offers of the King and Wolsey, and will do all in his power to augment the amity. Requests Wolsey to burn his letters, and not mention that he had written. Hopes the trouble he has taken in his journey to England may have a good result. Antwerp, Twelfth Night.

Hol., Fr., pp. 3, mutilated. Add.: Mons. le Cardinal Yorcq.

1520.

7 Jan. 587. SIR JOHN PECCHE and SIR WM. SANDYS to [WOLSEY].

R. O.

On Friday, the 6th inst., a soldier of the town came before them, and declared that one John Ormeston, who he supposes is now in service with Sir H. Wyatt, was taken prisoner in the skirmish at Guysnes, a little before the King's arrival "in these parts, and so conveyed into France," and brought before Ric. de la Pole, his interview with whom he related to the said soldier. Encloses an account in the soldier's own hand. Ormeston told the soldier that he intended to relate all to the council, but he does not know whether he has done so. Calais, 7 Jan. *Signed.*

*Pp. 2.***7 Jan. 588. The TOWN COUNCIL OF MECHLIN to HENRY VIII.**

R. O.

Petition to recompense Jan Baeck, a citizen of their town. Mechlin, 7 Jan. 1519 (style of Cambray).

*Flemish, p. 1. Add.***9 Jan. 589. WILLIAM [WARHAM] ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY to WOLSEY.**

Vesp. F. XIII.

77.

B. M.

Interceding for the lady Bulstrode, widow, in the suit brought against her in the Exchequer for her husband's debt to the King, that she may have three weeks' respite after the first day of next term. Knoll, 9 Jan. *Signed.*

*P. 1. My lord card. of York, legate de latere. Endd.***9 Jan. 590. J. DE BERGHEZ to HENRY VIII.**

R. O.

Will learn the news of these parts by Messire Guyot. Supposes he is informed of the [intended] marriage of his son De Gruneburg with a niece of the marquis d'Arschot. His son, however, will not quit Henry's service, but will shortly be in England. Malines, 9 Jan. *Signed.*

*Fr., p. 1. Add.***9 Jan. 591. SAME to WOLSEY.**

R. O.

To the same effect. Malines, 9 Jan. *Signed.*

*Fr., p. 1. Mons. le Card. d'Angleterre.***10 Jan. 592. FRANCIS I.**

R. O.

Rym. XIII.
691.

Appoints Wolsey as his proctor for arranging a meeting between himself and Henry VIII., according to the terms of the treaty of London, passed on 8th October 1518. Leseignaix, 10 Jan. 1519, 6 Fr. I. *Signed.* *Countersigned:* De Neufville.

Calig. D. VII.

166.

B. M.

2. Power sent from Francis I. to Wolsey, by the bailly of Caen, to arrange the interview between himself and Henry. (1.) To be between Guisnes and Ardre, where the pavilions of them and their suites may be pitched. In the night Henry is to retire to Guisnes, and Francis to Ardre. (2.) To arrange (*entreprendre*) the place of the tents, it will be right from the month of April next to advise upon what is proper for their safety and commodity. The meeting shall take place in May. (3.) The number of attendants shall be regulated by the lists arranged last year. (4.) The interview shall take place at a fixed day and hour, and on the spot to be fixed by deputies, and they shall determine between themselves the days for the jousts. "Fait à Leseignaix," 10 Jan. 1519.

1520.

10 Jan. 593. CINQUE PORTS.

R. O.

Order from Sir Edw. Ponynge, admiral of the Cinque Ports, to the bailiffs, &c. of Lyde, to summon eighteen discreet men, sailors and others, to appear before him or his lieutenant at Lyde, at 9 a.m. on Saturday, 4 Feb., to inquire into cases connected with the Admiralty. Dover Castle, 10 Jan. 11 Hen.VIII.

Lat., p. 1. Add.

The same to the bailiff, &c. of Romney.

Like letter for the appearance of eighteen men at Romney, at 9 a.m. on Friday, 3 Feb. Dover Castle, 10 Jan. 11 Hen.VIII.

Lat., p. 1. Add.

11 Jan. 594.

R. O.

SIR JOHN PECCHE, SIR WM. SANDYS, SIR EDW. GULDEFORD, SIR RIC. CAREW, SIR ROBERT WOTTON, and THOS. ELLYS, to WOLSEY.

Have received three commissions, dated 27 Oct. last, commanding them to enquire into the King's title to certain lands some time belonging to the late Wm. Button, Thos. Barton, and Andrew Rede, within this town, the island of Colne, the county of Guisnes, &c. With these commissions, three "close worts" were delivered them by the pretended heirs, which seem of a contrary nature. Such commissions are without precedent. Have advised the parties to pursue their causes before the proper officers. It seems "that they would entitle the King's grace thereunto by color, and then to sue it out of his hands, and to defeat other of such right and title as they have long continued in possession of." Calais, 11 Jan. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: [To] my lord Cardinal's grace, [legate] a latere and chancellor [of] England. Endd.

11 Jan. 595.

R. O.

SIR WM. SANDYS to his "cousin HENNEDGE."

Thanks him for his kindness and the trouble he has taken in his matters. Asks him to favor the bearer, the secretary of Calais, who always shows great diligence in my lord's business, and in all matters connected with the town. Requests Hennedge to present him to Wolsey, and further his suit. Has not written lately to Wolsey, for lack of news. Calais, 11 Jan. *Signed.*

Pp. 2.

12 Jan. 596.

Calig. D.vii.
79.

B.M.

——— to WOLSEY.

Relative to some pictures ordered of the writer by the King. "Jussisti mihi superioribus diebus mi domi[ne] regionum quas impius Turcarum imperator usurpat. Q quod te salutatum accessissem, in pulchriori redigeretur forma. Cogitanti occurrit dubium quam materia velis id fieri, lignea an pergamenea, lineae an e nec mihi satis constat utrum uno tantum exemplari tibi satisfieri possit, aut potius singu desideres. Nam si recte memini visus est mihi dixisse invictissimum regem expetere e[jus]modi picturas." Will do his best to make the work worthy of the King of England and the Cardinal of York. Paris, 12 Jan. 1519.

Hol., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: Reverendissimo, &c. archiepiscopo Eboracensi primati, &c., cardinali legatoque apostolico, &c.

13 Jan. 597.

R. O.

SIR JOHN PECCHE to WOLSEY.

Received today his letter dated 5 Jan., thanking him "for that poure and small remembraunce, which is greatly to my comfort that it lykyth your grace." Will do as the King wishes about the spy; viz., either continue him

1520.

in his old pension, or, if he is discontented with that, discharge him. If he is content, will want a warrant from the King to the Treasurer for the said pension, "which to them all is but 18 crowns every month." The letter Wolsey got from the King at Newhall is not sufficient for the Treasurer's discharge; it must be word for word as the letter is, saving only the form of the warrant; for there is not one penny difference, as he will see by the copy of the said letter and the warrant which the secretary here has to show Wolsey. He is a diligent and good servant to the King and Wolsey. Calais, 13 Jan. *Signed*.

P. 1. Add.: "To my lord Cardynall's grace legat elatria and chaunceler of England."

14 Jan. 598. ANTHONIUS DE BERGHES to [WOLSEY].

R. O.

Wolsey will be glad to learn that an affinity is contracted between his father and Chievres, whose niece he himself is about to marry. Nothing was said about it when he left England, whither he hopes to return within three months. Antwerp, 14 Jan.

Hol., Lat., pp. 2.

20 Jan. 599. NICHOLAS WEST BISHOP OF ELY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wishes to have his jurisdiction in his own hand, as his diocesans have grown disorderly. Begs a commission for his archdeacon, Thomas Alcock, LL.D., and his commissary, Thomas Pelles, LL.D. Offers Wolsey the whole or part of the money arising from his jurisdiction. Wishes to know his pleasure by the bearer. "At my poor house of Somersham,"

20 Jan. *Part of the signature torn off.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace. *Endd.*

20 Jan. 600. HENRY VIII. to LEO X.

Mart. Amp.
Col. III. 1304.

Is extremely well satisfied to have heard from Campeggio the commendations bestowed by the Pope on the bishop of Worcester. As the Pope intends at this time to create new cardinals, urges the merits of Worcester.

Thanks the Pope for prolonging the legatine authority of Wolsey for three years, but would have been better pleased had it been prolonged for an indefinite period, as it would have enabled him to proceed with greater vigor in the reformation of the clergy. Tower of London, 20 Jan. 1520. *Signed by Vannes.*

20 Jan. 601. For JOHN CHAMBRE, M.D., the King's Physician.

S. B.

Licence, during pleasure, to be absent from the archdeaconry of Meath, to which he was presented by Hugh bishop of Meath. Greenwich, 20 Jan. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 20 Jan.*

22 Jan. 602. MARY THE FRENCH QUEEN to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Begs him to remember his promise made to her at Letheringham, for the pardon of Anthony Savage. He is so impoverished by his long and painful suit, that he hath not whereby to live. Henham, 22 Jan. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal.

23 Jan. 603. CHARLES V. to the BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

Mart. Amp.
Col. III. 1308.

Recommends to him his ambassador Don John Manuel, and desires Worcester will act in common with him. In Molendino Regio, 23 Jan. 1520.

1520.

23 Jan. 604. The KING'S MINSTRELS.

Rym.xiii. 705.

Inspeximus in favor of John Gilmyn, Th. Grenyng, Th. Spence, Th. Mayowe, John Abes, Th. Pygyn, Wm. Kirkeby and John Rippys (?), of patent 24 April 9 Edw. IV., licensing the King's minstrels to continue and augment the guild which they had founded in St. Paul's, London. Westm., 23 Jan.

Pat.† 11 *Hen. VIII.* p. 1, m. 1.

25 Jan. 605. FABRICIUS [DE COLONNA] to HENRY VIII.

Vit.B.iv. 37*.

B. M.

Has received his letters by Sir Gregory de Casalis, and a horse. Of the two horses in his possession, on one of which Henry had set his mind, and which the writer values more than his own eyes, one had been promised to the Emperor. Wishing, however, to serve the King, he had allowed Sir Gregory to make the selection, who had chosen the best, which has no fellow in Italy. Naples, 25 Jan. 1520. *Signature partly burnt.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

25 Jan. 606. INVENTORY of a MONK'S PROPERTY.

R. O.

"Be it remembered, that I, Dan Thomas Golwynne, monk, professed of the house of London, had with me, by the licence of the honorable father prior of the said house of London, Dan William Tynbegh, when I departed from London unto Mount Grace, all these things underwritten, the 25th day of January, the year of our Lord 1519.

"Inprimis, 3 habits as they come by course. Item, 2 new stamyn shirts and 1 old. Item, 2 new stamyn colys (collars) and 1 old. Item, 2 new hoods and 1 old. Item, a new coat lined, and an old mantle. Item, a wide slop furred to put over all my gear, of the gift of my lady Conway. Item, a new cap and an old. Item, a new 'pylche' of the gift of Mr. Saxby. Item, an old pylche and 3 pair of hosen. Item, 3 pair of new socks and 2 pair of old. Item, 3 old 'syleces' and a 'lumbare.' Item, a new pair of corked shoes, lined, and 1 pair of double-soled shoes. Item, a pair of blankets and 2 good pillows, and 2 little pillows, and a cushion to kneel on. Item, a new mantle by the gift of Sir John Rawson, knight of the Roods. Item, a little brasen mortar with a pestle, given by the gift of a friend of mine. Item, 2 pewter dishes, 2 saucers and a porringer, and a little square dish for butter. Item, a new chafing dish of latten, given to us, and 2 new tin bottles given by a kinsman of ours. Item, a brasen chafer that is to heat in water. Item, a brass pan of a gallon, given to us likewise. Item, a little brasen skillet with a steel. Item, a pair of new felt boots, and 1 pair of lined slippers for matins. Item, a fair latten scone.

"These books, drawn together by line, be in vellum. Item, a fair written journal, made by the cost of Masters (Mistress ?) Saxby, having a clasp of silver, and an image of St. Jerome graven therein; the second leaf of Advent beginneth, *Jerusalem Alleluia*: this book standeth in making, 3l. Item, a fair written primer, with a calendar and many other rules of our religion therein. Item, a fair written psalter, with a fair image of St. Jerome therein in the beginning: the second leaf of the psalter beginneth *Te erudimini*. Item, a large fair book written, with the lessons of *Dirige*, and the psalms of burying and litany, and the response[s] therein noted. Item, a book written containing certain masses, with the canon of the mass, and a calendar in the beginning of the book, with a fair image of Jesu standing before. Item, a little penance book written. Item, a written book

† "*Franc.*" in Rymer.

1520.

of prayers of divers saints, with images limned, and *Dirige* written therein.* Item, a written book of paper, with divers stories and of *Ars moriendi* therein. Item, a printed 'portews' by the gift of Mr. Rawson. Item, a journal and a printed primer, given by Mr. Parker. Item, a little Legend Aurey in print. Item, the Shepherd's Calendar in print. Item, Æsop's Fables in print. Item, *Directorium Aureum* in print. Item, a complete frame for to weave with courses, with 19 'polyffes' of brass and 19 plummets of lead, with 2 swords of iron to work with in the frame. Item, a double still, to make with *aqua vitæ*, that is to say, a limbeck with a serpentine, closed both in one."

P. 1. *Endd.*: Billa pro Domino Thoma Goldynge.

25 Jan. **607.** For THOMAS MARQUIS OF DORSET and LADY MARGARET
S. B. his wife.

Reversion, in survivorship, of the manors, &c. of Longburgh and Shepeshed, Leic., whereof William Viscount Beaumont and Lord Bardolf, deceased, was seized; forfeited to the crown by Francis late lord Lovell, and granted by patent 6 Sept. 1 Hen. VIII. to John earl of Oxford, deceased, and Elizabeth his wife, widow of the said Viscount, on surrender by the said Marquis of patent 11 July 7 Hen. VIII., granting him the said reversion. *Del.* Westm., 25 Jan. 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 33.

26 Jan. **608.** SUFFOLK to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Asks favor for his servant Will. Skelton, in a cause now before Wolsey, between him and lord Dacre of the North, touching certain farm lands which he holds by patent. He is not able to sue against lord Dacre, or abide the long process of the law. Donyngton, 26 Jan. *Signed*.

P. 1. My lord Cardinal.

27 Jan. **609.** FRANCIS I. to the EARL OF WORCESTER.

[Calig. E. 1.
11.?] i. 200.

B. M.

The sieur de Chastillon, marshal of France, cannot go with him to choose the place of interview, in consequence of his business at Tournay. Begg that the captain of Guisnes and Boulogne may view the place. Paris, 27 Jan. *Signed*.

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. *Add.*: A mon cousin le conte de Wolcestre, grant chambellan d'Angleterre. *Endd.*

28 Jan. **610.** For HENRY NORRES, squire of the Body.

To be bailiff, woodward and keeper of the park in the lordship of Ewelme, Oxon., *vice* Thos. Broke, serjeant-at-arms, deceased, with 3*d.* a day as bailiff, 2*d.* a day as woodward, and 2*d.* a day as keeper of the park, out of the issues of the said lordship. Westm., 28 Jan.

Pat 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 33.

31 Jan. **611.** SUBSIDY.

R. O.

Extracts from the Pell Rolls of 11 Hen. VIII., showing the amount of subsidy in different towns and counties.

Pp. 44.

* The above are "drawn together by a line;" i.e. bracketed.

1520.

Jan.

612.

GRANTS in JANUARY 1520.

GRANTS.

4. Th. Coke *alias* Cooke, of Hilborough, Warw. Pardon for killing John Grason, of Preston in Aldernes, Lanc., linendraper, in self-defence, between Allewchurche, Worc., and the highway under the new wood called "le Graunge wode," at the gate called "the Tirlewey," near Bordesley Abbey, in the parish of Allewchurche. Westm., 4 Jan.—*Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 29.*

6. Roger Randyke *alias* Ryvers, native of Cologne. Denization. Westm., 6 Jan.—*Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 33.*

12. Recognizances cancelled, one for 20*l.*, and another for 30*l.* Made by Adam Pennyngton, of Staynesby, Linc., Sir Ralph Evers, of Aton, York, Peter Asshton, of Castthorp, Linc., and Wm. Pennyngton, of Newton, Cumb., to Sir James Hobart, Sir Ric. Empson, Sir John Husee, Edm. Dudley, and Th. Lucas, 28 Nov. 20 Hen. VII. Greenwich, 12 Jan. 11 Hen.VIII.—S.B.

23. St. Helen's, Abendon. Licence to Th. Haly, Wm. Byseley, John Walker, John Bostok, Wm. Este, Th. Toukes, Nic. Hewet, John Flynt, Wm. Shyngylton, Ric.

Hopkyns, Th. Mayot, and Wm. Hore, masters of the fraternity of Holy Cross, in the church of St. Helen, Abendon, Berks, to hold an annual fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Andrew. Greenwich, 13 Jan. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 Jan.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 15.*

23. John Canpucci, merchant of Lucca, *alias* merchant stranger of London. Protection for two years; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. "T[este]," 23 Jan. 11 Hen.VIII.—P.S.

25. Th. Sydynham. Wardship of Joan, d. and h. of Sir John, s. and h. of Wm. Speke, of Crokehorn, deceased. *Del. Westm.*, 25 Jan. 11 Hen.VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 15.*

29. John Fukes. Pardon for killing John Foster in self-defence. Westm., 29 Jan.—*Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 17.*

29. Anth. Embers, of Bury St. Edmund's, yeoman of the household, *alias* groom of the stable. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petche, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 29 Jan. 11 Hen.VIII.—P.S. *Fr., m. 2.*

1 Feb.

613.

ERASMUS to WOLSEY.

Er. Ep. XII.
28.

Is rightly punished for his folly; for when he might have lived in England among friends, is now compelled to pass his days with ingrates and sycophants. The world is distracted by bitter theological controversy. Defends himself against the imputation of introducing novel phrases into the New Testament. Wishes Wolsey would interfere, and restore tranquillity; might easily do so by his influence with the Pope. Louvain, kal. Feb. 1519.

1 Feb.

614.

[CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. IV.
40.

B. M.

[*First leaf wanting.*] They learn by the return of the Legate from France, that Francis will join the expedition against the Turks in person. He offers to place the duchy of Milan in the hands of the Pope, with all the strong places, as a proof of his sincerity. Wishes to know if the report is true of the meeting of the two Kings in the spring. Bad news has come from Hungary by the bishop of V[esprin], the viceroy or ban of Sclavonia and Croatia, that the inhabitants of those parts have resolved to make a composition with the Turk, and allow him free passage to Austria, Styria and Carinthia, and so to Italy. The Pope is resolved to send a messenger with a sum of money to the Bishop. His ambassador has been created bishop of Sardos (Scardona), and is sent to the Emperor. The Pope has also sent money for the defence of Belgrade and Jazar,—heavy burdens on the papal treasury. If Wolsey can expedite the dismes, the briefs will be sent in the form he wishes. The Turk is preparing to attack Rhodes.* The Emperor has sent don John Manuel to the Pope. Nothing has yet been concluded between his Holiness and the Emperor. To promote the King's interests, thinks it

* Here begins a new leaf, and it is not quite certain that it belongs to the same letter.

1520.

desirable that one of the Papal secretaries should experience England's bounties. Recommends Peter de Ardinghellis. If the King would give his son a benefice in England, the father would be greatly obliged. Has sent the supphire ring which Wolsey gave him on their voyage to Greenwich, to a Moor confined in Hadrian's Mole, who reads the inscription, "In nomine Dei regnavit rex Solomon super Syon." The Moor has since turned Christian, and been baptized by the Pope in St. Peter's. Sends six *hyreta* made according to the measure given him, and two enclosed in a case (*in techa*). Rome, 1 Feb. 1520. *Signature burnt*.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 4.

2 Feb. 615. JOHN SILVIUS CARDINAL OF CROTONA to ALBANY.

Adv. MS. 66.

Has received his letters, dated Paris, 8 Jan., by his secretary Thos. Haye, to whom Albany directed the writer to give credence touching the priory of Whithorn. Would willingly resign it, but for the expenses of his cardinalate, which accumulate daily, so that he cannot possibly do what Albany demands. Is willing, however, to renounce, in favor of Albany's brother Alexander, all profits over 1,000 florins yearly, on condition of receiving a pension of 500 ducats, and the fruits already due to him; and that Albany shall procure from the French king a reversion of the first benefice vacant in Milan, to the sum of 1,000 ducats. When in possession of these he will resign the said pension of 500 ducats. Rome, 2 Feb. 1520.

Lat., copy, pp. 2.

Feb. 616. DUKE OF ALBANY to the CARDINAL OF CROTONA.

R.MS. 13.

B. II. 285.

B. M.

Adv. MS. 61.

Ep. Reg. Sc.

I. 286.

Received yesterday his letters dated Rome, 2nd inst., stating that he would have complied with Albany's demands respecting the priory of Whithorn, but expects a pension of 500 ducats, half of the fruits, from Alex. [Stewart], and that Albany shall procure him from the French king the first benefice of 1,000 ducats vacant in Milan. Has already written both to the Pope and the Cardinal that the fruits are scarcely sufficient to maintain hospitality, and his brother has petitioned for aid in bearing the burden. Whoever shall be prior, for Alexander declines the dignity, would rather be bound to pay half the fruits than a pension of 200 ducats, especially on condition that the pensioner should bear half the burdens of the place. Alexander is not bound to any compensation either for obtaining the priory or resigning it; for benefices exceeding 200 florins are in the King's gift. His brother's title is good; but, to please the Pope, he has offered, through his secretary, more than the value of the priory. Will do what he can to further the Cardinal's wishes; and, trusting he will be satisfied with the offers made, awaits the mandates of the new prior for the pension. Requests that his brother's bulls of Scone may be dispatched. Desires credence for his secretary, Thomas [Haye]. Paris.

Lat.

4 Feb. 617 [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY?]

Calig. D. VII.

170.

B. M.

Yesterday [crossed from] Dover, and arrived at 10 o'clock. Having left behind him the warrant for his passage, desires that it may be given to Thomas Vaughan, bayly of Dover, this bearer. Took two ships of five marks apiece for his passage. Will leave for the French court on Tuesday next. Calais, 4 Feb.

Signature burnt off; but the words "Your humble and most bound[en]," in Wingfield's hand, are visible.

Mutilated, p. 1.

1520.

4 Feb.

618. CINQUE PORTS.

R. O.

Inquisition held at Romney, Friday, 3 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII., before Sir Edw. Ponynges, constable of Dover Castle, and warden of the Cinque Ports, by Wm. Bedell and other jurors, when it was found that Ric. à Fourde, about Martinmas 11 Hen.VIII., found a porpoise worth 3s. 4d. at sea; that Robt. Davye and Ric. Wilmot found at sea, near the "Drak" at Lydde, a grindstone worth 16d.; that Adam —, chaplain of Romney marsh, found at sea a porpoise worth 7s.; with other cases of a similar kind.

Lat.

R. O.

2. Inquisition taken at Lyde, Saturday, 4 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII., by Wm. Grenewey and others, when it was found that — Barfoote, of Wynchelsea, stole a "tucknett," worth 26s. 8d.; that Thos. Garrard found a shirt of Irish frieze at sea, worth 2s.; that Ric. Hurrok, of Rye, cut the lines of Rob. Richard while fishing at sea, &c.

Lat.

7 Feb.

619. For RICHARD BISHOP OF LONDON.

S. B.

Pardon for the escape of John More, who was committed to his custody as a convicted clerk. *Del.* Westm., 7 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 15.

12 Feb.

620. For the DEAN and CANONS of ST. MARY AND ST. STEPHEN'S, WESTMINSTER PALACE.

S. B.

Licence to rebuild their tenement in the wool staple between the King's stone wall near the Thames, on the east, and "le Weyhouse" of the staple, on the west, and the wall of the King's palace in length, on the south, and the way between the Weyhouse and "le Wolbrige" of the Staple, on the north. *Del.* Westm., 12 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII.

16 Feb.

621. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Thanks him for his endeavors to promote peace between their respective countries, and to bring about a meeting between Henry and himself. The Bp. of Elna and John de Salice, his secretary, have written in his praise. Sends further instructions to them. Natzara, 16 Feb. 1520. 1 Imp. "aliorum vero omnium quarto." *Signed:* Yo el Rey.

Lat., p. 1. *Add.* *Endd.*

18 Feb.

622. GUYOT DE HEULLE to WOLSEY.

Titus, B. I.

332.

B. M.

On his way from London, heard many complaints against the King passing the sea to visit Francis. Wishes him to be upon his guard against misrepresentations. Dover, 18 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. *Add.*: A mons. mons. le Cardinal.

20 Feb.

623. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

I have received your letter by the bailly of Caen, and he has told me your proposals for the interview, which I desire no less than you do. On account of the haste with which Monpesat, the bearer, must return, we cannot reply fully to the overtures made us by the Legate, but will send a man express in two or three days, and meanwhile desire credence for Monpesat, thanking you for your kind treatment of him and the hostages. Coignac, 20 Feb. *Signed.* *Countersigned:* Robertet.

Fr., p. 1. *Add.* *Endd.*

1520.

20 Feb. 624. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. i. 7.

B. M.

Has received the letters which the king of England and Wolsey had sent him by the baillie of Caen. As Mons. Montpesat, the bearer, must return at once to make good his promise, cannot now send an answer to the overture. Has charged him to inform the King that he has resolved to send a messenger in two or three days with his determination. Hopes he will keep the King in his resolution. Begs credence for Montpesat. Thanks him for his kindness to the gentlemen of his chamber, now hostages in England. Cognac, xx . . . Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: A mons. le Legat, &c.

20 Feb. 625. BONNIVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Montpesat is returning to England. He has not concealed from his master the good treatment he and his companions experienced there, and is as much obliged to you for procuring him leave to come hither, as if you had given him 2,000 or 3,000 livres a year. We are waiting for the arrival of the baillie of Caen, when we shall see what you intend about the interview. There is no dissimulation or difficulty here, and the matter depends upon you. My master is well contented with you. Cognac, 20 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

20 Feb. 626. ——— to MONSEIGNEUR ———.

Calig. E. i.

100.

B. M.

His correspondent's lawsuit goes on well, but * * * The King and court are feasting. The King has been at Rochelle. About Easter they retire to Paris, and the Queen to St. Germain en Laye to lay in. The King and the king of England are to meet The pageant to be greater than ever was. La Bastie and the baillie of Caen have returned from England. There is nothing but passing and repassing of ambassadors. Thinks they should get rid of the affair of the king of Spain before sending ambassadors hither. The two kings will let their beards grow until the meeting. There are large garrisons in Brittany. The ship which was to be sent to Brittany is destined for Scotland. Bourbon [is] beyond the mountains, whither within these few days are gone General Boyer, general of finances, and the great seneschal of Normandy. A count has gone to the Germans to raise a force of lance-knights, and hopes to obtain *la bande Grise* from the Swiss. Great gifts are offered to the duke of Gueldres besides his pension, which is regularly paid.

One must beware of the English, lest the same thing happen as at the meeting of Philip Auguste and Henry of England, from which no good peace ensued. The House of F[landers] has long tried to break the alliance of England and F[rance]; both the English and Flemings will repent it. The king of Spain's great horses have passed this way from Spain for F[landers]. The rest or greater part of those that were in [Spain] have returned very ill treated. Intends going to Brittany. Here the of the King has for a long time been poisoned; this is a gross and damnable vice. If the King requires to humble the king of England he [must humble] Spain; but he has a great affection for England. The count Palatine has passed by Lyons "et est de prest." The king of Spain is ready to set out.* If England does not first dispose of the king of Spain, "the said" Scotch will serve the English as the duke of Gueldres served the Flemings.

[If] the English were well advised, "ilz feroient b[ien] leur[s] besongnes avec lesdits François, car quelque chose qu'il doit [cou]ster au Roy il gaignera lesdits Englois, afin qu'il abatte l[es]dits Espai[gnols] et Flamans." Francis

* The MS. is much mutilated here; possibly a leaf may have been lost.

1520.

———— to MONSEIGNEUR ———— *cont.*

will have much to do to support so many princes, besides the Milanese, the Genevese, and the Venetians, (the worst Frenchmen in the world, as for the most part are the Bretons and Normans,) with the money wrung from the whole people, on which every ore cries [shame]. Coignac, 20 Feb.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 3. Address burnt off.

20 Feb. **627.** FIFTEENTHS and TENTHS.

R. O.

Receipts of the first fifteenth and tenth of the two granted by the laity, 3 Hen. VIII.

Easter 4 Hen. VIII.—Canterbury, 43*l.* Hunts, by Edm. Parell and Edw. Mote, 104*l.*; by Hen. Sampson, 39*l.* 10*s.* Northt., by Wm. Spenser and Edw. Pedeling, 158*l.* Bucks, by Leonard Broke and Wm. Preste, 103*l.* Northt., by John Makernes, 77*l.* Norfolk, by Edm. Wythe, 260*l.* Linc., Holland, by Ric. Welby and Adlard Clamond (?), 54*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* Norf., by Ralph Symons, 240*l.* Oxon., by Humph. Holmes, 95*l.* Linc., Kesteven, by Rob. Leche, Ric. White and Wm. Letters, 162*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* Suff., by Rob. Knight, 138*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* Linc., Kesteven, by Wm. Williamson, Ric. Paynell and Wm. Godehall, 529*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* Suff., by John Mimes, 126*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.*; by Wm. Cokk, 110*l.*; by John Tebald, 192*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*; by Wm. Gardiner, 130*l.*; by Wm. Warde, 78*l.*; by John Raynold, 82*l.*; by Rob. Hervy, 143*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Essex, by John Smythe, 52*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; by Edm. Noke, 80*l.*; by Rob. Loveday, 64*l.* Bucks, by Edw. Olyver and Jas. Tourney, 80*l.* Staff., by John Hyll and Wm. Staresmore, 57*l.*; by Thos. Aby and Wm. Tailour, 103*l.* Beds, by Wm. Clerk, 37*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Hunts, 3*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* Hants, by John Goberd and Wm. Reding, 126*l.* Canterbury, by John Alcock, 100*s.* Essex, 80*l.* Staff., by Edm. Warde and Thos. Russell, 71*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.*; by Edm. Warde, 72*l.* 12*s.* 2½*d.* Bucks, 24*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.* Linc., Lindesey, by Brian Curteys, Thos. Goodhand, Edw. Spikwithe, Geo. Nevill and John Emery, 683*l.* 19*s.* 3½*d.* City of York, by Rob. Fons, 160*l.* 10*s.* 0½*d.* Staff., by John Burn and Ric. Coley, 140*l.* Linc., Lindesey, by John Ferreby, 194*l.* London, by Thos. Picas, 116*l.* 2*s.* — Total receipts at Easter 4 Hen. VIII. "per me Rob. Fowler," 5,018*l.* 5*s.* 8½*d.*

Michaelmas 4 Hen. VIII.—Nottingham (town), by Thos. Williamson, Wm. Kirkby, Wm. Coste, and James Braseby, 37*l.* 1*s.* Sussex, by Ric. Underdowne, 56*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Notts., 3*s.* 5*d.* Suff., by Wm. Cokk, 163*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* Glouc., by Ric. Pendok, 100*l.* Linc., Lindesey, by John Fereby, 38*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* Suff., by Wm. Warde, 10*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*; by Wm. Gardyner, 9*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*; by Robt. Harvy, 4*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* and 35*s.* 10*d.* Kent, by John Horsmonden, 160*l.* Essex, by John Smythe, 39*l.* Devon, 12*l.* 4*s.* Essex, by J. Smith, 6*l.* 0*s.* 1½*d.* Norf., by John Hervy, 54*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* Essex, by Wm. Shawe, 101*s.* 9½*d.* Norf., by Wm. Bagecrofte, 54*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* Kent, by John Agate, 200*l.* Norf., by Wm. Debeney, 45*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*; by Rob. Segrave, 82*l.* 14*s.* Yorksh., North Riding, by Rob. Wighall, 70*l.*; by John Baseworth, 83*l.* Cornwall, by John Arundell, 140*l.* 9*s.* Middx., by Hen. Knight, 18*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Salop, by Ric. Lister, 16*l.* Middx., 10*l.* Hants, 9*l.* Kent, 23*l.* 6*s.* Sussex, by John Colbroke and Roger Edwardes, 7*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.* Kent, 14*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Sussex, 13*l.* Cornwall, by John Arundell de Talveron, 10*s.* 10½*d.* Salop, by Fulk Lee, 5*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*; by Wm. Wollascott, 8*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* Sussex, by Thos. Fenner, 6*l.* 3*s.* 8½*d.* London, 8*l.*—Total receipts, Mich. 4 Hen. VIII., 1,516*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*

Easter 4 & 5 Hen. VIII.—Yorksh., West Riding, by Thos. Meryng, 55*l.* 4*s.*; North Riding, by Jas. Danby, 9*l.*; by Rob. Wighall, 9*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; by Roger Cholmeley, 20*l.*

Michaelmas 11 Hen. VIII.—Yorksh., West Riding, 19*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

1520.

Payments to the King, out of the fifteenth and tenth granted, 3 Hen. VIII., for the private expenses of his chamber, received by John Heron, Easter term, 4 Hen. VIII., 5,018*l.* 5*s.* 8½*d.* At Michaelmas 4 Hen. VIII., 1,429*l.* 5*s.* 0½*d.* Easter 4 & 5 Hen. VIII., 125*l.* 10*s.* 11½*d.* 27 Feb. 6 Hen. VIII., 55*l.* 4*s.* 20 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII., 19*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.**

Receipts of the second fifteenth and tenth granted by the laity, 3 Hen. VIII. Sussex, by Rob. Mylle, 23*l.* Bucks, by Rob. Lattymyer and John Rokes, 110*l.* 17*s.* 6½*d.* Hunts, by Rob. Beck and Wm. Wrightson, 60*l.* Middx., by Thos. Cacher, 14*l.* Norwich, 80*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.* Bucks, by Rob. Lattymyer and John Rokes, 25*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; by Roger Waters and Hugh Gurgenny, 75*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* Somerset, by Thos. Evererd, 31*l.* Herts, by Thos. Wasshe, 100*l.* Bucks, 36*s.* 5*d.* Hants, by John Arnwode, 95*l.* 15*s.* Herts, by John Shepard, 41*l.* Northt., by Thos. Rudd, Wm. Aleyn, Reginald Hull and Thos. Stuttesbury, 276*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* Middx., by Matthew Danby, 9*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Northt., by Wm. Pope and John Parker, 245*l.* 4*s.* 9½*d.* Rutland, 6*d.* Bucks, 20*s.* Wilts, by Ric. Dyk, Thos. Dawnte and Rob. Bowre, 341*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* Canterbury, by Wm. Algoode, 75*l.* Herts, by Ric. Isate and Rob. Rolf, 68*l.* Linc., Kesteven, by Wm. Wyndlove and Ric. Bradbent, 430*l.* Beds, by Thos. Lovell, 61*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*; by Thos. Scott, 49*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.*; by Henry Pegard, 51*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; by Thos. Cowper, 34*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* Herts, by Rob. Curteys, 40*l.* Middx., by Thos. Ive, 43*l.* Total, Mich. 4 Hen. VIII., 2,388*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*

Easter term, 4 & 5 Hen. VIII.—Notts, by Hugh Serleby, Alex. Lake, John Dicons and Ric. Kippes, 548*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* Surrey, 184*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d.*; by Hen. Rydon, 53*l.* Suff., by John Brege, 99*l.* Herts, by John Haldete, 67*s.* 2*d.* Canterbury, by Thos. Thornewton, 108*s.* 11½*d.* Oxon., by Ric. Warde, 50*l.* Heref., by Jas. Briggs, 41*l.* Derby, by John Gell, 47*l.* Heref., by Wm. Wikes, John Acombe and David Williams, 168*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* Glouc., by Thos. Bager, 150*l.*; by Wm. Hardyng and John Aleyn, 265*l.*; by Nich. Willington, 160*l.* Herts, by Rob. Rolf, 6*l.*; by Thos. White, 58*l.* Staff., by Roger Rydge and Wm. Lee, 40*l.*; by John Stapulton and Thos. Malkyn, 75*l.* Somers., by John Wittecombe, 10*l.* Total, 1,964*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*

Michaelmas term 7 Hen. VIII.—Middx., 33*s.* 5½*d.*

Easter term 7 & 8 Hen. VIII.—Glouc., fifteenth and tenth granted 4 Hen. VIII., 10*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, paid to the King through John Heron, 20 June 8 Hen. VIII., for private expenses of the Chamber.

Proceeds of the second fifteenth and tenth granted by the laity, 3 Hen. VIII., received by Heron. Easter term 4 & 5 Hen. VIII., 4,352*l.* 11*s.* Mich. 7 Hen. VIII., 33*s.* 5½*d.*

Pp. 26.

21 Feb.
Er. Ep. xii.
24.

628. ERASMUS to FISHER BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Does not know Erasmus, if he thinks that Erasmus would take offence at the bishop's not sending him Lee's book. Disliked the jocular tone of his first work against Faber; praises the second as more moderate. Needs not fear for the New Testament; the world is not yet so mad as to go into confusion at Lee's criticism. Even if the Bishop dissents from the writings of Erasmus, this will not diminish their friendship. Louvain, 9 kal. Martias 1519.

R. O.

629. INSTRUCTIONS to SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to be declared to the French King.

First, "after affectuous recommendations" and presentation of the letters of credence, he shall say that Henry, remembering the peace and

* In the margin, "*Per me, Joh'em Heron,*" is added under each of these sums.

1520.

INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD—*cont.*

amity between them, is desirous to hear continually of the prosperity of Francis; and although he is informed of his affairs by the French ambassador in England, and by Sir Thomas Bolain, his own ambassador in France, he could not be satisfied without sending one of his "trusty and near familiars" to him for this purpose, and to declare his love and affection for him, "to the intent that by renovelling of ambassadors new testimonies may be found as well of the perseverance of fraternal love on both parts, as also by such means to further the augmentation thereof from time to time." He has accordingly licensed Bolain to return, and sends Wingfield in his place. This, "with other pleasant devices of the King's grace, the Queen, my lady Princess, my lord Legate, and semblable amiable communications upon deliverance of their letters, shall suffice for the first audience." At some other time he shall say that, although their friendship is established with as many collateral securities as possible, the affection they bear to each other in their hearts is the chief means "to knit the assured knot of perseverant amity betwixt them, above any other. For, remembering the noble and excellent gifts, as well of nature, touching their goodly statures and activeness, and of grace, concerning their wondrous wisdoms and other princely virtues, as also of fortune, depending upon their substances and puissance given unto them by Almighty God, and wherein more conformity is betwixt them than in or amongst all other Christian princes, it is not to be marvelled though this agreeable consonance of semblable properties and affections do vehemently excite and stir them both, not only to love and tenderly favor each other, but also personally to visit, see and speak together, whereby that thing, which as yet standing upon reports is covered with a shadow, shall be brought to the very light, face to face, if it proceed; and finally make such impression of entire love in their hearts that the same shall be always permanent, and never be dissolved, to the pleasure of God, their both comforts, and the weal of all Christendom."

Concerning the meeting appointed by treaty for this last year, Henry did not then press it, because he was afraid of hindering Francis in the business he had in hand concerning the empire, and thought it better to postpone it, for that and sundry other respects to him well known. The surmises that Henry put it off at the instance of the "now Emperor elect," by means of Button, are quite untrue; "for the King's grace, remembering such means and enterprises as he had set forth for the empire," on which account most of his nobles were absent, thought it would be more convenient to the French king to abstain from pressing the meeting. Wingfield is to thank him for the wish he has shown for an interview by his instructions to La Batye, and his offer to authorize Wolsey to appoint for his part the place, time and manner of the meeting; and shall assure him that Henry is no less desirous of it than he, and no impediment shall be found on his part, so that indifferent and circumspect order be taken for the honors and sureties of both princes. Wolsey thanks Francis for choosing him as a mediator in so important a matter, and, remembering his inability, would rather decline it, but if Francis is very desirous of it, will, with leave of the King, accept the charge, if Francis will send him a commission with ample instructions, that he may clearly understand his mind. He will take no conclusion therein till he has seen the King's commission, and until he has informed him of the deliberations of the English council, and learnt his mind thereon, so that everything may proceed by mutual consent.

He would be loth to attempt anything in the matter "without express knowledge in the specialties of his mind;" for the matter is weighty, and many opinions will be expressed; and he wishes to know the King's mind

1520.

about the time, place, number and company, with their apparel, that he may content the King his master, and answer those who cast dangers and find difficulties in the same.

Wingfield shall also say, on Wolsey's behalf, that as this meeting will probably create a desire for future interviews, all arrangements should be made for the honor, surety, and pleasure of both princes, and the comfort of the nobles and subjects attending on them, that they may be encouraged to repair to such meetings hereafter. Any suspicion or jealousy, or excessive expense, might discourage princes and subjects from meeting again. He shall then desire the French king to declare his pleasure in the matter, before showing him the devices articed by the King and Council, "which devices hereafter ensue."

Pp. 14. Draft, corrected by Ruthal.

- 21 Feb. 630. BONNIVET to WOLSEY.
Calig. D. VII. 171.
B. M. The (French) king has received his letters, and with them certain overtures, which he has carefully considered, but thinks one of them has the appearance "de trop ouverte declaration." He still retains his great anxiety for the interview, and has charged Montpesa[t] to communicate his resolution to the King and Wolsey. He will despatch, within two or three days, a messenger, who will satisfy them on one of the said overtures. Cognac, 21 Feb. *Signed.*
Mutilated, p. 1. Add.: Mons. le [card]inal dYort, legat et [c]hancelier en Angleterre.
- 22 Feb. 631. MONASTERY OF ST. MARY, LILLESULL.
Assent to the election of Rob. Watson, canon of the priory of Gisborne, York dioc., as abbot of St. Mary's, *vice* James Cockerell. Westm., 22 Feb.
Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14.
P. S. b. 2. Petition for the above. 10 Feb. 1519.
- 23 Feb. 632. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.
Calig. D. VII. 168.
B. M. Heartily desiring the interview, which he trusts will lead to an indissoluble amity, he has, according to what Wolsey has written by Montpesat, sent by this bearer powers to arrange with Henry. Begs Wolsey to be as diligent as possible, as the time till May is short, and he must bring the Queen, who is with child. The day and place must be fixed, so that nothing may remain to be done. Cognac, 23 Feb. *Signed.*
Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: A mons. le legat d'Angleterre, mon bon amy.
- 23 Feb. 633. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.
R. O. Appointing him his proctor for arranging the interview with
Rym. XIII. 695. Henry VIII. Cognac, 23 Feb. 1519, 6 Francis I. *Signed.*
Lat.
- 23 Feb. 634. [CAMPEGGIO] to WOLSEY.
Vit. B. IV. 58. Sends a verbal message by the bearer going to Lyons, signifying
B. M. that the Pope had consented to the article for the eating of meat in this Lent, which Wolsey had requested. Rome, 23 [Feb.] 1520. *Sig. burnt off.*
Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add. and endd. at f. 37b.

1520.

25 Feb. 635. CHARLES V.

R. O. Commission for John lord Berghes, Laurence de Gorrevod, baron Galba, B. VI. Montanesy and Marinac, governor of Bresse, Gerard de Plaine, master of requests, Philip Haneton, audiencer, John de Salice, secretary, and Bernard bishop of Elna, to arrange for the Emperor's landing in England, Vespa. C. I. 294. "in recessu suo ex Hispania in Germaniam." Burgos, 25 Feb. 1520, B. M. Imp. 1. Pp. 4.

636. 2. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Vespa. C. I. 296*. Credentials for the above. Burgos, 25 Feb. 1520. Signed. P. 1. Add.

26 Feb. 637. 3. CHARLES V. to his AMBASSADORS.

Mon. Habs.
114.

After presenting their letters of credence to the King, they shall say that Charles knows the great desire of the King and Queen that he should visit them on his way from Spain to England. Although his affairs do not allow of much delay, he wishes to comply with their request, and is desirous of meeting them and enjoying their society, hoping at the interview to make arrangements which will benefit their subjects and allies, and the whole of Christendom generally. Has therefore determined to pass through England, and to meet Henry in some port convenient, without making a long stay. The sealed writing he sent to his ambassador to arrange the meeting, and to assure the King that he would hold no other interview, in which he offered to hold the meeting either on his way to Flanders or on his arrival there, was not meant to cause any doubt that he would really meet the King one way or the other. Ever since he knew that Henry preferred a visit in passing, has been quite willing to comply, as the King has already been informed by the bishop of Elna. Has sent ample power to his ambassadors to go to Henry, and to conclude what is necessary, as he wishes all the preliminaries to be arranged in good time. They must first arrange the place, and insist, if possible, that it be the Isle of Wight, which is most convenient for him to land at, nearest the Low Countries. If they say that Hampton would be more convenient both for festivity, and because, if there was no wind, he could go by land to opposite Calais, and they would conduct him as far as his own territory, they must answer that as to festivity the presence of the King and Queen is the greatest enjoyment he could have; but as to the passage by land to Calais, although it would be a great consolation to have the King's company so long, his affairs will not allow of it; for to gain time he must disembark in another place, where his subjects can come to him more conveniently. They must in no wise consent to the voyage to Calais, but say that when Charles meets the King, he will deliberate about that and the meeting of the three princes. If the King insists on his landing at Hampton, they must consent. Has not been able to send instructions for the emendation and adjustment of previous treaties, as he has none here but the last treaty of London. But they have power to discuss all that concerns the old alliances; above all, they must try to obtain the express comprehension of all the dominions which have come into his possession by his election, and by the succession of the house of Austria, and make everything ready to conclude when the King and he meet.

Before they leave Flanders, they must consult with the lady Margaret and the council on all the points necessary to be concluded before the meeting, and what means they can find to confirm the friendship with England. She and the council can draw out all necessary instructions; for which, however, they must not wait, as haste is necessary. The ambassadors

1520.

must find out whether Henry will make any new alliance against the Infidels; in which case Charles will send what he considers the best form of treaty. Bourghes, 26 Feb. 1520. *Signed.*

Fr.

26 Feb. **638.** CINQUE PORTS.

R. O.

Warrant of Sir Edw. Ponynges, warden of the Cinque Ports, to the mayor of Sandwich, to assemble jurors, &c. for inquiring into cases concerning the Admiralty. At the Castle, 26 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII.

Lat., p. 1. Add.

ii. Names of 17 persons impannelled.

P. 1.

27 Feb. **639.** MORE to LEE.

Jortin's Eras.
III. 354.

On his dispute with Erasmus. Begs Lee to return to England. Greenwich, 27 Feb.

640. MORE to LEE.

Jortin, III. 355.

Has received a copy of his Annotations. Replies to Lee's objections. Thinks that if, as some pickthanks affirm, the Pope should withdraw his approbation from the New Testament of Erasmus, Luther's attacks upon the Holy See would be piety itself, compared with such an act. Greenwich, last day of Feb. 1502 (*sic*).

27 Feb. **641.** PECCHE and SANDYS to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Yesterday, about 9 p.m., Montpesat arrived, and intends to sail at this hour, and not to tarry till he comes to your grace. He asked us to advertise you thereof. Calais, 27 Feb. 10 a.m. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

27 Feb. **642.** FRANCIS I. to [LA BASTYE].

Calig. D. VII.
172.

B. M.

Has already written to him by Montpesac. Desires him to urge on the King and Wolsey to make final arrangements for the interview as soon as possible. Approves of the articles "du pas et combat," with some slight additions, which the admiral (Bonnivet) will intimate to him. On account of the inconvenience of lodging at Ardre, where, since it was burnt, there have been [few] houses rebuilt, has been advised to take thither a [large] number of tents and Desires him to confer with the Cardinal about it, that no inconvenience may arise, and to write touching the form of the field, lists, &c. Cognac, 27 Feb. *Signed.*

Feb. **643.** [BONNIVET?] to [WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. VII.

170.

B. M.

Francis cannot meet his wishes in the articles transmitted by the bailly of Caen, that within two or three days some determination should be come to about the interview; but, having full confidence in Wolsey, has resolved to follow his advice on one point, against that of his own councillors, viz., to come and receive Henry in the territory of the latter. Is glad Wolsey is aware of the King's friendship for him. Desires to be informed immediately of Wolsey's resolutions, on receiving which "we" (the King and court) will remove next day towards "you." Cognac, "le x . . jour de Fevrier." *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

1520.

Feb.

GRANTS.

644.

GRANTS in FEBRUARY 1520.

1. Recognizance cancelled: made by Sir Gilbert Talbot, sen., and Sir Gilbert Talbot, jun., both of Grafton, Worc., 25 Feb. 8 Hen.VIII. Greenwich, 1 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII.—S.B.

1. Th. Carewe. Pardon for having killed, in self-defence, Robert Bawdewyn, of London, who, with Christopher Banam, of London, had assaulted Carewe in the house of Margaret Pecok, widow, in the parish of St. Katherine, Cristcherche, London, as appears by an inquisition taken before Thomas Barnwell, coroner, and John Aleyn and James Spencer, sheriffs. Westm., 1 Feb.—*Pat.* 11 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 18.

4. Walter Kent, of Oxenford *alias* Oxford, mercer, sued for debt by Ralph Creisse *alias* Cressay, mercer, of London. Reversal of out-lawry. Westm., 4 Feb.—*Pat.* 11 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 9.

8. Wm. Bell, of Boughton, Kent, "clovyer." Pardon for having killed Wm. Beryn, of Boughton, in self-defence. Westm., 8 Feb.—*Pat.* 11 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

8. John Reynesford and Wenefrid his wife. Livery of lands, Wenefrid being a sister and heir of Hen. son of Hen. Pympe. Lambeth, 24 Nov. 11 Hen.VIII. *Del.* Westm., 8 Feb.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 9.

8. Silvester Awbray. Grant of the free chapel of Holy Trinity, with appurtenances, in Rastormall park, near Lastitheall, Cornw., on surrender of pat. 5 July 2 Hen.VIII., by John Porth, keeper of certain of the King's books. Greenwich, 8 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 27 (*undated*).

8. Richard, s. and h. of Th. Hobson. Livery of lands; also to Richard bishop of Winchester, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, Sir Th. Fenys, Sir Edw. Porynges, Sir Edw. Ferys, Edw. Hales, Geo. Dalyson, Rob. Isham, Th. Caundyshe, Alfred Rawson, Humph. Walcotte, and Th. Fox, seized of certain lands to the use of the said Th. Hobson and his heirs. *Del.* Westm., 8 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 10.

13. Justices of Assize.

Midland Circuit: John Jenour with Sir Humph. Conyngesby and John Carell.

Norfolk Circuit: Thomas Fitzhugh with Sir John Ernele and Ric. Broke.

Western Circuit: Th. Elyot with Sir Ric. Elyot and Th. Pygot.

Oxford Circuit: Rob. Brudenell, jun., and John Weste, with Sir Lewis Pollerd and John Fitzjames.

Westm., 13 Feb.—*Pat.* 11 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 13 and 31d.

13. Sir Ric. Wentworth, Sir Wm. Walgrave, Sir Rob. Drury, Sir Giles Alyngton, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Rob. Cotton, Fras. Hasilden, Geo. Walgrave, John Wentworth, John Parys, Rob. Trevely, Philip Parys,

John Hynde, John Copuldike, and Humph. Gay. Pardon for having entered without licence on the manor of Shryklyng, Kent, which they recovered against Thomas Burgoyn and Edward Redknap, who had acquired from John Langley, of Knolton, Kent, and Joan his wife. Westm., 13 Feb.—*Pat.* 11 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 11.

13. Ric. Goryng. Warrant to the customers of London to permit him to ship 126 tuns of beer, the remainder of 400 tuns, and 100 weigths of tallow, the remainder of 600 weigths, for which he has a licence dated 1st Sept. 10 Hen.VIII. Greenwich, 27 Dec. 11 Hen.VIII.—S.B. Westm., 13 Feb. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 28.

13. Wm. Studdon, yeoman of the guard, and Wm. Symondes, sewer. Annuity of 10*l.*, in survivorship, on surrender, by Studdon, of pat. 20 Aug. 7 Hen.VIII. Greenwich, 8 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII. *Del.* Westm., 13 Feb.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19.

16. John Amyas, serjeant-at-arms. Grant of 12*d.* a day from the issues of Wigmoreland, marches of Wales. Greenwich, 14 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII. *Del.* Westm., 16 Feb.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 31.

16. Rob. Wythes. To have the fee of the crown, being 6*d.* a day, lately had by John Amyas. *Del.* Westm., 16 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 15.

17. Sir Edw. Belknap, John Hertford, and John Jonys, of London, goldsmith. To be commissioners, for 21 years, of certain mines of gold and silver ore in the hill of Towyn *alias* Coain, in the hundred of Pyder, also in St. Peryn's-in-the-Sand, and in Ugburgh, Devon, called Glascombe; and of the Comertyn mines, Devon; paying such rent to the King and the other lords of the soil as is mentioned in a pair of indentures dated 4 Dec. 11 Hen.VIII., between the King and the said commissioners;—with certain provisions relating to the gold and silver found, fuel for purifying the metal, artificers, and laborers. To appoint a steward to hold courts there, and determine pleas between the workmen; the King appointing (with the assent of the said commissioners) John Rowe, serjeant-at-law, as general steward. To have a common seal. Belknap to be general comptroller and surveyor on the King's part.—S.B. (*undated*). *Pat.* 11 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 32 (*dated* Westm., 17 Feb.); and *Pat.* 12 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 9. (*undated*.)

20. Edw. Knyvet and Anne his wife, executrix of Rob. le Straunge. Wardship of Hugh, son of Sir Geo. Hastings. Greenwich, 14 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII. *Del.* Westm., 20 Feb.—P.S.

22. Thos. Clemens, of Norwich, carpenter. Pardon for robbing John Dobildaye; also for aiding and abetting John Andrewson, grocer. Greenwich, 18 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII. *Del.* Westm., 22 Feb.—P.S.

1520.

Feb.

GRANTS.

24. Lord William Mountjoy, chamberlain to the Queen. To be keeper, during pleasure, of the woods of Tetnove and "Theris Wood," and of Seneschier, Broktrey, and Holme Riding coppices, in the bailiwick of Clif in the forest of Rokingham, *vice* John Holland. Greenwich, 7 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 24 Feb.—P.S.

24. John Wighell, page of the Chamber. To be walking forester of Galtresse forest, York, during pleasure, *vice* Ric. Buckeley, deceased, with 4*d.* a day out of the issues of the manor of Shirefhoton; also a pardon for holding the said offices by an invalid patent. Greenwich, 21 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 24 Feb.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 28.

2 March. 645. WOLSEY.

S. B.

Appointment as procurator for a conference between Henry VIII. and Francis I., according to the treaty of 8 Oct. 1518. The Cardinal was appointed proctor of the French king by his latters patent dated Cognac, 23 Feb. 1519, in the 6th year of his reign. London, 2 Mar. 11 Hen. VIII.

3 March. 646. CAMPEGGIO to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. iv. 42*.

B. M.

Is in great trouble for means to repair the house given him by Henry VIII., which is in very ruinous condition. Wishes to borrow 1,000*l.* for three years, for which he will give a bond to Jo. Cavalcanti or some responsible merchant. Thinks it will not put the King to inconvenience, as it will be as safe as if it were locked up. Hopes, as the King has given him the bishopric of Salisbury, and promises to do more for him, he will not deny him this.

Apologises, in his own hand, for his importunity. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated. Dated in a modern hand.

647. [CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY].

Vit. B. iv. 39.

B. M.

The Pope gave unmistakable evidence of his desire for the promotion of the bishop of Worcester. Has not been urgent with regard to the creation of cardinals.† Has given the Pope Wolsey's message respecting the tithes. Has written before concerning the prorogation of the legateship. Will not fail to urge it. Has written also with respect to the licence of eating flesh. It shall be sent, if possible, with the royal confessional. Sent the hats (*galeros et bireta*) with his previous letter. Has sent his remembrance to various nobles in England.

Lat., pp. 2, mutilated.

3 March. 648. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.‡

Vit. B. iv. 42.

B. M.

Has no news, except that the Pope, after Easter, intends to spend the summer at Florence, whither cardinal de' Medici has already proceeded. News is come by the bishop of Sens that the meeting of Francis and Henry will take place between Calais and Boulogne, in the beginning of May. Rome, 3 March 1520. *Signature burnt.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

3 March. 649. CAMPEGGIO to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. iv. 44.

B. M.

Has received his letter of the 23d Jan. The negotiations between the Pope and the Emperor are not yet concluded. The Pope will be glad to hear frequently from Wolsey. Rome, 3 March 1520. *Signature burnt.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated.

† *i.e.*, for the bishop of Worcester.

‡ Probably the last leaf of the preceding letter.

1520.

3 March. 650. CAMPEGGIO to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. IV. 44*. Safeconduct for Johannes Evangelista, of Ragusa. Rome, 3 March

B. M. 1520. *Signature burnt.**Lat., mutilated, p. 1.***3 March. 651. [SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER] to WOLSEY.**

Vit. B. IV. 45.

B. M.

Has received his letter of the 23d Jan. The Pope is much pleased with the affection for his person shown by Wolsey and the King, as also with the letters which the King has addressed to the Pope for Worcester's promotion to the cardinalate. Expects the application to be successful at the next creation, and is only delayed till the negotiations are settled between the Pope and the Emperor. Campeggio has received a similar recommendation, which he has requested him not to press at present. They have urged the matter of the legateship. Wolsey's last letters give strong reasons why the Pope should comply. Begs him to write to card. de' Medici in favor of his promotion, as he has great influence with the Pope. The Pope is going to Florence, and will stay there all September, and has commanded Worcester, among others, to follow him. Begs he may have 500 ducats now, and the same after his journey. Rome, 3 March 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

*Lat., mutilated, pp. 4. Add. and endd.***4 March. 652. WOLSEY.**

R. O.

Indenture, 4 March 11 Hen. VIII., witnessing that Will. Lytton, of London, gent., sells to Sir Will. Fitzwilliam, treasurer of Wolsey's household, and Sir Ric. Rokeby, controller of the same, to the use of the Cardinal, his interest in a lease granted him by the abbot of Westminster of five tenements in King Strete, Westminster.

4 March. 653. LORD DARCY to MR. [RICHARD] LISTER.

R. O.

He is to pay 100*l.*, out of the rents in his charge, to Mr. Amadas, goldsmith of Lombard Street, and to receive from him certain plate of Darcy's, "a bill of parcels of the same indented" betwixt him and Darcy's servants (who received 70*l.* for it), and an obligation of 30*l.* by Darcy. Stepney, 28 Oct. 7 Hen. VIII.

Hol., p. 1, commencing "Mr. Lister."

ii. Order from Darcy to Lister, his receiver "in the south parts," to pay 30*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*, out of the rents in Devonshire, to John Twissilton, of London, goldsmith, for plate. Westm., 10 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*

iii. Indenture, 4 March 11 Hen. VIII., whereby Thomas lord Darcy sells to Thomas Mirfyn, alderman of London, certain plate which he possesses in London for 100*l.*; but if Darcy repay that sum at Midsummer next, the plate is to be restored. *Signed and sealed by Darcy. In margin:* "This plate I loosed, and have paid him 100*l.* for the same; and the plate is sent to my lord into Yorkshire.—R. Lyster." *Endorsement states that the plate was restored.*

4 March. 654. [LORD DARCY] to HENRY EURE.

R. O.

Has resigned to his brother, Sir Robert Constable, the offices which he held of Henry VII. in Sherrifhutton castle and lordship, and which the King had granted to Sir Robert. Directs him to deliver by indentures the castle to his brother, with all the rolls and records in it, and the park and deer. "And, Herry, do this favorable and lovingly, for the King pleased, if he had not had it, another should of my friends, a party ye know the

1520.

cause, and more my cousins Sir Rawf, Sir William and ye shall do at my coming home." Will recompense him for his "old service." Greenwich, 4 March.

P. 1. Endd.: The copy of my Lord's letter to Henry Eure in March a^o 11^o.

4 March. **655.** For SIR ROBERT CONSTABLE.

S. B.

To be steward of the lordship of Shirifhoton and constable of the castle, with usual fees, and with the herbage and pannage of the park there, at the same annual rent as paid by Thomas lord Darcy; on surrender of patent 26 Feb. 15 Hen. VII., granting the same to the said Darcy, at the same rent as paid by the earl of Surrey or John Dawney. *Del.* . . . , 4 Mar. 11 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 27; Westm., 5 March.

5 March. **656.** CINQUE PORTS.

R. O.

Inquisition at Sandwich, Monday, 5 March 11 Hen. VIII., before Sir Edw. Ponynges and others, when it was found that John Master, of Sandwich, merchant, hired, contrary to the statute, a Breton ship from Bordeaux to Sandwich, when he could have had an English ship.

Lat. Sealed.

5 March. **657.** The PRIORY OF LAUNDE.

Inspeximus and confirmation for John the prior, and convent, of the following documents; viz.,

i. A charter dated 23 Jan. 4 Edw. [III.], confirming numerous grants to the church and priory.

ii. and iii. Patents, 6 Mar. 17 Edw. IV. and 24 Feb. 22 Hen. VII., being mortmain licences in favor of the priory.

Westm., 5 March.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 16.

6 March. **658.** JAMES V. to LORD BUGGHEYLERF OF STETTIN, DUKE OF POMERANIA.

R. MS. 13.

B. II. 305.

B. M.

Ep. Reg. Sc.

I. 322.

When the merchants of St. Andrew's were preparing to go to Stralsund and Tanklin, they received warning from some Scotch subjects who had lately been there, and produced letters ostensibly granted by the Duke to the consuls of Stralsund, commanding them to arrest any Scotch merchants who should repair to the accustomed market, on the ground that Hans Knaken and Hans Streffen, of Tanklin, had been plundered in Scotland. The Scotch merchants are therefore afraid to repair thither until they have been assured of safety. Sends documents which will show how justly the Duke's subjects suffered the privation of their goods. Begs, therefore, that if the arrest has been authorized, it may be revoked. Edinburgh, 6 March 1519. *Signed*: Tallefer.

Note in MS.—Subsequent letters are thus signed, Paniter at this time dying in France.

Lat.

6 March. **659.** FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

Calig. E. i. 5.

B. M.

In behalf of Jean de Moustier, merchant of Paris, to demand reparation for injuries received from Will. Robin. [Cognac, 6 March.] *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

1520.

6 March. **660.** FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.
 Calig. E. i. 9. To the same effect. Cognac, 6 March.
 B. M. *Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: Mons. le Cardinal, &c.*

7 March. **661.** BONNIVET to WOLSEY.

R. O. I have received your letter by Wingfield, and am glad that he has been sent here, because we are old friends, and he is an honorable man. Mons. de Boulén is returning, having fulfilled his charge. You will hear from him of the King's good disposition toward an interview between him and Henry. Nothing can be better than this for the peace and union of Christendom and the honor of the two kings. Boulén will tell you what remains. Cognac, 7 March. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons., mons. le card. d'Yort, legat et chancelier d'Angleterre. Endd.: Thadmyrall of Fraunce's letters to my Lord's grace.

8 March. **662.** FRANCIS I. to [HENRY VIII.]

Calig. E. ii. (9.) Has received his letters by the gentleman of his privy chamber. The ambassador resident with him is grateful for the leave now given him of returning to England. Will give credence to Messire Richard [Wingfield], or any one else whom the King may employ, and considers it an indication of the firmness of their alliance. Pays a compliment to Boleyn on his return. Cognac, [8 March.] *Signature half burnt.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1.

663. CLAUDE QUEEN OF FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

Calig. D. vi. 260. Has received his letters by Sir Richard Wyngfylde, his councillor and ambassador, declaring the great affection he bears to the King her lord and her, and his desire to hear from them and the Dauphin. Assures him she entertains a like disposition towards him, as Henry's ambassador, le sieur Boulan (Sir Thomas Boleyn) will show; to whom she refers Henry for news. *Signed: Vostre bonne seur, cousyne, conmere et aliée, Claude. Countersigned: Decomacre.*

Add.: A treshault et tresexcellent prince, &c. le roy d'Angleterre.

Endorsed in pencil: C. Hoyer, things to be perused, 20 July 1613.

Pp. 2, slightly burnt.

8 March. **664.** LOUISE OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

R. O. Has received his letter by Sir Richard Wingfield, who is newly sent as ambassador to her son. Thanks him for his friendship and his wish for a continuance of the alliance. Sir Thos. Boullain has executed his charge very virtuously. Coignac, 8 March. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

March. **665.** [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. vii. 176. Notifies his arrival in the French court. Says the King is delighted because "it hath pleased your grace to renew one other your ambassador to be resident in and about his court." The King only stays at Cognac until he receives an answer to the charge sent by Mountpesake. Has sent a letter to my lord Cardinal, giving a large account of his interview. Informed the King that if there were any articles of the charge that he wished to be added or diminished, his master would give him a reasonable answer. La Battye and Mountpesake make honorable reports of their treatment in England; and "though gentle Morrett hath not been he[re for to] report the same he hath committed the semblable [thing] to ink and paper." [Will deliver him] the sword on the next occasion. Cognac, . . . March. *Signature burnt off.*

1520.

8 March. 666. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.

178.

B. M.

On [day] last arrived at this town. Was met within half a league by La Battye, Saintmesmes and Poytou. Was asked to dinner by the Admiral, and there met Lottreke and Dorravall. Delivered to the Admiral the King and Wolsey's letters, which were "greatly to his comfort." He carried Boleyn and the writer to the King's dining chamber, where Wingfield delivered his letters to Francis, who expressed his great and sincere pleasure at their amicable terms. Boleyn, on his return, will explain more. On his withdrawing the King took Wingfield apart, when he delivered Wolsey's letter. The King expressed his joy at the Cardinal's good convalescence,—said he had put his life and safety into his hands, and had made such arrangements for the interview as he understood by the bailly of Caene would be most acceptable to England. He stated that he should always be anxious to recompense Wolsey for the cares he had taken; and if there were anything in his realm elsewhere which might do the Cardinal pleasure, he might be assured thereof. He trusted that no malice of any prince in Christendom might "inpeach" the intended interview.

Leaves Boleyn to report what he stated of the jousts and tourneys. Francis spoke incidentally of his voyage against the and told Wingfield to resort to his chamber at all times, as he used to do to his m[aster]. Then came the duke of Bourbon, and would have conversed longer with him; but the Admiral took him away to the Queen, and then to the King's mother, to whom he delivered his letters. La Batye has not omitted to speak of his noble entertainment in England. All the ambassadors resident in this court are ordered to Angoulesme this night or tomorrow, to be at the funeral service of the King's father. Thinks he shall not see Francis till Tuesday or Wednesday. Withholds for the present the article concerning Buttun, as also that "for obtaining of the King's letters here of promise to condescend to none other meeting." Will use his judgment as to the fitting time to press them. Cognac, 8 March. *Signature half burnt.*

Mutilated, pp. 6.

8 March. 667. CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.

Titus, B. i.

234.

B. M.

Begs credence for his ambassadors. Valladolid, 8 March.

Hol., p. 1. Add. Endd.

8 March. 668. RICHARD ABBOT OF WINCHECOMBE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

It is now nearly a year since he wrote, though, such are the favors he has received, he ought to write to Wolsey daily; but refrained as he knew he was much occupied with the affairs of the church and the kingdom. Now he can resist no longer, hearing of Wolsey's good health and his happy success. Will never forget Wolsey's tender consideration for all his interests. Sends eight lampreys in four pies; would have sent more, but that those nearest the Severn will not permit others from a distance to help themselves. Winchcombe, postridie nonas Martias.

Hol., Lat., p. 1. Add.: Thomæ, &c., Cardinali ac ap. sedis legato.

669. IRELAND.

R. O.

Circular to certain of the guard, ordering them to appear before the council on 24 March, in readiness to accompany the earl of Surrey to Ireland at Easter. Their pay will be increased from 4*d.* to 6*d.* a day. If they do not appear on the 24th, other able persons will be put in their place, and they will be discharged.

Draft, corrected by Ruthal, p. 1.

1520.

670. MEMORANDA FOR IRELAND.

R. O.

"The army for Ireland, besides the Deputy's own charge."

Of the King's guard 400, of the King's gunners 24, of Irish horsemen 100. The King to have, for the finding of these Irish horse, all the money to be levied of towns in Ireland by Act of Resumption at the next Parliament as customs and fee farms. Ordinance to be assigned by the King to send into Ireland. The Deputy may arrive in Ireland by Easter next. Councillors to be appointed of the Deputy's Privy Council, without whose advice he shall do nothing. Three of them to be Englishmen now in England. That all landowners be resident for defence of their lands. That a new Parliament be appointed to begin at Dublin on the 1st May. That loving letters be written by the King to Desmond, Sir Piers Butler, and others, to resort to the Deputy at his coming, to know the King's pleasure. That they be conveyed by the officers of arms. A promise should be made in Desmond's letter that if he do his duty like his ancestors, the King will give him a general pardon. That Wolsey, being legate a latere, send a commissary to Ireland to call before him all bishops, abbots, and heads of the Church, to notify to the Irish that the King had sent his Deputy thither to reduce the land to order, not intending to make war against any who will do their duty, nor to take anything from any man who is lawfully entitled to it, but to make a fair distribution of lands at reasonable rents, seeing that they now "live without order, not wealthy, ne being assured of any succession to their heirs." That Wolsey call before him the provincials of the four orders of friars and the ruler of the Observants, bidding them send to all their priors and wardens in Ireland to appear before the commissary, and be sworn to exhort the Irishmen in their sermons according to instructions given them by the Deputy. All the said clergy and friars to be sworn to reveal anything prejudicial to the King or his Deputy. The commissary before all the clergy to enact that all men making war against the King be accursed, and thereupon to fulminate the censures. As the Irish bishoprics, being too poor for Englishmen to accept, are filled by Irishmen ready to make war against the King, a bull should be obtained allowing Wolsey to unite them at discretion.

ii. "Considerations why coyne and livery may not be clearly and suddenly laid down."

The marchers of Englishmen adjoining the Irish are compelled to keep galloglas and kerne to defend their lands, who cannot be supported without coyne and livery. The charge rests upon the lords, not on the tenants, for where the lord should have 16*d.* an acre he has but 2*d.*, so that the charge borne by the tenants is recompensed in their rents. The marchers will refuse to grant the new subsidy, enlarged from 13*s.* 4*d.* to 26*s.* 8*d.*, considering their great charge of galloglas and kerne. If coyne and livery were abolished, the lords and gentlemen would not readily come "on hosting" with the Deputy, as they used to do. They would be loth to grant a new subsidy to put down coyne and livery, with which they are seldom oppressed. Without galloglas and kerne, the deputy cannot well defend the Englishry; for these reasons,—1st, "Irishmen be light and delyver, so that when the Englishmen should follow them, they should labor all in vain;" and if Englishmen followed them into the woods without knowledge of the country, they would be in great danger, but with galloglas and kerne the Deputy would be able to pursue them, and if any of them were slain it would be little damage, as others can be easily got in their place. Instead of putting down coyne and livery suddenly, the next Parliament should see what the King's subjects would give to put it down, and certify the King.

Pp. 4.

1520.

10 March. **671.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. vi.

9°.

B. M.

Has received his letters by Jean de la Sau and by her secretary Des Barres. Thanks him for his cordiality towards the King her nephew. Is content that the interview between Henry and her nephew should take place at Southampton, as he prefers that port to the Isle of Wight, which had been proposed by her secretary. Desires credence for the bearer, Jehan de la Sau, relative to this matter. Malines, 10 March.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. Add.

11 March. **672.** MARGARET OF SAVOY'S INSTRUCTIONS to JEHAN DE LE SAUCH, sent to ENGLAND on behalf of CHARLES.

Mon. Habs.

Abth. ii.

Bd. i. 117.

1. He is to hasten his journey as much as possible, deliver Margaret's letters to the Bishop of Elna, and tell him that Charles has sent her a power, with instructions in letters of credence to treat for the interview between him and the king of England at Hampton, leaving it to her to add to or take from those instructions what she thinks fit; copies of which Le Sauch will show to the Bishop. 2. Understanding from her secretary Des Barres, and from the Bishop's letters sent with him to Charles, that the conclusion of the interview must not be delayed, and for considerations contained in the memorial she has delivered to Des Barres for Spain, seeing also that she had sent by him the overture about the Isle of Wight, which had not been accepted; she has thought it advisable, rather than make use of her powers, to send Le Sauch to intimate the acceptance of Hampton, and to send to Spain for an alteration of their powers. Has given Le Sauch letters to the King, Queen and Wolsey, to whom they shall say that she has heard by her secretary the King's answer to her overture, and thanks him for his good will toward the interview; that the day before the arrival of her secretary she had letters from the King her nephew, intimating his agreement to the place chosen by her, whichever it should be; which letters they shall show, if necessary, but retain. She had also powers and instructions for fit personages to go to England and treat for the interview, and accept the Isle of Wight, with an intimation that she should have other despatches if needful. Understanding, therefore, that the King wishes the place to be Hampton, they shall state that she accepts it in the name of her nephew. Has sent her secretary in post to her nephew to obtain the necessary powers, which he will bring back in three weeks or a month, and also the time at which the interview may take place. Keeps certain personages in readiness to send over to prepare matters as soon as she receives the despatches. If the King object that this is done to gain time, and that he will not be sufficiently assured, they shall say that he has good security from Margaret by the letter in her hand, in which she promises to get the whole accepted by her nephew. If this does not satisfy him, they are to deliver her seal, receiving that of the King of England in exchange, containing a promise to receive her nephew and his men at Hampton, in case of the latter ratifying what Margaret shall promise. Le Sauch shall tell the Bishop of Elna that she has seen and deciphered the letter written to him by the King (Charles). Thinks it right (in order not to let the English see the necessity by which they are compelled to seek them, but rather to give them the idea that they are applied to by the French, and could make their profit with them if they abandoned England) to suppress that part of the letter which she has underlined, and also the note of the French ambassador. This, however, she leaves to the Bishop's discretion. Malines, 11 March 1519. *Signed. Countersigned: Des Barres.*

Fr.

1520.

12 March. **673.** FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.Hall's Chron.
p. 601.

Proclamation by Wolsey, containing certain articles, accepted and approved by the two kings, for the interview. (1.) The king of England shall come personally with the Queen and his sister Mary to the castle of Guisnes before the end of May; the French king, with the Queen and his mother, to the castle of Ardres, within four days after. Commissioners shall be appointed. The king of England to advance half a mile beyond the castle of Guisnes towards France, and to be met by the French king. The two kings to be on horseback, and meet in an open place, not dressed with any pavilions. (2.) Next day the king of England to visit the queen of France, and dine with her privately. The king of France to visit the queen of England, and do the same. (3.) Both princes to do some fair feat of arms between Guisnes and Ardres; the place to be apparelled, ditched and kept by an equal number of French and English. The kings and queens to visit each other familiarly. (4.) When the king of England enters the territory of the French king he is to have the pre-eminence; and *vice versâ*. (5.) No person to be at the interview with a larger number of retainers than shall be written in letters of licence. (6.) To promote the familiar intercourse of the two kings, two gentlemen with sufficient company of equal number to keep the ways and watches, to examine all suspected places, and drive away all suspected persons. (7.) "We, Cardinal abovesaid, by express authority and power to us given, by these presents bind the said princes to do, &c. all and every the things abovesaid herein contained." 12 March 1519.

12 March. **674.** ST. PETER'S, YORK.

Inspeximus and confirmation to Brian Higdon, dean, and the chapter, of pat. 27 Jan. 8 Hen. VII., which alludes by reference to several confirmatory documents, to a charter of Hen. I., a patent of 10 Edw. II., and another charter of 17 Ric. II., touching the privileges of the church. Westm., 12 March.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 25.

13 March. **675.** CAMPEGGIO to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has not written for some time, as there has been no news. Has obtained from the Pope, and sends with this letter, a confessional with special graces, for the souls of Henry, his Queen, the Princess, and any future children. Mr. Parcher left Rome for England a few days ago, with some horses for Henry. Sent one by him, and hopes the King will accept it. Rome, 13 March 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

13 March. **676.** CAMPEGGIO to [WOLSEY].Vit. B. iv. 48*.
B. M.

No news since his letter of the 3rd to the King. Has sent the King's confessional with a licence for eating flesh. Don John Emanuel is daily expected. Rome, 13 March 1520.

P.S. in his own hand.—Made a request in his previous letter touching his poverty. Although the Pope is well disposed towards him, yet his vacancies are rare, and he has many kinsfolks. Any hopes Campeggio can have in that quarter are very remote. Had no time to illuminate the confessional, as it was expedited by a bull for the sake of greater authority.

Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

1520.

13 March. 677. FRANCIS I. to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. VII.

173.

B. M.

Thanks him for the pains he has taken in arranging the interview. Trusts him entirely to see that the dignity of the two crowns be equally observed. Will move to the frontiers as soon as Wolsey writes that the King his master has done the same. Encloses [a paper], signed with his hand, of what he thinks needful. Angoulême, 13 [March]. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

2. Arrangements proposed for the interview.

Calig. D. VII.

174.

B. M.

Francis will send marshal Chatillon to Ardre. Henry will send the "conte de Roseestre" (earl of Worcester), lord chamberlain, on the 8th or 10th of next month, to view the place and make arrangements. As Francis yields the point of honor by entering the English territory first, the tournament shall be at Ardre, at which the king of England shall be present, and shall wear the King's colours and run the first, and there shall be his shield with his arms on his right hand and in the place of honor. The same shall be done at Guisnes, *vice versâ*. An arrangement for the time of the tourney in the month of May or June^{*} At the entrance of the camp all the *tenan[ts]* shall enter the lists on horses armed and barbed, lance on thigh, or sword in hand, by twos and threes. In consequence of the difficulty of arranging the field and the lists, it is proposed that the arrangements shall be according to the aforesaid. For the publication of the articles of arms the King undertakes to send at his own expense "ung officier d'armes" to Spain and Italy, and the king of England shall do the same for Flanders and The King shall have 16 men-at-arms in his colours without any jewelry. But if the two Kings desire more for distinction's sake, they can determine upon it at the meeting. The King's colours are white, yellow and black; and those who are to be with him at the tourney are the duke de Vendosme, Sainet Pol, Montmorency, Brien, Nichault de Sainete Mesme, Boucal and Tavaunes. Chasteauneuf, 13 March 1519. *Signed by Francis.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 3.

13 March. 678. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. VII.

180.

B. M.

Has received his letters, bearing date the 4th, enclosing a do[cket] of letters to Francis, who sent for him to Jarnacke. On arriving there the same night the King expressed his delight that the interview was fixed for May;—then discoursed with Wingfield on all those points on which the Cardinal desired to know his pleasure. After consulting with his mother, next day the King assented to them all, as will appear by instructions sent to his ambassadors in England, to be showed to Wolsey. Wingfield urged on him the necessity of repairing to the Low Countries. He answered he would only stay four or five days to keep his Easter at Blois, and enter it this day, instead of Thursday as he had proposed. Sends Wolsey one m in the debating of certain points. Wishes that a sum of money should be expended in putting Guisnes in a proper state of defence, as it is not fit to be seen at present. Angoulême, 13 March. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

14 March. 679. [SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to HENRY VIII.]

Vit. B. IV. 48.

B. M.

Thanks him for the letters written for his promotion. Rome, 14 March 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

^{*} Much mutilated.

1520.

14 March. **680.** [SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 47.

B. M.

Wrote on the 3rd. The Pope cools on his journey to Florence. It is reported that the interview between Francis and Henry is fixed upon. If the King approved, the Pope would like to send a nuncio to the meeting. He is not pleased that he has never been consulted, and has ordered Silvester, the sub-collector, to write. Has sent three bonnets (*birreta*) for the winter; now sends three for the summer. The new ambassador is expected from Spain in fifteen days. The understanding between the two courts has not hitherto been very cordial. Begs that Wolsey will urge his promotion to the Pope. He must be pressed assiduously, especially with the argument that it would be disgraceful not to oblige England, as he intends to create cardinals for other Powers. The French at Rome speak very highly of the King and Wolsey. Rome, 14 March 1520.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. Add.

March.

681. BONNIVET to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.

188.

B. M.

The King removes in two days from this, and proceeds to keep his Easter at Blois; will set off "lendemain des Friers" for Paris,—thence to Picardy. The King has consented, at Wolsey's request, for delay to fix the interview for the 31st of May, and the tourney on the 4th of June; but as the Queen will be eight months in her pregnancy, he cannot extend it further. As the King consents to give the "premier honneur" to the king of England by entering his territories, hopes he will be met in a liberal spirit, and that the arrangement for the tourney at Ardre, and the position of the King's shield in the place of honor, and of the king of England's at Guisnes next day, will be acceptable. Chatillon will start from here in two or three days, to be on the 8th or 10th April at Ardre, and make arrangements. Chateaufort, . . . March. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 4.

15 March. **682.**

ERASMUS to SYLVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER.*

Er. Ep. xii. 34.

Thanks him for the breve he has received. Expects shortly to be at Rome, unless the return of Charles (from Spain) occasion some change in his plans. Antwerp, id. Mart. 1520.

15 March. **683.**

For WOLFF alias WOLFGANGNUS REICHARTT, of Bavaria, alias of London, Organmaker.†

P. S.

Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 22 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 15 March.

16 March. **684.**

DUKE OF SUFFOLK to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Hears by his servant Lacy that Wolsey wishes to know the number of the men and women who will accompany the French queen when she gives attendance upon the King at his journey to Calais, and also how many horses will be needed. Encloses a list. Has not attended the council lately, as the Queen has had several physicians for her disease in her side, and cannot yet perfectly recover her health. Has been twice in London to wait on him, but both times she sent for him, so that he was obliged to return instantly. Nevertheless she is now so much better that on Tuesday or Wednesday he will attend on him. Croidon, 16 March. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good lordship.

* Erasmus wrote on the same day to Campeggio and Chieregati letters of similar import. xii. 35, 36.

† *i.e.*, maker of guns called organs.

1520.

16 March. 685. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. vii.

181.

B. M.

Presented to the King the sword which Henry had delivered him, "for the nimble handling whereof he hath or knoweth no feat, but thought it not maniable, and called the Admiral to him and caused him to feel the weight thereof; who showed him that he had seen your grace wield one more pesaunt than the same as delyverly as could be devised, but for such promise as he had made your highness he might not disclose the manner how, saving that it was by means of a gauntlet." Francis accordingly desired Wingfield to ask Henry on his behalf for such a gauntlet; offering, in exchange, if Henry would send him one of his arming doublets, to make him a pair of cuirasses, such as he had not seen, to be ready before the interview; "the secret whereof was only for the easy bearing and sustaining of the weight of such pieces as rest upon the cuirass, which most commonly is borne upon the shoulders; and in this sort of cuirasses the shoulders should sustain no burden." Wingfield said he had no doubt Henry would send the doublet, and asked if "the great esquire had any feat for the handling of such a pesaunt weapon." Francis said he thought not, but would ascertain, and meanwhile asked Wingfield to thank Henry for it.

Wingfield then showed him the expediency of having "the articles of the enterprise written clean, after such manner as he thought," that they might be sent to Henry before publication to know his pleasure upon them. Francis replied that, though Henry's pleasure should be his, he thought some little changes necessary, of which Wingfield transmits a memorial. "And upon this he caused the said articles [*Some lines lost.*]"

* always referring his opinion to the debating of this matter in his garderober the s La Tremoylle, the admiral, the marshall Chastillon, the [bailly of] Caen, Poitou, and two other personages of his privy chamber." Thinks, after Henry has seen them, the articles should be published with all diligence, to enable those at a distance to come to the tourney. Francis has already dispatched the officers to the frontiers of S[pain] and Italy for the publication, which, on Henry's pleasure being known, Wingfield [thinks] may be effected by the 1st of May; "yet there [should be] two months of term for all such as shall have desire t[o see] the pastime wherein there would be used the more diligence." Chatillon leaves this day for the English confines. He expected to be on Tuesday, the 10th April, in [Guises or] at Ardre. The King leaves on Monday for Blois, and in four days after will proceed to the place of meeting. Written at . . . , 16 March.

Signature burnt. "Your most humble" in Wingfield's hand.

Mutilated, pp. 2.

16 March. 686. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote last on Tuesday. Sends by this post to the King the articles of the challenge "put in nett and qualified by the King here," and a memorial of considerations upon them by the King. They should be sent to the places of publication with diligence. Angolesme, 16 March. In four days, two months of his diet will be expired. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: [To m]y lord Cardinal's [good] grace. *Endd.*

17 March. 687. [JOHN DUKE OF ALBANY to the CARD. OF ANCONA.]

Adv. MS. 43.

Has written several times about the priory of Whitherne (Candida Casa), and feels sure his holiness will do as he is requested. Wishes the schedule of his brother, concerning Scone, detained so many months after

1520.

[JOHN DUKE OF ALBANY to the CARD. OF ANCONA]—*cont.*

the consistorial provision, to be returned to him. The cases of Scone and Whitherne are not the same. His brother has already resigned the priory. Desires credence for his secretary. Paris, 17 March.

Lat., copy, p. 1.

19 March. **688.** SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Vesp. C. I. 298.

B. M.

Wrote his last on the 6th from Valladolid. Is now at Benevento with the King, whom the Count has received with much honor. Departs tomorrow for St. James's, and hopes to reach it at the latter end of March. By April all things will be despatched with the estates of Castile, and the King on his way to England. Theamond with two men-of-war is at the Groyne, and others at Laredo in Biscay. Duplicates of this King's despatches were sent to the Bishop of Helna from Burgus. The messenger departed with a rowing carvel, and it is thought will arrive before the originals. This proposal to visit England is taken as a mark of great confidence between the two crowns. This day, the 19th, the writer is at Pontferrat, and was told by Chievres that when Francis heard of the visit to England he sent thither the bailiff of Caen with many offers, among others to meet the King at Calais. This news Chievres had from the French court; but professed he did not believe it.

By letters dated from Rome 20 Feb., the Pope has proposed new means to come to a conclusion with the king of the Romans, who has refused to stir in the matter without the advice of the king of England; to the disgust of the Nuncio, who says he will not do wisely to put himself into the hands of that King. Ponferrat, 19 March 1519.

P.S.—Tomorrow the King goes to Villafranca. The queen of Portugal was delivered of a son, and Lashawo has gone to visit her.

Hol., cipher, deciphered by Tuke; pp. 3. Add.: T[o my l]ord Cardynall's grace.

19 March. **689.** BISHOP OF ELNA and JEHAN DE LE SAUCH to CHARLES V.

Mon. Habs.

Abth. II.

Bd. I. 121.

The Bishop wrote last, on the 15th, by John de Borgia, who returned by sea, and sent a duplicate through Madame. Since then Le Sauch has arrived, bearing the charge from Madame, which he will understand from Des Barres. The turn affairs have taken has arisen from the despatch which the Bishop received by sea; but the arrival of Le Sauch has been of great service, for Madame's letters have been very well accepted, and they have shown the Cardinal a letter and note written by Charles to Madame, promising to land at any place she agrees to. Have, by virtue of their powers, accepted Hampton or any other convenient for both Kings, or even Sandwich, until the arrival of their colleagues. Le Sauch, being "plus portatif," has come in advance of the others in order to accept the said place, and has shown Wolsey the power sent by Charles to Madame, for them and the others, assuring him that they would soon arrive. Wolsey expresses great satisfaction; he says that it seems God has willed things to take this turn, "*et que Mons. St. Thomas* le a ad ce inspire*;" for it is the best place that could be, considering the state of affairs, and the arrangement for the interview between the kings of England and France; to which they say they have been compelled by our slowness, and because we would not answer plainly, yes or no. He thinks Charles should come before they meet the king of France, and after the interview he and the king of England could go together to Calais; to which proposal the bishop has made no answer; or, that the one should go to Calais, and the other into Flanders, which they will endeavor to get adopted. It was but a momentary suggestion of the Cardinal's, which it would be easy

* St. Thomas à Becket.

1520.

to efface. He said that if you had no long time to talk together, you might yet arrange a second interview beyond the sea after that with the king of France, for the King meant to do everything for the honor of Charles that was not contrary to his alliances with France, against which power, however, he would assist if Francis broke the treaties, as he instructed his new ambassador Wingfield to inform Francis, after Helna had declared to him the contents of the note delivered to Charles by the French ambassador. So you may be pretty sure France will not invade you.

As to the time of the interview, the Cardinal still holds out for May in England, or the whole of July beyond sea; and if the French king agrees to prolong the time of their interview till June, as they hope he will, they will expect Charles all the month of May, and beyond sea all the month of August. When they know the answer of Francis, they will inform him. It is agreed by the treaty for the French interview, that Henry shall be at Guisnes before the 31st May, and Francis at Ardre, and that within four days after they shall meet in a place to be agreed upon, it being settled that Francis shall come one league within the English territory. The French king had sent instructions to the Cardinal that Henry should be bound to come one league within his territory; but Wolsey, by virtue of the powers he has received from both Kings, has made the contrary arrangement, which Francis has accepted. The Cardinal showed us these articles in the original treaty. Wolsey urged strongly that after the interview in England, another should take place beyond sea, Margaret to be there; that it was much desired by the Queen; that it would induce Henry to act according to Charles's desire, although naturally he is inclined to do so; and that he himself was anxious to promote Charles's glory. After thanking him, asked what they should do till the arrival of their colleagues. Wolsey said there was nothing but to conclude the arrangements for the interview, for which purpose he had ready all the previous treaties, in order that, on the arrival of their colleagues, a new one might be concluded, ratifying the former ones, and making sure of the interview; and that there was an article about mercantile intercourse, which had been conceded for five years, about to expire, and which concerned the English. Answered that they did not know what it was, but thought their colleagues would be able to speak more fully, and that Margaret had ordered some of them to make memoranda of the points contained in those treaties, that they might understand each other the more readily. To this he replied, "Come, and you shall be welcome; ask and you shall have; speak openly and freely, and we shall say Amen to whatever you say." Thanked him again, and asked how they should conduct themselves towards the King and Queen, to whom they had letters from Margaret. He said he was at that time expecting the French ambassador, and after his interview he would send to them next day to tell them what to do; which he has done. Yesterday morning, Sunday, he bid us go to the King at Greenwich; which we did.

Waited for the King when he came out of his chamber to go to mass, when Le Sauch presented Margaret's letters, with which he was much gratified. After mass, they went with him to the Queen's quarters. The King, Queen and Cardinal had a long conversation, not upon their business, but about their own voyage; after which the King and Cardinal turned towards the ambassadors, and the King said, "Well, I am very glad that affairs are in such good order, and I think all will go well." He then called the Queen, and said to her, "The Emperor, my brother and your nephew, will come hither this time. I hope we shall see him before the king of France; otherwise I shall be dissatisfied, although in that case I could not help it, for it is not my fault. And in order to give more time to the Emperor my brother and nephew, I have written to the king of France to desire him to defer the time of our interview, but I have taken good care not to write to him the reason; so that I hope I shall have a good

1520.

BISHOP OF ELNA and JEHAN DE LE SAUCH to CHARLES V.—*cont.*

answer, for it is not possible he can yet know the state in which matters are between the Emperor and me ; for if he knew it, he would not grant it. For this reason the thing must be kept as secret as possible." Then the Queen, raising her eyes to heaven, with clasped hands gave praise to God for the grace she hoped he would do her that she might see Charles, which was her greatest desire in the world ; and she thanked the King her husband, making him a low curtsey (*ung honneur fort bas*). The King took off his bonnet, and said to her, "We will do on our part all we can ;" then he added, with a cheerful countenance, "As to what the king of France has said to the Emperor my good brother and nephew, I am not troubled about that, for I am very sure he will take good care not to do anything against the treaties ; for if you do not want war, he wants it still less. I have also told him frankly that it will be of no use our holding an interview to begin war on the morrow ; for I must abide by my promise to the invaded against the invader. But in everything where I can, I will readily employ myself to pacify the difficulties which may exist between the two, as they will know this season ; for if it is not done this time, I shall have very little hope for it hereafter ; but I trust that God will hear us, and will know the good intentions for which we do it, at least on my part, which is to establish peace in Christendom, and that we may conclude to do some good thing to the honor of God, and increase of his Holy Faith and Christian religion against the Infidels." Assured him that Charles's desire was the same, but made a little representation of the dishonor it would be if France allowed any of her vassals to invade his kingdoms during the interview, and if Charles should be obliged to send to summon Henry in Francis' presence to his aid against him. Henry said there was no fear, and that Charles might be assured he would immediately turn his back upon the other, and assist him with all his power ; adding that we might talk about all the rest with the Cardinal. Thus ended their conversation, when Le Sauch presented Margaret's letter to the Queen, who was very glad, and said, "You will speak to us again another day."

After dinner took leave of the Cardinal, telling him that whenever they had news from Charles or Madame, they would inform him. Fearing that Charles had not yet satisfactory news from the Pope, they asked him to induce the King to inform his Holiness of the amity between him and Charles. Wolsey answered, that after the interview they would bring the Pope over entirely to Charles's wishes, for a blind man needs a guide. Think the King and Queen are in as good a disposition towards Charles as ever, and if one of their colleagues had come, everything would have been arranged by this time. Sandwich, where the King wishes the interview to be, is two leagues from Dover in the English Downs as you go towards Zealand. Great vessels cannot come alongside there, but may anchor two leagues off, at the turn of the Downs, without danger from any tempest, except one of extraordinary violence, and with a favorable wind they can cross in three hours to Flanders. Small or middle sized ships can come to the wall of the town, which is about as large as Vilvorde, but better built, and with houses more suitable for lodging men without horses (*et plus logeable pour gens sans chevaulx poevre poeuple*) ; still it is the nearest port to Flanders, and therefore more convenient than Hampton. London, Monday, 19th March.

Fr.

19 March. 690. The BISHOP OF ELNA and JEHAN DE LA SAUCH to MARGARET OF SAVOY.

Mon. Habs.

128.

Wrote the day before yesterday of their arrival. Sent a duplicate of the despatch to Charles by sea. She will have understood the turn

1520.

affairs have taken since the departure of her secretary Guillaume des Barres. Are writing to the King of what they have done since their arrival, as Margaret will see by the letters, which they send open, and request her to put into cipher, as Elna's secretary does not know French, and neither himself nor De la Sauch have ever used the cipher. It is important to write in French, that there may be no mistake. The letters will inform her how they have used her letters to the King, Queen, and Cardinal, and the good will the King and Queen show to her. Hope that on the receipt of Elna's letter of the 9th to Charles and herself, she has promptly despatched those who are to come here, and that they are already on their way; otherwise the King and Cardinal will think that they wish to put them off with words, especially as the French are constantly buzzing about their ears to secure their own affairs, and we are always behindhand. If La Roche and the Audiencer had come along with La Sauch, the interview would have been settled by this time. London, Monday, 19 March. *Signed.*

Fr. Add.

21 March. 691. GUYOT DE HEULLE to [HENRY VIII.]

R. O.

Has made Henry's recommendations to Madame and Monsieur, and presented to her (*luy*) the hobbies (*les haubin*). Was requested by Madame to go to Lord de Berghes, who is so ill that he cannot visit the King before his death, to communicate the affairs of the Emperor. Mons. d'Iseltain recommends himself and the count of Hoghestrate. There is a rumor here that Henry and the King of France intend to meet each other. Doubts not great good will come of it. Malines, 21 March.

Hol., Fr., p. 1.

21 March. 692. SIRE GUYOT DE HEULLE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has made his compliments to Madame and Monsieur. De Berghes is very sorry that he finds himself so ill that he cannot go to England on the affairs of the Emperor his sovereign. A rumor is circulated of the interview between Henry VIII. and Francis. They take it in different ways. Heddin desires his compliments. Malines, 21 March. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: "Mons. le cardinal." Endd.

22 March. 693. MONASTERIES OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

Vesp. F. ix.
22.

B. M.
Wilkins'
Concilia,
iii. 693.

Orders and statutes by Wolsey for the canons regular of St. Augustine, conformably with his authority as legate de latere and special commission from the Pope, dated 10th June 1519, for visiting exempt and non-exempt monasteries:—Consisting of eighteen articles, commanding a general meeting of the order every three years; the non-admission of unsuitable persons; obedience; poverty; non-admission of women within the cloisters; washing of linen, leaving the monastery, hunting and hawking, habit and tonsure; forbidding, under the latter, shoes or furs such as were used by the laity; canonical hours; prohibiting "pricksong," and ordering *planus cantus*; allowing the use of organs; divine service; the dormitory, refectory; recreation; avoiding of lay society and visiting; keeping accounts; study of Latin. Under the latter head the brothers of the order are to speak Latin or French.

23 March. 694. MONASTERY OF LILLESULL.

P. S. b.

Certificate by Geoffrey bishop of Coventry and Lichfield that he has installed Robert Watson, canon of the monastery of Gisborne, York dioc., as abbot of Lilleshull, on his election *vice* James Cockerell, late abbot. Lichfield, 23 March 1519.

1520.

24 March. 695. WOLSEY to the BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

Mart. Amp.
Coll. iii. 1290.

The King desires from the Pope confirmation of certain plenary indulgences granted by his predecessors every 50 years to the cathedral of Canterbury, since the martyrdom of St. Thomas. The celebration commences the nones of July inst., and is in great esteem in England, and attended by a large confluence of people. He and Campeggio are to solicit the Pope in this matter. London, 24 March 1519.

24 March. 696. MARGARET OF SAVOY.

Mon. Habs.
Abth. II.
Bd. I. 129.

Instructions to the bishop of Elna, the sieur de la Roche, audiencer, and Jehan de la Sauch, ambassadors of the king of the Romans to England.

1. They shall present their letters of credence from Madame to the King, Queen, Cardinal, and others, and say that two or three weeks ago Madame received letters from the King her nephew, with powers and instructions for de Berghes, the governor of Bresse, and others, to go to England, and treat for a stricter alliance between the two Kings; that she had written to De Berghes, who at first gave hope that he would undertake the charge, notwithstanding illness, but has since been unable to travel; and she has received letters from the governor of Bresse, stating that he cannot possibly come till after Easter; that as no other person was named to be chief of the embassy, powers being given for 5, 4, 3, or 2 therein named, and fearing delay, she has despatched La Roche and the Audiencer to execute the charge in conjunction with the Bishop and La Sauch, who are there already. 2. They shall then present Charles's letters of credence, and obey their instructions, so far as they see may be conducive to their object. 3. They shall say that since the dispatch sent by Charles for the execution of the said charge, some changes have taken place, of which Madame has informed Charles, and would have waited to know his pleasure; but, considering the importance of the matters, she has charged the ambassadors to treat and conclude absolutely about the interview, as follows, viz.:—1. If the king of the Romans, on returning from Spain, wishes to land in England before the king of England cross to France, be it in May, June, or July, he shall land at Sandwich, or some other place convenient, as shall be agreed upon, where the interview shall take place. 2. If he cannot come before Henry has left, but has passed into Flanders, he will hold the interview in such place and time as shall hereafter be agreed upon. 3. If the king of England insist that after his interview with the French and return to England the king of the Romans shall land in England on his return to Spain, the ambassadors shall demur to it by all fair means, and not agree to it until they know Charles's pleasure. The interview being arranged, the ambassadors shall treat concerning the passage of the king of the Romans, and the sureties that may be required for that King and his company, from the King, Queen, and Cardinal, and other nobles of England. They shall also treat of the old and new alliances, commercial and other treaties between the two kings, and shall endeavor to get Charles's new dominions expressly comprised in them. All which things, and others that shall be treated by the ambassadors, Margaret promises to get ratified by the king of the Romans. Malines, 24 March 1519, *avant Pasques*. Signed.

Fr.

24 March. 697. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.

184.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 16th; on the Wednesday following received Wolsey's instructions with the treaty he had effected between the two kings. A letter from Wolsey to Francis had arrived that day at Ruffecke, four leagues from Nantewelle à Vallée, where the King was lodged that night. Went to him next morning, and delivered him the treaty, with some

1520.

additions for the honor and surety of their persons and their trains; called his attention to one article, requiring an exchange of ratifications by a certain day. After representing that in consequence of the absence of the Chancellor and the illness of the Admiral he could not make immediate answer, Francis at the writer's suggestion sent the treaty by the bailly of Caen to Robertet, that he might report upon it. On the writer urging that the day of the meeting should be put off, Francis replied that [were the Queen to go later] it would put her in danger. Wingfield could not press the matter, but said "the King's highness would not for anything but that sh[ould be] at the assembly, without the which his highness thought the[re should] lack one great part of the perfection of the feast." As to the manner of the publication of the challenge, Francis thought Henry would not mislike the order which he had devised, and awaited his answer. The writer apprehends that there will be [some] difficulty about ceremonies if there be but one field for the tourney. [Heard] Francis say, as to the point of entering first, "that the rank of princes was manifest w[ithout] pre-eminences, so that he knew verily the gratuities fy[rst made] and had between them that the King's highness would not desire . . . he should use his rank accordingly." He would make no other answer to the articles. Thinks the time allowed for the publication of the challenge in [distant] parts, like Spain and Italy, is insufficient. "Also I shewed hi[m] bruit which was of the enterprise to be made upon according to your Grace's instructions, and of the answer y[ou had given] to the Emperor's ambassador in that behalf, whereu[nto he said] unto that hour he never thought or intended any lik[e thing; but in] case he had, he would not have failed to have g[iven your Grace notice] thereof;" and that he was not bound by the trea[ty] the said Emperor.

On the writer pointing out that the King Catholic was comprised in the treaty, Francis repeated his assurances that he had never purposed such a thing, and would least of all have done so at this time, when it would have hindered the meeting. If the "said" king of Navarre urge him to such an enterprise, he will certainly let the King know. He confesses to the article in the treaty between Henry and himself, but says it does not bind him to contravene the treaty of Noyon between the Emperor and him; that the king of Navarre did not hold of him the seignory of Berne, where he might raise 20,000 "as tall and hardy men as any might be," and 200,000 or 300,000 crowns to entertain them with; and if Navarre would recover his kingdom he could not stop him. He wondered upon what grounds the Emperor's ambassador had made such information, and if [Don] Provoste had been resident he would have asked him "in my presence" In the morning Wingfield spoke with Robert Tette (Robertet), who has received commands to send the treaty to England. He told Wingfield the King had gone to the chase till Saturday, and would not be visible till Tuesday. At Chastel[hernault], 24 March.

"Tyme goeth not so fast away, but money flieth [faster.]"

Signature burnt off.

Mutilated, pp. 4.

26 March. 698. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.

R O.

St. P. VI. 54.

Wrote last on the 16th, and sent the articles of the challenge, which the King of France thinks reasonable. Has written to Wolsey touching the King's disposition to certain instructions sent from the Cardinal. Francis has deferred his departure from Monday to Tuesday, "by reason of the feasting kept the Sunday at night; which night he supped in the hall of the castle, where I heard him say that good Prince Edward was wont to keep his great feasts, and at the same time to be served of the viand by

1520.

SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.—*cont.*

noble men on horseback." The Legate Boysye and the Cardinal of Lorraine were there with others. Dancing continued till three in the morning, "which I think made the ladies more unmeet to dislodge at the day appointed." Since Wednesday till this date, Francis has been at the chase; he rests this day at Borowe, where the duke of Bourbon expects him. He will be at Amboyse Palm Sunday, at Blois the week following.

Great search is made to bring to the meeting the fairest ladies that may be found. Hopes the Queen will "bring such in her band that the visage of England, which hath always had the prize," be not lost. Waits for the King's arming doublet. Francis expects the gauntlet for handling the sword sent him by Henry. Chastelharault, 26 March. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.

26 March. 699. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.
187.

B. M.

Robert Tett (Robertet) arrived last night;—visited Wingfield in the morning, who showed him letters of ratification. They waited for nothing except the King's signing a letter in answer to one from Wolsey. Considering the shortness of the time, thinks the publication of the lists in other parts of Christendom impossible; "such noblemen as should have appetite to be at the assembly with their harnesses, and specially horses," will find it impossible. It will be sufficient if they be published in the two realms and the Low Countries of the King Catholic. Both princes are known to be excellent "in the mestier of arms." It is enough for them "to do arms for the honor and pastime of the ladies which shall be there assembled." He had asked Robert Tett, who could not inform him of the time of the King Catholic's passage. After supper the King told him all was despatched; that he was content publication of the challenge should be made in his realm by one English officer of arms, and in England by one French officer of arms; by the King of England's officers in Zealand and H[olland], by his own in . . . and Artoys. The admiral is at Vertewell, still sick of his fever. Chatelherault, 26 March. *Signature half burnt.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

26 March. 700. [The ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.
186.

B. M.

* * * * * " . . . conveniently on the green before the castle gate and that the King shall have three large chambers there y house in England. For the greatest chamber shall be six score and four foot in length, 42 foot in breadth, and 30 foot high, which is longer and wider than the White Hall; the second chamber to dine in to be in length four score foot, in wideness 34, and in high 27 foot, which is larger than the greatest chamber in Bridewell; and the third chamber to withdraw his highness in shall be in length 60 foot, in wideness 34, and in height 27 foot." The Queen is to have three chambers as large, a gallery to the King's lodgings, a hault place, a chapel, two closets. The Cardinal is to have three chambers next the King, and to lodge in the castle "surely but not pleasantly." Hopes the buildings will please the King and him, if they can be finished by the day appointed, but they will be larger than Bridewell, Greenwich or Eltham. Sent William Lylgrave into Holland 18 days ago to get timber;—none to be had there or in London. The master mason has advertised him that 200 masons and bricklayers cannot manage the repairs;—no facing will serve. The keep is too ruinous to mend. Have written to ask the King to command Henry Controller and Thomas Foster "to se[nd] over 250 carpenters, 100 joiners, 30 couple sawyers, 40 plasterers and 1,000 of wainscot, for here is none to buy;" and that Vertue the King's master

1520.

m[ason] may also be sent with diligence with 150 bricklayers. 26 Ma... Beg that as the materials have to come from a distance more time may be allowed. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

* * * *The particulars of all the measurements and arrangements of buildings are very carefully given.*

26 March. 701. For JOHN GOTHOLHAN.

P. S.

To be comptroller of the coinage of tin in counties of Cornwall and Devon, with custody of the gaol of Lostewythiell; on surrender by Sir John Stile of patent 18 Oct. 10 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 10 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 26 March.*

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 28.

26 March. 702. FRANCIS I.

R. O.

Rym. xiii.
705.

Confirmation of the arrangements made for his meeting with Henry VIII. under the Great Seal. Chatelleraut, 26 March 1519; 6 Fras. I.

*Signed.
Latin.*

R. T. 137.

2. Letters indented specifying, in accordance with the treaty of 12 March 1519, the number and rank of the lords, ladies and gentlemen to attend the King and Queen at the interview with Francis I., viz. :—

i. For the King : The cardinal of York, with 300 servants, of whom 12 shall be chaplains and 50 gentlemen, with 50 horses; one archbishop with 70 servants, of whom 5 shall be chaplains and 10 gentlemen, with 30 horses; 2 dukes, each with 70 servants, 5 to be chaplains and 10 gentlemen, with 30 horses. 1 marquis with 56 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 8 gentlemen; 26 horses. 10 earls, each with 42 servants, 3 to be chaplains and 6 gentlemen; 20 horses. 5 bishops, of whom the bishop of Winchester shall have 56 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 8 gentlemen; 26 horses;—each of the others, 44 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 6 gentlemen; 20 horses. 20 barons, each to have 22 servants, 2 to be chaplains and 2 gentlemen; 12 horses. 4 knights of the order of St. George, each to have 22 servants, 2 to be chaplains and 2 gentlemen; 48 horses. 70 knights, each to have 12 servants, one to be a chaplain; 8 horses. Councillors of the long robe; viz., the King's secretary, the vice-chancellor, the dean of the Chapel, and the almoner, each to have 12 servants, one a chaplain, and 8 horses. 12 King's chaplains, each with 6 servants and 3 horses. 12 serjeants-at-arms, each with 1 servant and two horses. 200 of the King's guard with 100 horses. 70 grooms of the chamber, with 150 servants and 100 horses among them; 266 officers of the house, with 216 servants and 70 horses; 205 grooms of the stable and of the armories, with 211 horses. The earl of Essex, being earl marshal, shall have, beside the number above stated, 130 servants and 100 light horses. Sum total of the King's company, 3,997 persons and 2,087 horses.

ii. For the Queen : 1 duchess, with 4 women, 6 servants and 12 horses; 10 countesses, with 3 women and 4 servants, and 8 horses each; 12 baronesses, with 2 women, 3 servants and 6 horses each. 20 knights' ladies, with 1 woman, 2 servants and 4 horses each; 14 ladies, with 1 woman, 2 servants and 3 horses each; 6 ladies of the chamber, with 1 servant and 2 horses each; 1 earl, with 42 servants, 3 to be chaplains and 9 gentlemen; horses 20. 3 bishops, to have 44 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 6 gentlemen; horses 60. 4 barons, with 22 servants, 2 to be chaplains and 2 gentlemen; horses 48. 30 knights, with 12 servants, 1 to be a chaplain; horses 240; 6 chaplains with 3 servants and 2 horses each. Grooms 50,

1520.

FRANCIS I.—*cont.*

officers of the King's chamber, with 20 servants and 30 horses; officers of the King's stable 60, with 70 horses. Sum total of the Queen's company, 1,175 persons and 778 horses.

R. O. 3. Names of those appointed to attend the king of England at the
Rym.xiii.710. Congress.

Commissioners appointed to oversee those who shall accompany the king of France:—The earl of Essex, lord Abergavenny, Sir Edw. Ponynges, Sir Rob. Wingfield. To give orders to the gentlemen:—Sir Edw. Belknapp, Sir Nich. Vaux, Sir John Peche, Sir Maurice Berkeley. To give orders to the foot soldiers:—Sir Weston Browne, Sir Edw. Ferrers, Sir Rob. Constable, Sir Ralph Egerton, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir John Marney. To ride with the king of England at the embracing of the two Kings:—The Legate, archbishop of Canterbury, dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, marquis of Dorset. *Bishops*:—Durham, Armagh, Ely, Chester, Rochester, Exeter, Hereford. *Earls*:—Stafford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Devonshire, Kent, Wiltshire, Derby, Kildare. *Barons*:—Maltravers, Montagu, Herbert, the grand prior of St. John of England, Roos, Fitzwalter, Hastings, Delavare, Dacres, Ferrers, Cobham, Daubeney, Lumley, Sir Henry Marney, Sir Wm. Sandys, Th. Boleyn, Lord Howard.

The servants of the king of England shall march next their King, preceded by the nobles and gentlemen of the Legate, who shall follow the gentlemen of the other lords. The King's guard to follow him in their accustomed places.

Fr., pp. 2. Endd.

R. O. 4. The names of those who will be with the French king when he meets
Rym.xiii.713. the king of England.

The king of Navarre; dukes of Alençon, Bourbon, Vendosme and Lorraine; count of Saint Pol; prince de la Roche Suryon; count of Dreux and Rhetel, Sieur Dorval and governor of Champagne; count of Benon, sieur de la Tremoille, first Chamberlain, admiral of Guyenne and governor of Burgundy; count of Estampes and Caravats, sieur de Boysy, grand master and governor of the Dauphin; Bonnyvet, admiral of France, Launtree, La Palisse and Chastillon, marshals; count of Guyse, brother of the duke of Lorraine; the bastard of Savoy, count of Villars and Beaufort, governor of Provence; count de Laval; mons. de Chasteaubriant; count of Harcourt; princes of Orange and Tallemont; mons. de Nevers; mons. d'Esparrox, lieutenant of Guyenne, and count of Montfort; Mess. de Lescurun and Montmorency; le Grand Escuyer; counts de la Chambre, Tonnerre, Brienne, Joigny, Bremie and Mont Reuel; mons. d'Albret. The other knights of the Order.

The king's household, 200 gentlemen; St. Vallier and the grand seneschal of Normandy, captains.

400 archers of the guard, and 4 captains; 100 Swiss, De Florences, captain; maitres d'hôtel, pannetiers, valets, &c.; gentlemen of the council and of the finances. The other pensioners will remain in their houses.

Francis will bring with him the above company, if the king of England think it suitable; but if not, he will diminish it.

These noblemen will only have with them about 200 horses.

Fr., pp. 3. Endd.: Noblemen's names that shall accompany the French king at the meeting at Calais.

703. LIST OF NOBLEMEN AND OTHERS.

Titus, B. 1.

123.

B. M.

The King's Council. My lord Cardinal. The Privy Seal. The bishops of Lincoln, Norwich, Hereford and Rochester. The dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham. The marquis Dorset. The earls of Surrey,

1520.

Shrewsbury, Worcester, Derby, Northumberland, Essex and Wiltshire. The lords of St. John, Burgevenny, Devonshire, Montague, Mounteagle, Cobham, Ferys, Fitzwalter, Dudley, Dacres of the South, Darcy, Conyers, Audeley, Broke and Fitzwarren. The deans of the Chapel and of Paul's. The archdeacon of Richmond. The dean of Salisbury. Dr. Syxtyne. Dr. Clark. The abbots of Glastonbury, Westminster, Bury and Winchester. All knights and others of the King's council. The secretaries in Latin, French and English. The clerks of the Privy Seal and Signet. The heralds. The officers of the household. The minstrels.

Bedford :—Sir John St. John, Wm. Gascoyn, Robt. Spenser, Lenthorp, Wm. Fitzjeffrey, Geo. Harvy.

Buckingham :—Sir Andrew Windsor, Sir Rauf Verney, junr., John Cheynye, Sir Wm. Hampden, John Gyfford.

Warwick :—Lord Dudley, Sir Gilbert Talbot, junr., Geo. Throgmorton, Sir Edw. Belknap, Edw. Gryvill, Sir John Burdute, Sir Thos. Lucy, Sir Edw. Ferys, Edw. Conway.

Lincoln :—Lord Willoughby, Sir Christopher Willoughby, Sir John Husey, Sir Geoffrey Paynell, Sir Miles Bushe, Sir Rob. Scheffeld, Sir Wm. Tirwytt, Wm. Askew, Geo. Fitzwilliam, Sir Rob. Dymocke, Wm. Hansard.

Essex :—The earl of Essex, lord Fitzwalter, Sir Henry Marmy, Sir John Raynysford, Sir Thos. Tyrell, Sir Ric. Lewys, Sir Roger Wentworth, Wm. Pitron, Sir Whitstan Browne, John Marnye.

Sussex :—The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, lord Matraviers, Sir Thos. West, lord Dacre, Sir David Owen, Sir Godard Oxynbridge, Wm. Ashbornham, Sir Edw. Lewkenor, Sir John Dawtry.

Berkshire :—Sir Geo. Forster, Sir Thos. Fetyplace, Sir Wm. Essex, Sir Richard Weston, Hen. Bridges, John Cheyny, Ric. Noreys, Ric. Hampden.

Hertford :—Lord Barnesse, Sir Edw. Benstede, Thos. Clyfford.

Gloucester :—The duke of Buckingham, Sir Maurice Barkeley, Wm. Denys, Sir Wm. Kyngston, Sir Christopher Baynham, Sir John Hungerford, Sir Edw. Wadham, Sir John Brydges.

Cornwall :—Lord Broke, Sir John Arundell, Sir Pers Eggecombe, Sir Roger Graynefeld, Sir John Trevenyan.

Suffolk :—Sir Thos. Bolayn, Sir Rob. Brandon, Sir Rob. Drury, Sir Ant. Wyngfeld, Sir Wm. Walgrave, Sir Ric. Wentworth, Sir John Shelton, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Rob. Courson, Sir John Audley, Thos. Felton, — Branzton, Sir Wm. Sidney.

Stafford :—Sir John Feryes, Sir Loys Bagot, Sir John Gifford, Sir John Asheton, John Egyrton, Sir John Braycot, Sir John Stanley, John Blount.

Devonshire :—Lord Fitzwaren, Sir Wm. Courtney, Sir Edm. Owen, Sir John Basset, Sir Nic. Kyrkeham, Sir Edw. Pomery.

Oxford :—Sir Adryan Fortesku, Sir Edw. Chamberlayn, Sir Wm. Rede, Walter Bulstrode, Sir John Daunce.

Shropshire :—The earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Ric. Laykyn, Sir Thos. Blount, Sir Thos. Leyghton, Sir Rob. Corbett, Sir Thos. Cornwall.

Somerset :—The earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Trevelian, Sir Nic. Wadham, Sir John Rodney, Sir Ric. Ware, — Strangwyshe, lord Daubenye.

Dorset.—Hen. Strangwyshe, Giles Strangwyshe, John Horsey, Sir Thos. Trenchard.

Wilts :—Sir Edw. Hungerford, Sir John Seymour, Sir Edw. Darell, Sir John Dakers, Sir John Newport, Sir Maurice Barow, Sir John Scrope, Sir Thos. Long.

York :—The earl of Northumberland, lord Darcy, lord Lumeley, Sir John Constable, Sir Rob. Constable, lord Conyers, Sir Geo. Fitzhew, Sir Rauf Ellerkar, Sir Wm. Gaskoyn, Sir Ric. Tempest, Sir Wm. Skargill,

1520.

LIST OF NOBLEMEN AND OTHERS—*cont.*

Sir Guy Wolstrobe, Sir Rauf Evers, Sir Wm. Evers, Sir Wm. Bulmer, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Edw. Pekeryng.

Westmoreland :—Sir Thos. Parre.

Hereford :—Lord Ferrers, Sir Cornwall.

Hants :—Lord Audeley, Sir Wm. Sandes, Sir John Lyle, Wm. Pownd, John Pawlet, junr., Sir John Lye, Sir Geo. Putenham, Sir Wm. Gyfford, Rob. Walop, Arthur Plantagenet, Sir Maurice Barow.

Kent :—Lord Bargeveny, lord Cobham, lord Clynton, Sir Edw. Ponynges, Sir Wm. Scot, Sir John Pechie, Sir Edw. Guldeford, Sir Hen. Guyldeford, Thos. Cheynye, Sir Rauf Seyntleger, Sir John Darell, Raynold Pymp, Sir John Scott, Sir Wm. Crouner, Sir John Fogge, Sir John Norton.

Leicester :—The lord Marquis, lord Hastyngs, Sir John Digby, Sir Edw. Feldyng, Sir Ric. Sacheverell, lord John Gray, lord Leonard Gray, lord Richard Gray, Sir Wm. Skevyngton, Sir John Villers, — Hasylyrygge.

Cambridge :—Sir Wm. Findern, Sir Rob. Coton, Sir Rauf Chamberlain, Sir Giles Alyngton.

Northampton :—Sir Nic. Vaux, Sir Wm. Parre, Sir Thos. Luey, Thos. Empson.

Nottingham :—Sir Wm. Parpoynt, Sir Thos. Sutton, Sir Brian Stapleton, Robt. Clyfton, Humphrey Hersy, Rowland Dygby, John Beron, Sir Wm. Meryng, Sir Hen. Willoughby.

Norfolk :—Lord Edmund Haward, Sir Ph. Calthorp, Sir Robt. Clere, Sir John Haydon, Sir Thos. Wodehows, Sir Thos. Wyndham, Wm. Paston, Sir Robt. Lovell, John Shelton, Sir Thos. Benyngfeld, Nic. Applyerd, Edw. Knyvet.

Derby :—Sir Henry Sacheverell, Sir John Montgomery, Sir Godfrey Fulgeham, Thos. Cokyn.

Middlesex :—The lord of Saint John's, Sir Thos. Lovell.

Surrey :—Sir Henry Wyat, Sir Matthew Brown, Sir John Ywardby, Sir Edw. Bray.

Cheshire :—Sir John Warberton, Sir Wm. Both, Sir John Warren, Sir Geo. Holford, Sir John Lye of Bagley, Sir Wm. Brereton.

Pp. 4. In Ruthal's hand.

704. FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

R. O.

A memorial of things necessary for the transporting of the King for the interview between him, the French king, their queens, queen Mary dowager of France, and the mother of the French king.

The King, with the Queen and the Queen Dowager of France, shall be at Guisnes Castle on the last of May, and within four days after shall meet the French king within the county of Guisnes, as determined by the treaty. The commissioners for appointing the time and place of meeting to be the lord Chamberlain, earl of Worcester, Sir Nic. Vauxe, Sir Wm. Sandes and Sir Edw. Belknap. The King's apparel is to be ordered according to his own pleasure and device. Vauxe, Sandes and Belknap to be commissioners to visit Guisnes Castle and the neighbourhood, and prepare lodgings according to instructions delivered to them at their departure. The Chamberlain, Vauxe, Sandes and Belknap are to meet the French commissioners, and appoint a place for the jousts halfway between Guisnes and Arde, and to provide for its fortification, and for the construction of lists, galleries, &c. The Chamberlain and the ministers of the wardrobe to provide for the transportation to Calais of Arras tapestry and other necessities for the decoration of the King's house, and to cross the sea forty days before the interview, that all may be ready. The head officers of the household to be warned by the council to attend on the King "in their best manner, ap-

1520.

paralled according to their estates and degrees." The other officers and ministers to be furnished with all things necessary. The lord Chamberlain and Vice-chamberlains are to prepare themselves, and to appoint the officers for the chamber, making a book of their names. The Dean and ministers of the chapel are to cross the sea with the King. The Dean is to warn the ministers, and provide books, jewels, vestments, &c. for the chapel. The rich copes with the vestments given to the monastery of Westminster by the late King are to be borrowed for this voyage, and afterwards returned. The clerk of the closet is to warn ten chaplains to accompany the King, and provide the closet with the best hangings, travers, jewels, images, altar cloths, &c. that the King has. The King's guard is to consist of 200 of the "tallest and most elect persons," with doublets, hosen and caps. Each man is to have two coats, one of goldsmith's work with the King's cognizance; the base to be scarlet, and the nether part to have a guard of cloth of gold. The other coat to be red, with a rose on the breast, and the crown imperial, "after such form and manner as the riding coats be now." They are to be armed with bows and arrows. Sir Henry Marney is to warn and furnish them, and to see that 100 provide themselves with fit and able horses. As Guisnes Castle possesses no place or houses of office where the King's ordinary household can be kept in one place, tables with numbers of messes are to be assigned to the officers of the household, to which the nobles and others may resort. The provision of victuals is assigned to the cofferer, Mykelow, Bryks and others. Sir Edw. Ponynge, warden of the Cinque Ports, is to provide sufficient ships and hoys; Miles Gerard and Thos. Partrige, 40 great howeys. The *Mary Rose*, the King's *Grete Barke*, the *Little Barke*, and two other small ships are to scour the seas from time to time during the passage; their rigging and victualling are committed to Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Wistan Browne and John Hopton, clerk of the King's ships; Sir John Daunce to issue money for the purpose. Gerard and Partrige will appoint the shipping for all the nobles, and a book containing all the names shall be delivered to them, and also to the harbinger appointed to provide lodging at Dover, Calais and Guisnes. A copy of this book is to be sent to the council, that billets may be made and sent to every person.

The commissioners to appoint the lodgings at Calais, are Sir John Peché, the marshal, Sir Ric. Carewe, Wotton and Garnishe; for Guisnes, Sir Wm. Sandes, Sir Nic. Vauxe and Sir Edw. Belknap; and the King's harbingers are to attend on both. The earl of Essex* is appointed chief marshal, Sir Wm. Parre, undermarshal, and Marlond, provost, to keep order among the train, punish malefactors, &c. It was agreed in the treaty that two noblemen should be appointed by the two kings to make "good geite espie and watch" in all suspect places where ambushes might lie towards Flanders, France, Picardy or Arthois. On the King's part, Sir Griffith Rice† is assigned as chief, and with him ‡ Sir Ric. Tempest§ and Sir Wm. Bulmar, with 100 light horse, in the King's wages. They are to report to the King every morning. Espials and counterespials will also be made by the council from time to time.

A solemn banquet will be held at Guisnes, at which the French King and all his court will be present. The charge of it is committed to the officers of the household, and the arrangement and furnishing of the place to Vaux, Sands, Belknap and Ric. Gibson. For the banquet a mummary will be prepared, consisting of 50 noble men and women in 5 companies.

* Substituted for "lord Bergeveny."

† Substituted for "Sir Rice ap Thomas."

‡ Sir G. Rice's name occurred here, but is crossed out. He is mentioned as Sir R. ap Thomas's son.

§ Substituted for "Sacheverel."

1520.

FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

Their apparel is referred to the King's pleasure. Sir Harry Wyat is charged to transport gold and silver plate sufficient for the banquet. A person will be appointed by the King to provide hobbies, palfreys, hounds, greyhounds, horns, leashes, collars and other things for presents. The apparel of the henchmen, the horses and the stable furniture to be referred to the King. If it is thought necessary to take ordnance, the charge thereof will be entrusted to Sir Wm. Skevington, master of the ordnance. There being no place within the castle of Guisnes for the lodging of the servants and guard, Gibson will take across the King's halls, tents and pavilions, and a place for them shall be assigned by Sandes and the other commissioners. Princes' ambassadors shall not be restrained to any number of men or horses under 100. As it is agreed between the Kings not to bring a greater number of attendants than is mentioned in a bill interchangeably delivered and subscribed with their hands, here follow the names of those appointed to attend upon the King and Queen, with the number of their servants and horses, and letters are to be sent to them, on the King's behalf, by the secretary and the master of the posts.

Pp. 28, with a few corrections in Ruthal's hand.

R. O.

2. The King's apparel to be remitted to his own pleasure. The lord Chamberlain to arrange for the garnishing of the King's house and the carriage of apparel to Calais by the officers of the Wardrobe. The Chamberlain to go to Calais a month before the meeting, which is fixed for 15 July next, in such place as shall be appointed by the earl of Worcester and the French commissioners. The King and Queen to be lodged in the Exchequer. The house of the Staple is to be furnished for the lodging of the French king, his queen, mother and sister. The deputy and treasurer of Calais to appoint lodgings for the lords attending on the King, make books of the said lodgings, and send them to the council, that every man may know his place. Sir Henry Wyat is charged to take over sufficient plate for furnishing the King's house and the French king's lodging. All the head officers of the Household are to be warned to prepare themselves, and all other officers are to be furnished with everything necessary to give their attendance. The lord Chamberlain and Vice-chamberlain are to be ready in like manner, and are to make a book of the officers for the Chamber, whom they shall appoint. The Dean and ministers of the chapel are to be warned to be ready. 400 elect persons shall be appointed for the guard, with doublets, hose and caps of one suit, double coats, bows, arrows and halberds. 100 of them are to have horses, and Sir Henry Marney is to appoint and view them. Besides the household and guard, the 100 nobles and gentlemen following are appointed to attend.

The lord Legate, archbp. of Canterbury, bps. of Durham, Ely, Chester, Hereford, Rochester, and archbp. of Armachan.

Dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, lord Marquis, earls of Arundel, Surrey, Northumberland (*struck out*), Westmoreland (*struck out*), Shrewsbury, Derby, Essex, Devonshire, Wiltshire, Worcester.

Lords, of St. John's, Fitzwater, Burgeveny, Hastings, Rosse, Mountague, Ferrers, Darcy, Daubeney, Fitzwarren (*struck out*), Willoughby, Barnesse, Matravers, Morley, Dacres of the South, the lords John, Leonard, and Richard [Grey], Cobham, Edm. Haward, Mountjoy, Harbert.

Knights. Berks :—Sir John Daunce, Sir Wm. Essex, Sir Geo. Forster, Sir Thos. Fetiplace.

Hants :—Sir Wm. Sands, Sir Nic. Wadham, Sir John Lile, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Sir Ric. Weston, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam.

Oxon. :—Sir Hadrian Fortescue, Sir Walter Stoner, Sir Edw. Grevell, Sir Symond Harcourt, Sir Edw. Chamberlain, Sir John Hampden on the Hill.

1520.

Northamptonsh. :—Sir Nic. Vaux, Sir Wm. a Parre, Ric. Knyghtley (*struck out*).

Kent :—Sir Edw. Ponynges, Sir Edw. Guyldford, Sir Thos. Bolayn, Sir John Peechie, Sir Thos. Cheyny, Sir Thos. and Sir Edw. Nevile, Geo. Selinger, Jas. Walsingham.

Devon :—Sir Piers Egecombe, Sir John Kirkeham, Sir Wm. Courtenay, Sir Roger Graynefeld (*struck out*).

Worcestersh. :—Sir John Talbot the younger, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Sir Griffith ap Rice.

Herefordsh. :—Sir Wm. Compton (*substituted for Geo. Gryeile*), Sir Thos. and Sir Ric. Cornewale.

Gloucestersh. :—Sir Robt. Poynys, Sir Maurice Barkeley, Sir John Hungerford, Sir Wm. Denyse, Sir Wm. Kyngiston, Sir Ant. Poynys (*substituted for Edm. Tame*), Sir Edw. Wadham (*struck out*).

Lincolnsh. :—Sir John Husey, Sir Thos. Newport, Sir Miles Buschie, Sir John Denham (*struck out*), Sir Thos. Borow (*struck out*), Sir Wm. Ascu, Sir Wm. Husey.

Yorks :—Sir Robt. and Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir Wm. Bulmer, Sir Ric. Tempest, Sir Hen. Clifford and Sir Wm. Gasecoyn (*both struck out*).

Sussex :—Sir Thos. West, Sir David Owen, Sir Henry Owen (*struck out*).

Cambridgesh. :—Sir John Cut, Sir Giles Alington, Sir Rauf Chamberlayn.

Wilts :—Sir Edw. Darell, Sir Edw. Hungerford, Sir John Seymour, Sir Henry Long.

Norfolk :—Sir Robt. Courson, Sir Thos. Wyndham, Sir Philip Tilney (*struck out*), Sir John Audeley, Sir John Haydon, Sir Wm. Paston, Sir Wm. Schelton, Sir Ph. Calthorp, Sir Robt. Brandon, Henyngham, Sir Henry Scharborne.

Suffolk :—Sir Ric. Wentworthe, Sir Ant. Wyngfeld, Sir Robt. Drury, Sir Wm. Walgrave, Sir Arthur Hopton.

Essex :—Sir Henry Marney, Sir John Veere, Sir John Raynysford, Sir Thos. Tyrell, Sir Roger Wentworth, Sir John Marny, Sir Wyston Brown, Thos. Tay, Sir Geoffrey Gates.

Somerset and Dorset :—Sir Giles Strangwyshe, Sir Thos. Trenchard, Sir Thos. Lynde.

Leicestersh. :—Sir Ric. Secheverell, John Villers, Sir Wm. Skevington, Sir John Ashton (*substituted for Sir Everard Digby*).

"*Sutherey*" :—Sir Ric. Carew, Sir Hen. Wyat, Sir Matthew Brown, Sir Edm. Bray, Gaynysford, Nic. Carewe.

Bedfordsh. :—Sir John Sayntjohn, Sir Geo. Harvie, John Mordaunt.

Middlesex :—Sir Thos. Lovell, Sir Andrew Wyndesore, Sir John Heyron, Sir John Nevile, Sir Giles Capell.

Derbysh. :—Sir John Gyfford, Sir Henry Secheverell, Godfrey Fulgeham, Thos. Cokyn.

Warwicksh. :—Sir Edw. Belknap, Sir Edw. Ferrers, Sir Hen. Willoughby, Sir Thos. Lucy, Gerard Danet.

Bucks :—Fras. Bryan, Sir Edw. Dunne, Sir John Verney.

Notts :—Sir Henry Parpoynt, Byron, Sir Robt. Jones, Sir Rowland, Sir Griffith Dunne, Coffyn.

An archbishop to have 4 chaplains and 50 other persons, 10 gentlemen in silks, the residue yeomen, in cloth coats, with 30 horses. A duke to have 2 chaplains, and 50 other persons, 10 of them gentlemen, with 30 horses. A marquis, 2 chaplains and 40 other persons, 8 being gentlemen, with 26 horses. An earl, 2 chaplains and 30 other persons, 6 being gentlemen, with 20 horses. The bp. of Durham, 4 chaplains and 36 other persons,

1520.

FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

6 being gentlemen, with 20 horses. All other bishops, 4 chaplains and 20 persons, 8 being gentlemen, with 12 horses. Barons, one chaplain and 16 persons, 2 being gentlemen, with 8 horses. Sir Thos. Lovell to be accompanied as a baron, with 12 horses. Other knights of the order as barons. All other knights, not more than 10 persons and 4 horses. Squires, 4 persons, with 2 horses. The ambassadors of princes not to be limited in their retinue to any number.

King's chaplains:—Master of the Rolls, Mr. Secretary, King's almoner, dean of the Chapel (*corrected from "Paris"*), dean of Salisbury, Dr. Clerke, archdeacon of Richmond, Dr. Fell, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Magnus, Mr. Denton, Dr. Knyght, the clerk of the Closet. Chaplains not to have more than 10 persons, with 4 horses. They are to be clothed in damask and satin.

After the number of nobles who will come with the French king has been notified to the deputy of Calais and the other commissioners, they shall appoint them lodgings; and all the King's subjects, except those ordered to remain, shall remove to the Brayes, and lodge there in tents while the French king and his train are in Calais.

The French king and queen's lodging is appointed at the Staple House, and the lord Chamberlain and other officers are to repair to Calais to furnish the house, and provide wine and other necessaries, and to appoint masters of hostels and other officers to furnish daily provision. For his train, staples must be made in sundry places for wine, bread, &c., to which the masters of hostels assigned to the Frenchmen's lodgings may send their billets for daily provision. The King and his whole train are to be entertained wholly at Henry's cost.

The king of England and his Queen will lodge in the Exchequer. A large hall must be made of slight timber; and also two chambers, one joining the Queen's lodging, for the ladies to dance in; the other joining the King's lodging, for his attendants. The household will be kept as at solemn feasts.

The King's chapel shall be kept in St. Nicholas' Church. The seats shall all be removed, and a gallery made between the King's lodging and the said church.

No lodgings are to be appointed in the castle, and a "salle" is to be devised and made in most gorgeous manner to keep the great banquet in. The chapel, great chamber and parlor are to be furnished as withdrawing places.

Posterns shall be made through the walls of the castle, and bridges over the ditches into the Braye, for conveyance of victual.

Two mummeries will be presented; one at the banquet, the other to visit the French king in his lodging.

Hobbies, palfreys, hounds, greyhounds, horns, leashes and collars must be provided as gifts.

It is thought that Sandyngheld will be a suitable place for the first meeting, being neutral, as the treaty requires, and having been viewed by the lord Chamberlain and the captain of Boulogne.

It is thought convenient, if it so please the princes, that the first meeting should be on horseback, and that after the kings and queens have embraced, they and their trains shall repair to Calais, the King giving the French king the right hand, and the queens doing the like. Pre-eminence is to be given to all the French retinue, and a "plat" to be made how all the personages shall be placed. After the kings have embraced they will salute each other's queens, and introduce them to each other. All noblemen and others are to be apparelled according to their degrees, and no man must presume to wear apparel above his degree.

Pp. 9. Corrected draft, in Ruthal's hand. Endd.

1520.

R. O.

3. Names of the noblemen and others appointed to attend upon the King and Queen at the interview with the French king.

To attend on the King :—

The lord Legate, archbp. of Canterbury, dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, marquis of Dorset, bishops of Durham, Ely, Chester, Exeter ; archbp. of Armagan.

Earls of Shrewsbury, Essex, Devonshire, Westmorland, Stafford, Kent, Wiltshire, Worcester, Northumberland, Oxford, Kildare.

Barons :—Prior of St. John's, Lords Fitzwater, Bergeveny, Hastings, Rosse, Mountague, Ferres, Darcy, Daubney, Barners, Broke, Edm. Haward, Herbert, lord John Gray, lord Leonard, lord Richard, Lomley, Matravers, Delaware, Dacres of the South.

Knights of the Garter :—Sirs Hen. Marney, Edw. Ponynge, Rice ap Thomas, William Sandes.

Middlesex :—Sir Andrew Windsor, Sir John Heron, Sir John Nevel, Sir Giles Capel, Sir John Gifforde, Thos. More.

Essex :—Sir John Cut, Sir John Vere, Sir John Raynesford, Sir John Marny, Sir Wistan Broune, Thos. Tay.

Kent :—Sir Thos. Boleyn, Sir John Peché, Sir Hen. and Sir Edw. Guldeforde, Sir Thos. and Sir Edw. Nevel, Sir Geo. Selinger, Sir Edm. Walsingham, Thos. Cheyny.

Surrey :—Sir Henry Wyat, Sir Ric. Carewe, Sir Edm. Bray, Sir John Gaynesforde, Nic. Carewe.

Sussex :—Sir David Owen, Sir Thos. West, Sir — Fynche, Henry Owen.

Bedfordsh. :—Sir Geo. Harvey, Wm. Gascoyne.

Berks :—Sir John Daunce, Sir Wm. Essex, Ric. Norres, John Cheyne.

Oxon. :—Sir Edw. Chamberlain, Sir — Baryngton.

Northamptonsh. :—Sir Nic. Vaux, Sir Wm. Parre.

Hants :—Sir Ric. Weston, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Sir Nic. Wadham.

Wilts :—Sir Edw. Hungerforde, Sir John Seymor, Sir Henry Long, Sir Giles Strangwich.

Devon :—Sir Piers Egecombe, Wm. Courtney, Edw. Pomerey.

Norf. :—Sir Robt. Curson, Sir Thos. Wyndham, Sir John Awdeley, Sir John Heydon, Sir Wm. Paston, Sir Robt. Brandon, Sir Henry Shernborne.

Suff. :—Sir Ric. Wentworthe, Sir Anth. Wyngfelde, Sir Robt. Drury, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Philip Tilney, Sir Edw. Boleyn, Sir Robt. Wyngfelde.

Bucks :—Sir John Verney, the younger, Andrew Windesore, Sir Raufe Verney, Fras. Brian, John Cheyne.

Derbysh. :—Godfrey Fulgeam.

Warwicksh. :—Sir Edw. Belknap, Sir Edw. Ferres, Sir Thos. Lucy, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Burdet, Sir Wm. Smyth, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Gerard Danet, Edw. Gray.

Leicestersh. :—Sir Ric. Sacheverel, Sir Wm. Skevington.

Notts :—Sir Henry Perpoint, Sir Rouland, Sir Griffith Don, Wm. Coffyn, — Biron.

Lincolnsh. :—Sir Thos. Burgh the younger (*erased*), Sir Wm. Hansard.

Worcestersh. :—Sir Wm. Compton, Sir Griffith ap Rice, Sir John Talbot, the younger, Sir Wm. Morgan, Sir John Ragland.

Herefordsh. :—Sir Thos. Cornewale, Sir Rauf Egerton, Ric. Cornewale.

Gloucestersh. :—Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir John Hungerforde, Sir Wm. Kingeston, Sir Ant. Poyntz, Sir Edw. Wadeham, Wm. Denys, (*erased, and the words "with the Quene" added*).

Yorks :—Sir Rob. Constable, Sir Wm. Bulmer, Sir Ric. Tempest.

1520.

FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

Lincolns. :—Sir John Huse, Sir Thos. Nuport, Sir Wm. Ascue, Sir Christopher Willoughby, Sir Wm. Huse.

Councillors' Chaplains :—Mr. Secretary, Master of the Rolls, Dean of the Chapel, King's Almoner.

Chaplains :—Dean of Salisbury, archdeacon of Richmond, Dr. Felle, Dr. Tailor, Mr. Magnus, Dr. Knight, Mr. Denton, Mr. Stokesley, Mr. Hignons, the Clerk of the Closet.

The King's Chamber. Knights :—Sir Ric. Wingfield, Sir Ric. Jernyng-ham. The other two are in the shires.

Squires for the Body :—Sir Wm. Sidney, Sir Ric. Tempest, Arthur Pole, Fras. Poyntz. Wm. Cary in the Privy Chamber.

Sewers to the King :—Sir Henry Penago, Ant. Broune. The residue in the shires.

Gentlemen Ushers, daily and quarter waiters :—Robt. Knolles, Thos. Palmer, Sir Rauf Ellerker, Jas. Vaughan, John Skidmore, Wm. Legh, Wm. Cotton, Thos. Carmynal, Edw. Peyton, Wm. Woodal, John Wogan.

Jas. Worsley, yeoman of the Robes, Wm. Rudley, yeoman of the Beds.

Grooms of the Chamber :—Sir Wm. Tiler, Christopher Rochester, Robt. Bailedon, Thos. Carvanel, John Copynger, John Pate, Robt. Litel, John Pultney, Wm. Birche, Thos. Anton, Edw. Forest, Rauff Bulney, Walter Badham, Wm. Crouton, Peter Malmesey, Wm. Dalvorn, John Colynson, John Dyngley.

Pages of the Chamber :—Ric. Sicyl, Henry Perker, William West, Massy Villiard, Peter Champney, Wm. Wise, John Segewik, Thos. Garton.

Messengers :—Wm. Gentilman, Wm. Wynkfeld, Wm. Walker, Brian Smyth.

The Household. Counting house :—John Shirley, cofferer, and six others.

The Bakehouse :—Valentine Harrison, serjeant ; six others.

The Pantry :—Griffith Gwyn, serjeant ; thirteen others.

The Cellar :—Roger Mynors, serjeant ; fourteen others.

The Buttery :—Wm. Hogeson ; nine others.

The Pitcher house :—Thos. Orme ; six others.

The Spicery :—Nich. Middleton ; three others.

Confectionery :—Ric. Babham, serjeant ; three others.

Wafery :—Robt. Lee, Robt. Lister.

Chaundry :—John Ketilby, serjeant ; five others.

The Ewry :—Geo. Brocas, serjeant ; ten others.

The Laundry :—Thos. Noryce ; five others.

The Kitchen :—John Waleston, chief clerk ; 8 others. John Cace, master cook ; eleven others, with twelve children of the kitchen.

The Larder :—John Ricroft, serjeant ; ten others.

The Boiling house :—Wm. Stephyns ; two others.

The Accatry :—Wm. Honnyng, serjeant ; fifteen others.

The Poultry :—Stephen Coope ; six others.

The Scalding house :—Lewis Cousin ; four others.

The Scullery :—Wm. Ruttor, serjeant ; Jas. Harington, clerk ; ten others, with six children.

The Pastry :—Ric. Pittor, serjeant ; seven others and children.

The Hall :—John Stephens ; fifteen others.

Sewers :—John Perker ; three more.

Surveyors :—Sir Griffith Don, Thos. Ryder, John Fazakerley.

Porters at the Gate :—Edm. Knyvet, serjeant, Evan ap Rice, and four more.

1520.

Harbingers :—Thos. Mathewe ; four others.

The Almsmen :—John Smyth, under almoner ; four more. Dr. Bekinsal, almoner for the Queen ; two others.

" Cartakers " :—John Hamlet, Hugh Williams.

The Chapel :—Sir Roger Norton, subdean, Sir Wm. Tofte, Sir John Cole, Sir John Muldre, Sir Andrew Yong, Sir Thos. Hal, Sir Wm. Blakeden, Sir Ric. Elys, Robt. Fairefax, John Lloyd, John Sudborow, Wm. Cornysh, Robt. Penne, John Wever, John Fisher, Wm. Daubney, Thos. Farthing, Hen. Stevinson, Robt. Hawkins, Davy Burton, John Giles, Thos. Bury, John Tyl, Wm. Colman, Thos. Cheyny, Wm. Hogeskyn, Robt. Jones, Wm. Crane, Sir Robt. Cotes, gospeller, Sir John Whetwood, " pisteler," Wm. Rothewel, John Bunting, Nich. Horneclif, Wm. Lambc, Geoffrey Write.

The Stable :—The clerk of the stable, the surveyor, the serjeant " ferror," the serjeant of the carriage, the yeoman of the stirrup, the yeoman bitmaker, the yeoman saddler.

Farriers :—Thos. Wilson ; seven others.

" Ryers " :—Thos. Dale ; four others.

Grooms of the Hackneys :—Wm. à Wood ; three others.

Footmen :—Thos. Tristram, Andrew de Foyce, and four more ; seven henchmen ; John Pulteney.

The serjeant saddler, the broiderer, the goldwiredrawer, the yeoman stirrup maker, the " plewmoger," four furbushers, with Geo. Lovekyn, thirty-six armourers, Hayward the joiner.

ii. To attend upon the Queen.

Rym. xiii. 711.

The earl of Derby, bishops of Rochester, Hereford and Llandaff ; lords Mountjoy, Cobham and Morley ; duchess of Buckingham ; countesses of Stafford, Oxford (widow), Oxford (the younger), Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Devonshire and Derby. *Baronesses* :—Ladies Fitzwalter, Hastings, Boleyn, Montagu, Willoughby, Daubeney, Mountjoy, Cobham, Gray (lord John's wife), Elizabeth Gray, Anne Gray, Broke, Morley, Guilford (the elder), Scrope. *Knights' wives* :—Ladies Fitzwilliam, Guilford (the younger), Fetiplace, Vaux, Selenger, Parre (widow), Parre (wife), Rice, Compton, Darell, Finch, Hopton, Wingfield (Sir Anthony's wife), Tilney, Wingfield (Sir Richard's wife), Clere, Owen (the younger), Nevill (Sir John's wife), Boleyn (Sir Edward's wife). *Gentlewomen* :—Mistresses Carewe, Cheyny and Cary, Lord Fitzwarren's daughter, Anthony Poyntz's daughter, Mistress Appliard, Anne Wentworth (John Wentworth's wife), Mistresses Hagan, Cornwallis, Paris, Jerningham, Cooke, Katharine Mountoria (*sic*), Lawrence, Victoria (*sic*), and Darell (Sir Edward Darell's daughter). *Chamberers* :—Mistresses Kempe, Margaret and Margery. *Knights* :—Rob. Poyntz, Geo. Forster, Th. Fetiplace, John Lisle, Adrian Fortescue, Walter Stoner, Edw. Grevill, Simon Harcourt, John Hampden of the Hill, Geo. Selinger, John Kirkham, Miles Bushy, Marmaduke Constable, Edw. Darell, Ralph Chamberlain, John Shelton, Rob. Clere, Philip Calthrop, John Henyngham, Wm. Walgrave, Th. Tyrell, Roger Wentworth, Th. Trenchard, Th. Lynde, John Villers, John Asheton, Matthew Browne, John Mordaunt, Hen. Sacheverell, Hen. Willoughby, Ralph Verney (the younger), Wm. Rede, Rob. Jones, Master Paris of Cambridgeshire. *Chaplains* :—Masters Peter, Mallet, Christopher, Dent, Payne, Swane. *The Queen's Chamber* :—Ric. Dycons, secretary ; Doctor ———, physician ; John Verney, cupbearer ; Alexander Frognal, carver ; John Poyntz and Frances Philip, sewers. *Gentlemen ushers* :—Wm. Bulstrode, Roger Ratcliff, Geo. Fraunces, Rob. Haslrig. *Sewers* :—Wm. Tyrel, ——— Gourney, ——— Davers, Simon Mountford. *Gentlemen waiters* :—Th. Cardigan, Gervase Suttel, Geo. Sutton, Oliver Holland, Owen Holland, John Lawrence, Rob. Merbury, serjeant-at-arms ; Griffith Richard, clerk of the signet ; Master John, apothecary,

1520.

FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

Yeomen ushers:—John Madyson, John Glyn, Anth. Lowe, John Harrison, Wm. Mylles. *Yeomen of the Chamber*:—Rob. Hilton, and twenty others. *Grooms of the Chamber*:—John Eyton, and seven others. Hen. Cheney, groom of the leash. *Pages of the Chamber*:—John Wheler and three others. *Office of the Robes*:—Ellis Hilton, Ric. Justice, Ric. Woode. *Office of the Beds*:—Geo. Brighows, Ric. Alen, Ric. Awton. *Messenger of the Chamber*:—Ric. Dynes.
In Tuke's hand. Pp. 25.

705. FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.

R. O.

Warrant to——, commanding him to wait upon the King with —— “able and seemly persons, well and conveniently apparelled and horsed;” himself to appear as to his degree and honor belongeth, at the interview to be held between the kings of France and England in the marches of Calais in May next; which interview had been deferred from the previous year.
Draft, holograph, in Ruthal's hand; p. 1.

706. FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.

Calig. D. VII.

227.

B. M.

Commission to Sir Adrian Fortescue, appointing him, among others not named, to wait upon the Queen on the 1st day of May next coming, for transporting her across the sea to the interview.

Mutilated, p. 1. Add.: To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Adrian Fortescue, knight.

707. FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.

Titus, B. I.

127.

B. M.

“Juges deputed for the felde.”

In Tuke's hand, pp. 2. Endd.: “Juges deputed at the justs in the campe betwene Guysnes and Ardre in the tyme of metyng betwene the Kinges grace and the French King.”

29 March. **708.** CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Margaret of Savoy, being desirous that the meeting between himself and Henry should take place, sent to England William De Barri, the Emperor's secretary, who has returned to Spain with the treaties. Is sending him again to England on the same matters. Desires credence for him and the bp. of Elna. Compostella, 29 March 1520, 1 Imp., “aliorum vero omnium quinto.” *Signed*: “Yo el Rey.”

Lat., p. 1. Add. Endd.

29 March. **709.** CHARLES V.

R. O.

Rym. XIII.

714.

Patent appointing Wolsey bp. of Pace (Badajoz) within the next two months, and before the close of his interview with the king of England. The value of the bishopric is 5,000 ducats; in addition, the King grants him 2,000 ducats a year from the bishopric of Palentia. Compostella, *alias* St. Iago, 29 March 1520; first year of his Roman kingdom and empire, and fifth of his other possessions. *Signed*: “Yo el Rey.” *Sealed.*

Lat., p. 1. Endd.

710. LACHAULX to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. i. 78.

B. M.

Windsor, with whom he spoke yesterday, has been attacked by the gout, and has not been able to make arrangements for his journey to Plymouth. Begs he will give the necessary orders to Chr. le Massur. Is waiting for Wolsey's and the King's letters to the Emperor, and likewise

1520.

the King's to the Archduke. Requests to have the ciphers. The maitre d'hôtel of madame de Savoye requests the letter for his mistress. London. *Signed.*

P.S.—“ du a ce porteur la coppie de [la lettre] escripte à Poillot, la coppie [de l]a lettre que escripvis à [Ma]dame d'Angoulesme, [et] la mynute des instructions [de l'a]mbassadeur estant en France, et ay retenu le double qu'il vo du traitie (?)

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: A mons., mons. le Legat.

29 March. 711. LACHAULX to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

14°.

B. M.

“Mons. Christophe,” the bearer, has shown him great attention in conducting him hither. Will always be glad to serve Wolsey. Has received a letter from his master since he left London, bidding him act with the same zeal in Wolsey's affairs as in his own. Plemue (Plymouth), 29 March.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. Add.: “Mons. le Legat.”

30 March. 712. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

In behalf of Jehan de Sainte Marie, factor of Jehan de Bernoys, merchant of Languedoc, for despatch in an action for debt against him at London. Bloys, 30 March. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

30 March. 713. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

On the same subject. Bloys, 30 March. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mon cousin, mons. le Cardinal d'Yort.

March. 714. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

Calig. E. i. 8.

B. M.

Has received his letter by Messire Richard [Wingfield], notifying that he has requested leave “de fai[re] femme et enfans.” Henry has despatched to apprise him of certain things touching their alliance, which he considers to be inseparable. “. affectueusement que faire povons de llection que avez f fait dire et du desir que congnoissons que vous avez m[onstre] a laugmentacion et accroissement d'icelle.” . . . March. *Signature burnt off.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

715. ACCOUNT OF [THE STEWARD] OF ASHBY LEGER.

R. O.

* * * Receipts from Matthew Croftes, [C]haumberleyn, John Bentley, Lawrence Robinson, Rob. Prestgrave and others.

Received, for grain sold, 60*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*; 12 horses, 13*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.*; 10 oxen, 9*l.* 5*s.*; 9 cows, 112*s.*; sheep, 52*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; 4 calves, 7*s.* 10*d.*; 7 pigs and a sow, 18*s.* 7*d.*; rabbits, 33*s.* 4*d.*; 3 qrs. of ox flesh, 8*s.* 4*d.*; half a barrel of white herrings, 5*s.*; wool, 46*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*; 3 bull hides, 9*s.* 3*d.*; 4 ox hides, 12*s.* 3*d.*; 21 young ox hides, 42*s.* 2*d.*; 17 cow hides, 26*s.* 1*d.*; 32 calf hides, 6*s.* 7½*d.*; 9 sheep skins, 17*s.* 5*d.*; 5 lamb skins, 5*d.*. From the Lord and Lady, 61*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*

Payments.—To the duchy of Lancaster, rent for 5 years, 13*l.* 10*s.* To the churchwardens of Asshby, for the farm of the church meadow, 1 year, 3*s.* 4*d.*; rent of a pasture in Braunston, called Fullamwod, for 5 years, 63*s.* 4*d.* To the abbot of St. James's near Northampton, for a farm at Sillesworth, 5 years, 15*l.* To the abbot of Launde, for the farm of the rectory of Ashby, for 5 years, 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To the prior of Shene, a pension from the rectory of Asshby, 26*s.* 8*d.* a year. To the prior of Daventry, for the farm of the rectory of Welton, 12*l.* a year. To the vicar of Welton, for farm of the tithe belonging to the same, 30*s.* To the collectors of divers fifteenths, for the lordships of Assheby Legere, Sillesworth, Welton, Boy-

1520.

ACCOUNT OF [THE STEWARD] OF ASHEY LEGER—*cont.*

lond and Welicote, 11*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* For 4 tenths granted in convocation at St. Paul's, 6 Feb. 1511, 4*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* To the prior of Asshby, for half of the first of two tenths granted in the archdeaconry of Northampton by the last convocation, 10*s.* For 4 subsidies, 26*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

Fees to John Baldwyn, Wm. Saunders, Anne Lee.

Household expences:—Bread, beer, wine and spices, 71*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*; a bull, 7*s.*; 14 oxen, 8*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; a cow, 7*s.*; a bullock, 3*s.* 4*d.*; 3 boars, 23*s.* 1*d.*; 16 pigs, 40*s.* 3*d.*

The Lord and Lady's expenses during their pilgrimage to Walsingham, 24*l.* 1*s.* 11½*d.*

Wages of the Lord's servants, 53*l.* 2*s.* For a livery for him, —; for white and green cloth for jackets for his servants while attending on the King during his journey beyond sea, 20*l.* 11*s.*; kersey for their hosen, 6*l.* 5*s.*; hay, oats, farriery, a two-horse carriage (*biga*), &c., 23*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*; 11 horses, 15*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

For repairs, 62*l.* 16*s.*

To my Lord, by Ric. Cave, Mr. Brasebrige, Mr. Ludford, Oliver Ireland, Thos. Chaumber, chaplain, and others, 119*l.* 8*d.* To my Lady, by Mr. Sibill, Mr. Hasilwod, Hen. Benton and Mr. Haddon, 34*l.* 16*s.*

Rent of Wolston House for two years, at 4*s.* a year; for 3 cows, 11 Hen. VIII., 6*s.*; a cart of firewood (*carbonum silvestrium*), 6*s.*

Pp. 6; *commencement apparently wanting.*

716.

GRANTS IN MARCH 1520.

March.

GRANTS.

3. Rob. Bronwyn, of Hadley, Suff., cloth-maker. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecchie, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 2 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 3 March.—P.S.

7. Alard Smythe, of Calais, brewer. Denization, being a native of Flanders. *Del.* Westm., 7 March 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 27.

12. Geo. Sutton, gentleman waiter to the Queen. Grant of the corrody of the monastery of Croyland, surrendered by John Leigh. Greenwich, 7 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 12 March.—P.S.

12. Sir Edward Belknapp. Annuity of 100*l.* out of the prisage of wines. Also donation of 100*l.* as a mark of the King's regard, to be allowed in Belknapp's account as chief butler of England. *Del.* Westm., 12 March 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 27.

14. George Pokley, chaplain. Presentation to the parish of Alnescote, Linc. dioc., vice Master Wm. Barowe, LL.B. Westm., 14 March.—*Pat.* 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 28.

17. Henry Parker. To be keeper of the woods of Thornewoodes, in the south bailiwick of Shirwod Forest, Notts., vice Symeon Digby, with 4*d.* a day. Greenwich, 13 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 17 March.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 27.

20. James Worseley, yeoman of the Wardrobe. To be customer and collector of the custom of 8*d.* on each sack of wool, and 4*d.* on every hundred fleeces, in the town of Calais, with the same fees as enjoyed in the said office by John Sharpe, deceased,

or Ric. Smyth, from 7 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII., since which time he has discharged the duties at his own expense; on surrender of patent 7 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. on account of its invalidity. *Del.* Westm., 20 March 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 28.

26. Wm. Knottesford, of Lutterworth, Linc. Pardon for the murder of Thomas Asshburne, of Gilmoretton. Greenwich, 21 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 26 March.—P.S.

27. Rees Ap Glin Llewellyn Ap Muryk. Lease of the town and castle called "Foreste Richard," Chester, and the King's demesne lands in Abredow, parcel of the lordship of Elvell, at the annual rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* for the forest, and 13*s.* 4*d.* for the lands. *Del.* Westm., 27 March 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 28.

28. Ric. Tempest. Annuity of 50 marks, payable at the receipt of the Exchequer. *Del.* Westm., 28 March 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

28. Wm. Hoggesson, yeoman of the butlery. To be one of the foresters of Galtresse, York, vice John Hanley, deceased, with 4*d.* a day out of the lordship of Sherephoton. Also a pardon for holding the said office since 30 Jan. 1 Hen. VIII. by an invalid patent. Greenwich, 3 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 28 March.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 28.

30. John Wetwode, minister of the chapel royal. To have the pension which the next elected prior of Marten, Surrey, is bound to give to a clerk at the King's nomination until he be promoted to a competent benefice. Eltham, 29 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 30 March.—P.S.

1520.

717. INSTRUCTIONS [by WOLSEY] to [SIR RIC. WINGFIELD].

[Some lines lost.]

Calig. D. vii.
230.

B. M.

..... "unto the French king on the said
 s letters, the King's said ambassador" (*corrected from*
 "said Sir Richard Wingfield,") "may say that since the sending
 letters unto the same French king," declaring the Cardinal's
 determination for the interview to be had next summer, the Cardinal has
 drawn up certain articles by way of treaty, appointing the place and man-
 ner of the meeting, in accordance with the French king's instructions, with
 some additions for the honor and surety of both princes and their trains.
 He sends them under his hand and seal to be delivered to the French king
 by Wingfield, who shall ask for ratification. Although May was appointed
 for the interview, he shall ask for a delay, considering the difficulty of pro-
 viding transports and armor and the scarcity of forage in that
 month.

*Draft in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, p. 1.***718. PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS for the INTERVIEW.**Calig. D. vii.
228.

B. M.

1. The two princes shall meet on the x . . . July next on neutral
 ground, between Boulogne and Calais, to be fixed by the Grand Cham-
 berlain.

2. To avoid confusion on the breaking up of the interview, they shall
 return to their lodgings, and not to Calais. The French king may then visit
 the queen of England, and the king of England the queen of France.

3. With regard to the number of attendants, Francis agrees to the
 arrangements made by England.

4. Touching the dresses, princes of the blood and other nobles of their
 house, to the number of 40 on each side, and the "dames et
 damoyelles" shall be dressed as they please, and likewise
 gentlemen, cloth of gold and silver satin, damask,
 brocade, and velvets.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

2 April.

719. HENRY VIII. to CHARLES V.Vesp. F. 1. 72.
B. M.

Credential for Thos. Spinely, appointed resident in the imperial
 Court on the recal of [Tunstal], master of the Rolls. Greenwich, 2 April
 1520. *Not signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

4 April.

720. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Nothing has occurred since he wrote last on the 14th March,
 except that the new Spanish ambassador will be present at these Easter
 festivities with great pomp, by whose coming it is hoped concord will be
 established between the Pope and the Emperor. The French are con-
 tinually asserting that an interview between Francis and Henry has been
 fully concluded, which is thought very much of; and though the Pope is
 satisfied that nothing will be done prejudicial to the Holy See, he is not
 pleased at never having been informed of it, seeing that since August last,
 when Campeggio left England, till now, he has only received one letter
 from thence, and not even a message through Worcester. Has pleaded, in
 excuse, Wolsey's manifold engagements, which left him no leisure to write
 except upon matters of great moment; to which the Pope replied, "Tell
 me, on your faith, what thing could take place of greater moment than the

1520.

BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY—*cont.*

conclusion of this interview?" He added that it was the custom of other princes, even when nothing of importance occurred, to write at least once a month; and, however occupied Wolsey might be, he might have commissioned Silvester Darius to write to Worcester. There have been disturbances in the States of the Church, which the Pope has punished. Has sent to Wolsey on two occasions six bonnets (*birreta*), three for winter and three for summer.

While writing was sent for by the Pope, and again asked what could be the cause that Wolsey had sent him no word of this interview? *De quo colloquio Galli valde gloriantur, innuentes in maximum eorum favorem cessurum esse; sed sua Sanctitas mihi ait ex optimo loco sibi significari, (cujus rei cum quoquam præterquam cum vestra reverendissima dominatione ne verbum quidem facerem arcissime precepit,) Cæsaream majestatem in Angliam descensuram, ut serenissimum Regem nostrum conveniat, etiam si nullam ob aliam rem esset quam ut colloquium istud cum rege Gallorum disturberet, qui Galli non parum verentur hoc imperatoris consilium. Pontifex autem dicit summopere cupere Imperatorem in hoc proposito permanere idque exequi; ingenti enim Regiæ majestati honori et gloriæ esset. Sua item Sanctitas mihi affirmavit se nuncium Calisiam ad serenissimum Regem nostrum, si modo cis mare venerit, mittere omnino decrevisse, quod infra dies octo futurum cogitat; quamvis nondum hominem elegerit, alterum itidem in Flandriam, qui illic Imperatorem expectet, isque erit dominus Marinus Caracciolus qui in Alemania imperatorie electioni interfuit, vir quidem et probitate et sufficientia plenus; aliu[m] quoque in Galliam, qui vocatur dominus Joanne[s] Rucelaius, suæ sanctitatis consobrinus, vir non minoris probitatis quam doctrinæ.*

Item, *Pontifex mihi dixit ducem Albanie ex Gallia profectum esse huc venturum, qui per aliquot menses laboravit antequam a rege Gallorum veniam abeundi exoraret, quam tandem obtinuit sub excusatione huc veniendi, ut res dotis affinis suæ defunctæ, olim ducis Laurentii nepotis pontificis conjugis, componeret; sed in rei veritate Pontifex asserit præfatum ducem huc venire ob malam satisfactionem quam ex prædicto Rege reportat, quum dicat se ab eo nullum favorem rebus Scotis habere sicut ei promiserit.* Rome, 4 April 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 3, partly cipher. Add. Endd.

4 April.

721.

[SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.

107.

B. M.

Wrote last on Tuesday; visited the King's mother; coming there, found in her utter chamber the ambassadors of Spain and Venice. Spain had the first audience; then Wingfield. She told him "that, according to the King's promise, they had kept their day of arriving to Bloyse, where they would make but short sejourne after the feast." On Wednesday or Thursday they would not fail to be in Paris. She had told the same to Don Provoste, and also that they "meddled with a prince of faith and promise." She remarked to Wingfield that, after they had withdrawn the duke of Albany out of Scotland, they had found the value of England's friendship. Wingfield said he considered this as the first act of their sincerity, and hoped this friendship would continue. She said she hoped the same, and thought things could not have come in so good a train unless God had put his hand thereto, and that when the two princes met they would conclude upon some act which should be to the weal of Christendom and their perpetual loving. Wingfield said many feared the meeting "She demanded me of the Queen's grace, and whether I thou[ght her to] have any great devotion to this assembly; whereunto I answer[ed I

1520.

knew] well that there could not be a more vertuous or wise princess onywhere than the Queen my mistress was, having none oth[er joy or] comfort in this world but to do and follow all that she may [think] to stand with the King's pleasure; and considered by her as well hyt [pleased him] to be entirely affectioned to the said assembly, as also the allia[nce and] marriage to be passed and concluded between the Princess and [the] Dauphin," he thought none could be more desirous of it than she. On her asking whether the Queen was with child, he told her he had no such knowledge, but trusted God would "send her fruit in time convenient." She hoped so too, and when the King had a son or two, they and the Dauphin would be brethren; and "considering as well the en which was engendered between the two princes, as also that [it had] pleased God to send them one other son, and like to have, by God[s] grace], plenty of others; but that the King here could be right we[ll content] to send over the Dolphyn into England, after he shall have a fe[w more] years, to be there nourished and brought up after such ma[nner] as should stand best with the King's highness' pleasure." She wished to show him the [Dauphin], but the child was asleep. Blois, 4 April. *Signature burnt off.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

722. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.

190.

B. M.

"[The French] King for his part, thinking that the earl of [Worcester], the King's chamberlain, may be appointed, as he was the last the King's highness' part for the purpose afore rehearsed, sendy[th] Seignour Chastillon, one of the four maresshaulx of France, the order." If the Chamberlain cannot come, Francis wishes some one of equal rank to be sent,—to meet near Calais on the 10th April. Chatillon starts in three days. Wingfield had urged, for various reasons, to have the meeting deferred till the 14th or 15th June. The King would have been contented for the "parfitting" of this affair, and the better proclamation of it, but the time of the Queen's lying in prevents it. On the King's urging the jousts to be at Ardre, Wingfield stated that as his master must pass the sea it was fitting "that he should meet him with[in his own] territory."

"And as concerning the King's colours, he said if there were any la[dies in] England which would have sent him the said colours he w[ould not] have refused them; but he trusted not to be so far out of the g[race of] the ladies but he should find one in France which would bestow colors upon him; whereof he would make such number of a as is contained in his writing to your grace; and his said he hath expressed in the same with the stuff and sort th[e same] shall be made of."

Mutilated, pp. 2.

7 April.

723. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.

191.

B. M.

Received Wolsey's of the 1st on . . . sday, with letters for the King and the Admiral. The King has appointed to be with his council, and will then give the writer an interview. Finding from Wolsey's letter that the matter required haste, about 5 o'clock he called on the Admiral,—found there the Chancellor, the Admiral and others,—delivered Wolsey's letter to the Admiral, who marvelled that he should have passed the treaty, and set out the day for a meeting, knowing it was not possible to prolong the time if the Queen was to be there. Wingfield urged the difficulty of making preparations, and begged the Admiral to intercede for the prolou-

1520.

SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

gation. He replied, "that the King his master should find the case very strange, which might give him cause to imagine many things." He then proposed they should visit my Lady, and get her to intercede. They found the King there. After the King returned from "the chappe[ll of] Tenebres," "the Admiral brou[ght me into] the closet where the King was with the Queen, and my said by the way showed me that he had broken the ma[ttre unto my] Lady apart. And also her in the same; and at my coming to the King, and after he had demanded me wyd[der] or no, he opened it, and the Admiral held him the candle, b[ut finding] the same to be somewhat long, as also that it was late, being . . . 8 of the clock, folded it up, and bade me be with him in [the morning] for to disclose him my credence."

On his departure urged my Lady to use her endeavors to prolong the time, considering the difficulty of the preparation and Wolsey's indisposition. She expressed her fears of being unable to prevail, but would do her best to obtain some part of his grace's desire. Next day the Admiral told him that they could not prevail, and that the King had debated every proposition contained in Wolsey's letter, and considered them unreasonable. Encloses a memorial of them as far as he can remember. Expressed his regret that the proposals in the letter had not been well taken, as if some deceit had been intended. Feared, when the knowledge of it came to England, it would be resented as reflecting on his master's sincerity. On presenting his credence to the King, Wingfield assured him that no variation was intended, and that his master would think such a suspicion very strange. After a patient hearing the King told him that he was continually hearing reports that the interview was not seriously intended;—"and as [in] part ye have seen," he said, "that incontinent after your arriving and r[epor]t made by you for my return fro the parties of Conyacke and Angoles[me], I have left all mine affairs in the said parts, and am comyn to thys [town], where I will not sojourn past three or four days after Easter, p[ur]posing] to follow the desire which ye made me upon your master's behalf a[nd in] the name of mons. le cardinall de York, trusting that your m[aster], considering the premises, and that I can no further delay the ty[me], will keep the term limited in the treaty passed between us f[or the] interview." All the concession he would make was that, if Henry would be at Calais on 4th June, he would be at Boleyn, and would prolong the assembly for eight or ten days, or as long as the Queen's condition would allow. The Admiral sent for him in the afternoon, and said that the King his master had heard that a new ambassador was to be sent to England from lady Margaret, the Seigneur de la Roche, "and [that the Seigneur de Berghes was to] have gone, but was not in health;" this, he knew, was on purpose to prevent the meeting. Blois, 7 April.

P.S. (in Wingfield's own hand).—This is the seventh letter he has sent to Wolsey. Robert Fowler is at Calais. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 5.

7 April.

724.

[SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD] to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.

194.

B. M.

" con and enclosed the Ad[miral] sent for me to dinner, and incontinently after dinner the ambassador of Venice had a long communication with him." Meantime Robertet told him that they had received intelligence from Flanders that the Flemish envoy had received instructions to prevent the impending interview, and offer the King a new alliance. Wingfield threw discredit on it. The council here

1520.

is not without doubt of the interview. Thinks it would be wise for Wolsey to send a letter to the King or the Admiral.

Hol., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal. Date destroyed, but marked in the margin, in modern hand, "P.S. Ap. 7."

725. FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

Calig. D. vii.
199.

B. M.

A memorial signed by Sir Richard Wingfield, headed * * *
" of certain considerations allegy[d by the] French king upon the continue of your grace's letters declared unto me, as well by the said King as by the Admiral."

(1.) That he marvelled at the wish to have the interview delayed, considering that out of regard to the arrangements made, and to avoid the appearance of any dealings with the King Catholic, he had left his affairs in Angomoyse and the confines there at Bordelloyse and Bayonne. If this change be made, the residue of the arrangement is of no force.

(2.) It was left to your option whether the ladies should be present or not, and if determined in the affirmative it should be May or September, and his grace has chosen May.

(3.) That if his commissioners had stated they could not make the preparation, he would have cashiered them, and sent those that could.

(4.) That as for victuals he would provide them himself [for] 40,000 persons, if need were.

(5.) That the time when the Queen may be present has been carefully calculated, and cannot be put off for a month, as your grace suggests.

(6.) As to the honor of her being delivered upon the confines, and the king and queen of England being present to christen the child, it would not be commodious for them to tarry all that time.

(7.) All these things considered, hopes that the Cardinal will not suffer any hindrance, and will remember that whenever Francis wished any change to be made, he was always met by the answer that it was contrary to the treaty. *Signed.*

Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

Mutilated, pp. 3.

7 April.

726. FRANCIS I. to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.
195.

B. M.

Cannot comply with his wish to prorogue the meeting till the end of June. It has been fixed already by the Cardinal,—the time is notorious,—the Queen's state of health will not allow of delay. Hopes the King his brother will be with all his company at Calais on the 1st or 4th of June next at latest, as he will be at Boleyn. Has explained it amply to Sir Richard W[ingfield], and also to Marigny. 7 April. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

7 April.

727. [BONNIVET to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.
196.

B. M.

Received his letter, dated Westminster, 31 March. The meeting cannot be prorogued, in consequence of the Queen. Has told Wingfield of certain devices made to hinder the interview, who will inform him of the same. 7 April.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

7 April.

728. DE LA SAUCH to CHIEVRES.

Mon. Habs.
135.

Has already told him what Wolsey had said, that after the two sovereigns had met they might conclude for another interview beyond the sea after the meeting with France, at which Henry would be glad that

1520.

DE LA SAUCH to CHIEVRES—*cont.*

Madame should be present, in the hope that they might all persuade her to go to Spain, which would be very desirable, and keep all Charles's dominions in peace, and so prevent the diminution of Chievres' influence when the Emperor went to Germany. Said he thought whenever Chievres wanted rest, which might be after the King was crowned at Aix, he would not accept any office, and that if he wished to continue at his post he would not like to be away from the Emperor, or supplant Madame, whom Charles would not wish to remove. Wolsey said, No; but affairs required that she should go to Spain and change places with Chievres. "Certes, Monsieur," I replied; "if she went she would be welcome, but the King would not send her against her will; and as for Chievres I am certain he will not like any other charge when he has retired from his present one." He answered in Latin: "Ah! Master Secretary, if you think that, I see well you do not perfectly understand the nature of men in authority." He supposes every one is like himself, for he would be very sorry, I think, to be stripped of the authority which he holds. Moreover, I wonder at his folly in thinking that if my master wished that Madame should go she would do so more readily at their persuasion than his.

Excuses himself for telling Chievres what he thinks touching the interview; but these things must be considered: 1. The time when Charles shall arrive, and how long he can stay in England before Henry leaves for France. 2. Whether the time they can be together will be long enough to discuss all matters touching their common weal. 3. Whether it would be better to conclude everything while they are together, before the French interview, or to defer everything until the latter has taken place, and then conclude for a second interview beyond sea, proposing nothing for the present except making good cheer. The fear might be, if no serious business were discussed, whether this course would not create suspicion and cause them to treat with France to our prejudice, as they would then be free to do. 4. What articles it would be safe to propose to prevent England making profit out of them with France at the approaching interview. It must be well considered beforehand what points ought to be communicated by our master to the king of England to make a show of confidence, without touching on the principal points in dispute between the Emperor and France, but on such only as will make them open their mouths and show how the land lies. They will then probably speak of themselves of the matters of which they made overtures to us when Helna came over with La Sauch and found Hesdin; on which, as you know, I went to the King and you: in which case it will be necessary to have an answer ready, that they may not suspect any distrust in us. Proposes to thank them for their overtures, and say that as they will have understood from Charles his wishes on several subjects, and as they wish to make further overtures, it would be well to have a meeting, that the two might treat freely of everything; but as they might not quite agree on all points, they shall promise each other upon oath to keep everything secret. This will prevent their treating with France, it being resolved that a second interview should take place beyond sea, when more might be got out of them. The fame of these two interviews would be much to the credit of Charles, cause people to think that he had England at his beck, and quite efface the impression made by the French interview.

Moreover, two objects might be effected by the first interview: First, the breaking off of the French interview, though that would be very difficult, seeing how much Wolsey is set upon it, notwithstanding that it is very unpopular with all the nobility and people of England; or, secondly, they might cause it to grow cold, that little love should come of it. Thinks, therefore, that an interview between Charles and Henry is very necessary, provided it can be held before the interview with France; and if that cannot

1520.

be, Charles has agreed it shall take place after his arrival in Flanders, to secure his passage. He can afterwards break it off if he dislikes it. If there be any fear that they cannot come to an agreement before parting, Charles's departure might be deferred until the king of England has crossed; for, to pass without speaking to him, would be to lose everything, and make him entirely devoted to France, which would be very awkward, considering that they do not know what terms they are on with the Pope, and they would also be abandoned by the Swiss and Venetians. It would be well also to think what answer should be made if Wolsey proposes a meeting of all three; also whether it would not be well to inform the English of the matters in dispute with France, so that they might give a right answer if Francis touched upon them at their meeting; also to consider how Wolsey might be won, for he leans decidedly to the opposite party. When we deal with men (*quant nous avons affaire des gens*) we give good words, and promise wonders; but, having attained our object, there is an end of it. The French do not act in this way; for they talk and give at the same time, and make large promises besides. If any preferment fall vacant before the Emperor's coming, it should be given to Wolsey, but it should not be less than 5,000 or 6,000 ducats a year, or it will not be esteemed. If there be nothing, Charles should make letters patent promising to give him the first vacant benefice of that value. Defers a statement of some other things which should be given them. "If you think they will labor for us, 'et pour nos beaux yeux,' and turn a deaf ear to others, certes, Monsieur, you will find yourself much mistaken." Advises him to have his wits about him. If they can agree with the master they need not mind the servants; but everything must be well determined beforehand, for the time of the meeting may chance to be too short to settle everything. Understands that the bishop of Elna has made some promise to Wolsey on the part of Charles, to be fulfilled in reversion, after he has kept the promises he has made to other great personages who have done him great services. Imagine how Wolsey values it! He did not say a word in reply, any more than if he had been dumb. This is not the way to use such personages. It would have been much better had the Bishop held his tongue. They think we take them "pour beste," and expect them to do what we want, on a promise to be kept ten years hence. That is the old song, "Faites moy ung chandean quant je suis mort; ou, sy je puis vivre longement assez, je seray des enfans de crocque meure, j'en auray, s'il en demeure."

Chievres must also consider what instructions are to be given to Helna when he goes with the king of England to the French interview, and how he shall conduct himself with the Domprévot, for he will need to have his eyes open. They must turn their own arts against the French, and not spare promises, or Francis will make them drink his *aurum potabile*, and they will tipple *à la bouteille*, while our ambassadors look on with folded arms, and understand nothing till they get the cudgel over the ears; and then, no matter what it costs, things will have to be set right again. If this had been looked to three or four months ago, the French interview would never have been concluded, while our own would have been arranged more to our honor, and the Pope would have been more tractable. If Wolsey be not gained, their affairs will go no better.

Wolsey had given them hopes that the interview with France should have been deferred till the end of June if Charles could have come before the middle of that month; but the French king has refused, as we have seen by letters from the French admiral to the Cardinal, on the ground of the Queen being with child. Since that answer arrived they have ordered Buckingham and others to make ready with all diligence. They have answered that they cannot be ready on so short a notice, but they require three months to prepare, as the time was fixed without consulting them. Another obstacle has occurred from the workmen, whom the king

1520.

DE LA SAUCH to CHIEVRES—*cont.*

of England sent over to prepare his lodging at Calais, and especially at Guisnes. They have sent word that it is impossible to complete the preparations by the end of May; in consequence of which the Cardinal has written again to the French admiral, making such representations that he is sure they will not refuse a little longer delay. As soon as he hears that the answer has come, will inform Chievres of it, in order that if Charles cannot come before the middle of May, he may consider what is to be done

her council. Another obstacle. Some days ago the Queen assembled King arrived. Another obstacle. Some days ago the Queen assembled she had called them, but this interview, and while she was holding it the what was going on, the Queen told him why sentations, and shown such reason. They said that she had made such reprehav supposed she would have dared against the voyage, as one would not account she is held in greater esteem by the even to imagine. On this she was. Has not been able to find out, however, and his council than ever made to her. There is no doubt that the voyage what answer the King Queen and all the nobles, though some may already against the will of the The whole people say they are leaving their old friends drunk of the bottle. and that there is no help for it unless the Emperor or their old enemies, they hope the interview will be broken off. So you may see, in which case have only Wolsey to gain, which will now be very difficult; sure that you besides the great gifts he has had from France, they have per, no doubt, we might have done much better, to make him Pope. I see quised, what will be very glad if the Emperor do not come, for whenever we well he opposed his opinion he has given us our *congé*, saying, "Bien! ne we have point; allez vous en;" or something very much like it. Wishes : faites in the Emperor's council to advise him. were

La Roche and the Audiencer arrived on Tuesday. Hopes before nesday or Thursday next everything will be arranged, and that Charles Ved- be informed of it by the end of the month, so as to leave, if the wind will favorable, at the beginning of May. If his colleagues had come along with him, they would have gained three weeks or a month. The mistake has been in waiting for De Berghes, also in sending ample powers to conclude the interview and confirm past treaties, which has made the English wish to treat with them about the intercourse, while in fact their power is limited. La Roche and the Audiencer have been very well received, especially by the King. They made the recommendations of De Berghes, informing the King of his illness, who expressed regret to hear it, knowing him to be a good servant of Charles. The bishop of Elna then made the recommendations of Chievres; on which the King answered, "God shield him. He is one that I love well, both for his virtues and prudence, and for the good service he has done to the King my good brother and nephew, though it is true that in the past his wisdom was not known to me, and I did not hold him in great favor; but since I have known the ends at which he is aiming, I love and esteem him with all my heart." Chievres is under great obligations to Elna, both for his daily services to the Emperor, and for his good will to himself. Regrets that he has let two great vacancies slip without rewarding him. Chievres' cousin, the Marquis, is here, who writes to him for some favor. Thinks he should be gratified, as he is high in favor with the King his master. As the king of England has arranged for a tourney beyond the sea, recommends that Charles should send him some fine horses. He has a large number of fine ones, so they should be specially good. Hochstrate told him, before he left Malines, that he should like to meet the Emperor before his landing. Are about to conclude for the interview at Sandwich, where he might be present. London, Easter eve, 7 April.

Fr.

1520.

7 April. 729. The IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS to MARGARET OF SAVOY.Mon. Habs.
133.

Acknowledge the receipt of certain letters with a packet for Captain Jeronimo, who is not yet come. Have informed the King and Cardinal of the intention of the French to raise a number of Swiss foot and lanz-knechts, and lead them against Navarre. They will not believe it. Margaret may know already, by letters which Helna has written to the King by her, the answer they have made about the writing delivered by the ambassador of France to Charles; viz., that if the French invade Charles, England would immediately assist him, as he would in like manner assist France if Charles invaded it. Have not thought right to say anything about the prosperity of the king of Denmark. Are in as great perplexity as Margaret about the change made by the English in the place they had chosen for the interview; and also because they have [not]* yet received instructions from Charles, whether, notwithstanding the conclusion between France and England for their interview, he will still adhere to his resolution to have an interview with Henry, and will agree to the change of place, seeing there is now no means of breaking off that of France. The Bishop has written so fully to the King that he hoped in a few days to be informed of his resolution, especially whether he will have an interview after that of France, in case he cannot before. Think the place much more convenient than any other; and, considering that Charles has determined to pass by England, have agreed that the interview shall take place, and have managed the best way they could, awaiting the arrival of their colleagues, whose long delay has been a source of great difficulties. Even if Charles decline to hold any interview beyond sea after that of France, if he cannot come in time to have it here, it appears very advisable to settle that beyond sea. Did not mean to make her responsible for the delay of their colleagues, but she must make allowance for the difficulty it causes. Have not known what to write to Charles for three weeks, and it will be twelve or fourteen days before the letters reach him, which they send by Margaret, and which are not even yet affirmative, so that it will be 24 days at least before they have an answer. London, 7 April. *Signed.*

*Fr.***7 April. 730. DE LALAING to WOLSEY.**Galba, B. vi.
157.
B. M.

My Lady sends Wm. de Barres to Wolsey. Has to remain here, as formerly, in the Emperor's absence, for the protection of the country, to which he hopes Wolsey will give speedy assistance (*remede*). De Barres on his return brought Wolsey's recommendations, for which he thanks him. Brussels, Easter eve. *Signed.*

*Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le legat d'Angleterre.***8 April. 731. TREATY OF INTERCOURSE.**Galba, B. v.
381.
B. M.

Commission of Henry VIII. to Ruthal bishop of Durham, Tunstal, Pace and More to conclude with the bishop of Helna and others a treaty of intercourse with the Emperor. Greenwich, 8 April 11 Hen. VIII.

Draft, pp. 2, mutilated.

Rym. XIII.
714. 2. Treaty referred to above. London, 11 April 1520.
French Roll 11 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

R. O. 3. Imperial counterpart of the same. London, 11 April 1520. *Signed by the four imperial commissioners. Three seals remaining. Lat., on vellum.*

* A negative appears to be accidentally omitted, or else "m'a encoires mandé" is a misreading of "n'a encoires."

1520.

8 April. **732.** MEETING of HENRY VIII. and the EMPEROR.

S. B. Commission to the same parties to arrange a meeting between Henry VIII. and Charles V. Greenwich, 8 April 11 Hen. VIII.

Vesp. C. i. 2. Contemporary copy.
300. Pp. 4.

B. M.

8 April. **733.** BONNIVET to WOLSEY.Calig. D. vii.
197.

B. M.

The King objects to the prorogation, because he has heard from various quarters that the object of the Flemish ambassadors being despatched to England is to delay (*dissimuler*) the interview for the whole month of June, or break it off entirely, contrary to the arrangements made. Begs he will pay no heed to the practices of the Catholic King, and not allow any rupture or delay. Refers him for further information to Wingfield. Blois, 8 April. *Signature burnt*.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.: [A] Mons., Mons. le [car]dinal d'Yort, legat et [cha]ncellier en Angleterre.

9 April. **734.** SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].Calig. D. vii.
201.

B. M.

Wrote his last on Easter eve. "About 7 of the clock the Admiral and Robert Tette passed forby my lodging, and descend at one church rasibus* to the same, whither the said Admiral desired me by one of his servants to come to him; and at myne arriving he showed me that they were comyn to the said place for two good purposes, the one being the good day for to win the pardons of visiting the church, the second to show me such intelligences as were comyn to his master." The Flemish ambassador has no other purpose except to break the interview or conclude an earlier meeting between his master and the king of England, which they could not believe; "which, if otherwise should be, though he could scanty believe it, 15 days after it should be done he knew well his master would not be conveyed to a second view." Desires that the ambassador who comes to arrange the passage of Charles to England may be put off. Wingfield wished to know what they would have his master do in case that King were constrained to land in England before the time of the interview. They answered that it should be known whether it was involuntary or not; that when similar overtures were made to them, to obviate all suspicions they had refused to listen to them; and that if he wished an interview with England it ought to be at a later period. The Pope's ambassador told him yesterday that the Swiss are "f appointment with the French king, and have sent to the said King a [letter under their] seals, promising the same, and desiring the seigneur De la Gwysche to be s[ent to] them for the perfitting thereof." Don John Mantuell (Manuel), now ambassador at Rome for the King Catholic, was the first who advertised the Pope of it. Blois, 9 April. *Signed*.

Mutilated, pp. 2.

735. WOLSEY to SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD.Strype's Mem.
i. 26.

Remonstrating with the Admiral† for giving credence to untrue bruits, tending to set divisions between the kings of France and England. It would be strange and ungrateful dealing if a prince should be restrained from treating with the ambassadors of his ancient friends and confederates. "And to be plain unto you, if the king of Castile should offer to descend at

* Close to, Fr.

† Strype calls him the admiral of England, "then at Calais." I think it is clear that he has mistaken him for Bonnivet, admiral of France.

1520.

Sandwich, or about those parts, as he hath done, to see and visit the King and the Queen, his uncle and aunt, the King being in journeying toward the sea and next thereunto, it were too marvellous ingratitude to refuse the same; for by such dealing the King might well judge and think that the King our master neither esteemed, loved, nor favored him." The King intends entirely to accomplish all conventions between himself and France. "And if the French king should refuse the second meeting, for that the King our master hath entertained his ancient friend, by giving to him comfortable answer, it may be counted that he more mindeth to dissolve the said ancient amity than to continue or consolidate the same."

April. 736. [WOLSEY to BONNIVET.]

Calig. D. vii.
203.

B. M.

In answer to his letter of the 8th April, complaining of reports that England was not sincere in desiring the interview, and that ambassadors had been sent from Flanders to prevent it, explains the reason which induced Henry to consent to an interview with the Emperor; that the only object of desiring delay was for better preparation, and in consequence of his maladies; which, if they so "fervently continue" as at present, will prevent his travelling, "which should be to my great regret [and in]ward pensiveness." The King will not fail to be at Guisnes on the 31st May.

Draft, corrected by Ruthal; mutilated, pp. 12, widely written.

10 April. 737. [SIR NICHOLAS VAUX to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.
202.

B. M.

* * * * * " bearing date the last day of March." They are destitute of all provisions that should have been made by William Lilgrave. Want timber and sawyers. The Queen's and "both your lodging and the French queen dowager's" are advanced. The banqueting house and the chapel are respited for the present. Richard Gibson, "who should cover the roses with seared canvas, is not yet comen, and it is high time his works were in hand, for it must be painted on the outside, and after curiously garnished under with knots and batons gilt and other devices; which business is committed to John Rastell, Clement Urmeston and others." Begs that he will send to them "Mr. Maynn, who dwelleth with the bishop of Excester, and Maistre Barkleye the Blacke monke and poete, to devise hystoires and convenient raisons to florisshe the buildings and banquet house withal." They desire Garter may trick a book of the arms required. The French king is making little preparation at Andre. 10 April. *Signature burnt.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

10 April. 738. MEETING of HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I.

S. B.

Commission to Charles earl of Worcester, lord of Herbert and Gower, to treat with the commissioners of Francis I. according to the treaty for the interview by Wolsey, on 12th March last. Greenwich, 10 April 11 Hen. VIII.

11 April. 739. TREATY OF COMMERCE between HEN. VIII. and CHARLES V.

Galba, B. vi.
144.

B. M.

Rym. xiii. 714.

1. Controversy concerning the perpetuity and force of the treaty of 1506 shall remain undecided until the conclusion of the present treaty.

2. The subjects of each Prince to have liberty of commercial intercourse, as by treaty 24 Feb. 1496.

3. The English merchants trading to Antwerp not to pay toll of Zealand.

4. Merchants from Brabant, Flanders, &c. trading to England to pay customs, as by treaty 24 Feb. 1495[-6].

5. All claims originating in former tolls to be annulled by the present treaty.

1520.

TREATY OF COMMERCE between HEN. VIII. and CHARLES V.—*cont.*

6. Proceedings against German and English merchants in Brabant, Flanders, &c. to be suspended, and *vice versa*.

7. English merchants not to make statutes to the prejudice of the subjects of the Emperor.

8. The present treaty to continue five years from 24 Jan. [1521] next.

9. To be confirmed within two months.

London, 11 April 1520.

Lat.

Fr. 11 *Hen. VIII. m. 2.*

R. O.

2. Notarial attestation by Robert Toney, LL.B., canon of York, and William Burbank, canon of the same, that on 12 April 1520, in the chapel at Greenwich, the treaty of intercourse between Henry VIII. and the Emperor was solemnly sworn and subscribed by Thomas bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstal, master of the Rolls, Richard Pace, chief secretary, and Thomas More, councillor, on the one side, and Bernard de Mesa, bishop of Helna, Gerard de Pleine, Philip Haneton, and John de Salice (Sauch) on the other; in the presence of Wolsey, Thomas earl of Surrey, admiral of England; Thomas Lovell, Edward Ponynge and Henry Marney, knights; Richard Weston, William Fitzwilliam, Richard Gernyngham and John Daunce.

Lat., on vellum.

R. O.

3. Draft of § 2. *Pp.* 10.

R. O.

4. Modern copy of the articles of the above treaty, confirmed. 15 April 1520.

11 April. 740. CHARLES V. and HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Treaty between Bernard de Mesa, ambassador in England, Gerard de Pleine, Philip Haneton and John de Salice (de la Sauch) on the part of Charles, and Thomas bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall, master of the Rolls, Richard Pace, chief secretary, and Thomas More, for the meeting of the two sovereigns.

1. Charles agrees, unless prevented by weather or other reasonable hindrance, to be at Sandwich by the 15th of May, where Henry will meet him. As Sandwich is not a fit place to entertain him, he will remain there but one night, and on the following day the two Kings will visit the relics of St. Thomas at Canterbury, where this year is the remission of the jubilee. The Queen will be there to receive him. 2. If he be delayed by weather or the urgency of his affairs, as the king of England has determined to cross to Calais for some months, the two Kings shall meet on the 22nd July in a place half way between Calais and Gravelines; but before then they shall send deputies to mark out the place of meeting. There shall be two barriers (*interstitia sive limites*), within one of which shall be the nobles attending the king Catholic and the lady Margaret; in the other, the king and queen of England and their suite. The king of the Romans and the lady Margaret to be at Gravelines on the 20th July; the king and queen of England the same day at Calais. The interview to take place at 9 a.m. on the 22nd. 3. The only persons to be admitted within the intermediate space are to be, the king of the Romans accompanied by the lady Margaret and the marquis of Arschot, and the king of England accompanied by his Queen and Wolsey, except such as the princes desire to call on either side. The form of proceedings prescribed. 4. The suite of each prince to be unarmed, except their body guards. The number on each side to be equal, and as agreed on in an indenture signed by the ambassadors. Lest the fleet of the king of the Romans should be compelled to put into any other port

1520.

than Sandwich, and the inhabitants should be alarmed by the appearance of armed men, it is agreed that the king of England shall, before the end of April, give orders to all places on the coast to supply them with victuals, provided they do not land, but only send purveyors on shore. 5. The king Catholic shall, before the 3rd of May, arm five vessels to scour the seas between Spain and Hampton, and the king of England other five to do the like between Hampton and Flanders, the captains having orders to join whenever necessary for mutual aid. 6. The treaty to be confirmed by each King within thirty days.

Here follow the commissions of Charles, dated Burgos, 25 Feb. 1520, 1 Chas. V.; and of Henry, dated Greenwich, 8 April 11 Hen. VIII.

Signed and sealed, London, 11 April 1520.

Additional articles:—1. Precedence to be given to the king and queen of England in the territory of the king of the Romans, and to Charles and Margaret in that of England. 2. Two nobles to be deputed on each side to guard the highways, who shall set scouts to examine the neighbourhood daily and hourly, towards Flanders, Picardy, Artois and England, and remove suspected persons. 3. All armed men on either side, except those for the defence of Calais, Guisnes, Hammes, St. Omer, Aire, Bourbourg and Gravelines, who shall not exceed the number of 700 esquires on each side, to be removed two days' journey, during the meeting of the Kings. 4. The above articles to be confirmed with the others.

Lat., vellum.

Galba, B. vi.
223.

B. M.

2. Confirmation by Henry VIII. of the treaty made at London, 11 April last, for the meeting between him and Charles V.

Copy, Lat., pp. 11, mutilated.

Mon. Habs.
146.

3. Copy of the English counterpart of the treaty. *Lat.*
Fr. 11 Hen. VIII. m. 6.

11 April.

741.

INTERVIEW OF HENRY VIII. and CHARLES V.

Add. MS.
18675. f. 2.

B. M.

Oath to the treaties for an interview, and for mutual intercourse between Henry VIII. and Charles king of the Romans. 11 April 1520.

Signed by Ruthal, Tunstal, Pace and More.

Lat., vellum.

Mon. Habs.
157.

2. Notarial certificate of the oath of the commissioners of Henry VIII. and Charles V. to the treaties for the interview and for mercantile intercourse. Made by Wm. Burbanke, archdeacon of Carlisle, and Robt. Toney, canon of York, the 12th April 1520, in a certain chapel in the royal manor house of Greenwich; present, Thos. cardinal of York, Thos. earl of Surrey, Sir Thos. Lovell, Sir Edw. Ponynge, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir Ric. Weston, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Ric. Jernyngham and Sir John Daunce.

Lat.

14 April.

742.

INSTRUCTIONS of the IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND to J. DE LA SAUCH, sent to the Emperor.

Mon. Habs.
163.

The letters of the bishop of Elna will have informed the Emperor of the state of the affairs entrusted to the bishop, especially of the negotiations for the interview. He will have learned, by those sent by Wm. des Barres and others since, the conclusion taken for the interview between Francis and Henry VIII., and the conferences thereon held with the Cardinal since the Bishop received his powers to treat for the interview. Wolsey, on hearing that the powers were general, and enabled them to treat for the renewal or modification of former treaties, proposed to Helna and La Sauch to reduce to writing both the articles of the treaty for the interview and of the treaty of mercantile intercourse, which will expire

1520.

INSTRUCTIONS of the IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND to J. DE LA SAUCH—*cont.*

on the 24th of January next, urging that on its expiration the treaty of 1506 would become binding for ever. On the arrival of La Roche and the Audiencer on the 3rd of April, Helna and La Sauch informed them fully of those affairs. Next day, they were all sent for by the Cardinal, to whom, after presenting the letters of Charles and Madame, they said that Charles would prove himself grateful for the favors continually shown him, and hoped Wolsey would continue those favors.

Then conferred with him upon the articles drawn up for the interview, which was arranged to be held either at Sandwich in the middle of May, or between Calais and Gravelines at the end of July. Could not get the term for the first interview extended to the whole month of May, because the king of England was already bound to be at Guisnes on the 31st, and the French King had refused to prolong the term on account of his queen being near her delivery. Told Wolsey it would be very advisable to add some points to the treaty for the interview, with a view to secure more firmly the amity of the two princes, and especially to confirm the treaty of October 1516 made by the late Emperor with the king of England. At first Wolsey appeared quite agreeable to his proposal, but then suddenly changed, saying it would require to be well thought over. Nevertheless, after a good deal of discussion, he was willing that an article should be inserted in the treaty for the interview, *sc.*, that former treaties should remain in force so far as that treaty did not interfere with them. He continually insisted that the treaty of 1506 would take effect from the expiration of the last five years' term, but after several remonstrances was willing that the last provision should be prolonged for 20 years. He said if we desired to treat without dissimulation, it would be needful to provide that the subjects on either side should communicate freely, and that if we refused it his master could not believe that they trusted him.

Have thus been obliged to pass the prorogation for another five years. After a great deal of controversy Wolsey delivered to them articles conceived by himself for the interview, telling them to make what alterations they thought fit, and that he would examine them on Easter eve, and would take steps to get them passed by the King his master on the Monday following. On the morning of Easter eve he sent to tell them he had been so ill of colic the previous night that he could not see them till Monday. On Monday they waited on him with the articles, which they had put in writing, both for the interview and for the intercourse; for the latter they had only added one article to the treaty for the interview. With this he was not satisfied, and ordered the Master of the Rolls to draw up a treaty apart. He made some objections to the treaty for the interview; among others, that we had omitted to add a third way which had been proposed by the King, *viz.*, that Charles, if he should pass by the coast of England after he has recrossed the sea and returned to his kingdom, at what season soever it might be, should be bound to land and salute him in some English port. This they resisted for several reasons, which did not satisfy him. He said the King expected it would have been passed without difficulty, and would think they distrusted him if he passed before an English port without salutation; that if they left out this condition he knew the King would not accept the other two. However, on representation that they had no powers to pass this article till they had an answer from the King Catholic, who had been written to on the subject by Elna, Wolsey declared the form that should be observed at the meeting, saying that he would give orders to some of the King's council to negotiate the articles with them.

The ambassadors immediately set to work to draw up the articles, and sent them next day to Wolsey for examination, who returned them the

1520.

same day with a few corrections to be engrossed. The day after the ambassadors brought the articles engrossed to the Cardinal, who caused them to be collated in his presence with those drawn up by the English deputies ; after which he said he thought it would be well to add other articles for the security of the two princes and their companies, if the interview should take place between Calais and Gravelines ; which articles were immediately made in draft ; and the ambassadors, seeing that they were of little importance, consented to their being added to the treaty. Next morning the ambassadors were conducted by the English deputies to dine with the King at Greenwich, and swear the said treaties. The King held a council, which lasted till three p.m. ; after which Wolsey placed himself at the table, and caused the ambassadors to sit down with certain princes and lords, to whom he made good cheer. After dinner he retired again to the King his master. When he had been with him about an hour, the ambassadors were called. The King told them he was well pleased with their proceedings, except that he wondered that they had made so much difficulty about the third way, seeing that it had been proposed from the beginning ; but as they had no answer from their master, he was satisfied without it ; on the understanding, however, that if Charles should ever pass by England, he would not do him the dishonor to pass without saluting him.

Intimate this to Charles, to know what answer they shall make. The King then told them of the cordial love he had always borne to Charles, and the great pleasure he had taken in his prosperity ; that he had endeavored to promote his honor more even than his father had done, and it stood to reason that he loved him all the more, now that he had become so powerful ; that the alliance between the two Kings and their predecessors was so old that it could not fail ; and, for his part, he was resolved to remain constant, and never to treat anything with the French or others which could be to the Emperor's prejudice. The King then retired, and the Cardinal conducted them to a chapel adjoining the King's chamber, where he caused the treaties to be sworn to in his presence, both by the ambassadors and by the English deputies. After the interchange of the letters Wolsey declared to them the great zeal he had always borne towards the Emperor's affairs, and said if they had sometimes not been so well managed as might have been, it had not been owing to him, but to the delays on the Emperor's part.

Sauch shall then say that the ambassadors have been induced to pass the said treaties for several reasons, and especially because they consider the friendship of England the most important, seeing that thereby they may gain the Pope, the Swiss and other powers, which might otherwise join his enemies, and make sure his affairs in Germany ; that the conclusion of the said interview was the true way to gain the heart of the King of England, and prevent his doing anything to their prejudice. They have also considered the unreasonable terms that the French hold to Charles ; and that the King is no wise bound by the said treaty if he do not choose to observe it, for he can easily allege some impediment as an excuse ; but they would advise him to place full confidence in England, to communicate his affairs to Henry privately, and sometimes use his advice ; and to begin, he may, if he please, agree to the third overture. Is to say also, that although the term of the first interview is limited to the middle of May, if the King of England should be informed a few days afterwards that Charles was at sea, and might land at Sandwich before he had crossed, he would wait for him from two to six days after the middle of May, or as long as he could without breaking his promise to the French. Also that the King of England has set guides all over his coasts, "*jusques aux limites à l'opposite de la Quenouille*," to inform him of the first signs they see of Charles's fleet. As to the treaty of intercourse, the King and Wolsey have had it very much at heart, seeing the powers given by Charles extended generally for all treaties,

1520.

INSTRUCTIONS of the IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND to J. DE LA SAUCH—*cont.*

and they would have had great difficulty in securing the other treaty without granting the intercourse. By agreeing to the continuance of the last arrangement they have provided against the treaty of 1506, which is much more prejudicial to Charles and his subjects. At present the time does not admit of their gaining any advantage from the English, but during the period of the continuance new arrangements may be made. La Sauch shall therefore request that ratification of the two treaties be despatched within the time appointed, and that the five vessels that Charles is to equip for his part to scour the seas as far as Hampton be ready in good time. He shall also speak of the good will borne by the English to Charles, their hatred of the French, and their dislike of the interview with France. He shall communicate these instructions, before seeing Charles, to the marquis d'Arschot, and present the letters of the ambassadors, requesting him to have regard to their labor in negotiating these matters, and shall tell him the gracious words spoken of him by the King and Cardinal. London, 14 April 1520.

Fr.

743. [WOLSEY to LORD CHIEVRES.]

R. O.

"*Illustrissime.*" The ambassadors of your redoubtable sovereign were lately here, to treat of various matters between his Majesty and my most serene master. I have frequently heard from them of your favorable disposition for binding their two majesties together in an indissoluble bond of amity. The same is most agreeable to my sovereign; and all my labors tend to this end. Spared no trouble to bring to a happy conclusion the proposed conference between the two Kings, considering it would tend to the quiet of Christendom. John de Shault can inform your Excellency how much pains I bestowed in bringing this meeting to a happy conclusion.

Lat., in Vannes' hand, p. 1.

15 April. 744. CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has not heard from him for many days, but understands that his couriers have arrived in England with the briefs and bulls, and that great preparations are being made for the meeting of the two kings. The Pope and himself are anxious to hear oftener from him. Don John Emmanuel arrived here on the 11th as ambassador from the Emperor and King Catholic, and visited the Pope on the following day, with ample powers.

As all negotiations between the Pope and the Emperor were interrupted on his appointment, and delayed till his arrival here, it is thought that by his mediation both parties will easily come to an agreement. Rome, 15 April 1520. *Signed.*

P.S.—Will follow Wolsey's instructions in the archbishop of Canterbury's affair.

Lat., pp. 2. Add.

15 April. 745. [SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv. 50.

B. M.

Understands by his letters of the xxii^{ij}th the King's request for indulgences to the [church] of Canterbury. He and Campeggio will use their efforts accordingly, but have not as yet spoken to the Pope about it. The imperial ambassador has arrived. Reminds Wolsey that no letter has been sent to the Pope, or for the writer. Rome, 15 April [1520].

Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

1520.

18 April. **746.** CHAS. EARL OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The marshal Chatillon insists on the second meeting being held on neutral ground, "a little mile" from Arde, and wishes the camp to be held there, as Worcester has already written to the King. There is no other neutral ground between Guynes and Arde, unless it be taken two or three miles out of the highway between them. He is content to do half the fortifications, scaffolds, and tilts, at his master's charge, according to the "platt" which Worcester showed him, except the two small ditches which he has already mentioned to Henry. He will assist them with workmen and pioneers and timber, but fears the scaffolds cannot all be finished by the appointed day. Those for the Queen's ladies and lords shall be first done, and the rest can be finished in the evenings after the feats of arms are over. He said it was impossible to make houses at each end of the field where the jousts are, in time, and sufficient stuff could not be obtained, and that he thought pavilions and tents more suitable. Told him they would be but small houses of wainscot, such as are used in princes' camps in time of war; at which he said such houses were good, and he would speak to his master. Touching victual, he said, before Vaux, Sandes and Belknap, that there would be no lack either for horses or men, and he had already ordered wine, flesh, and horsemeat to be provided at Merguyson, where a staple would be made, and the King's subjects could buy what they wanted. Will write again after their next meeting. Calais, 18 April. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal, legate a latere and chancellor. *Endd.*

18 April. **747.** SIR JOHN PEACHY and others to WOLSEY.

Dyce's
Skelton,
1. p. xxxiv.

Have received the King's letters, dated Greenwich, 10 April, commanding them to provide victuals and horses against the coming of his grace and his nobles. Have been sore destitute many years past, owing to a murrain among the cattle, and because the King's takers "lying about the borders of the sea coast next adjoining unto us have taken and made provision thereof contrary to the old ordinance, so that we be utterly destitute by reason of the same." The butchers in the town have not beef and mutton for the ordinary retinue for three weeks at most; nor is there fuel for one whole week. Pray that the victuallers of Calais may repair with their ships, from time to time, to make purveyance of provision and fuel for Calais, without interruption from the King's officers. Calais, 18 April. *Signed:* John Peache, Wm. Sandys, Edw. Guldeford, Rob. Wotton, Cryst. Garneys.

Add.

18 April. **748.** SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.

R. O.
St. Pap. vi. 57.

Wrote on the 9th. The King has been engaged in hunting. He returned to Blois on Saturday, and was visited by Wingfield on Monday. He told the latter that he had heard of the dispatch of ambassadors to Flanders from England, but was confident it would not impair their amity. Wingfield explained. Francis then talked of a new great ship, "which is now amaking, of the greatness of your grace's, and reasoneth in this mystery of shipman's craft as one which had understanding in the same. But, sir, he approacheth not your highness in that science." Gives a description of the boar hunting in France, and compares their mode of hunting and hawking with that practised in England. Clarenceieux is arrived, and has been presented to the King, "being coifed and in his nightgown." He ordained the publication of the challenge tomorrow at three o'clock. Everybody is highly pleased. He then talked to Wingfield of the Order of the Garter; and the latter thinks he would be glad to have it. He has heard of the interview between Henry and Charles, to take place after that between

1520.

SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.—*cont.*

himself and the King. Gives an account of the publication. This morning the King left, and the ladies have gone to Paris. Wingfield is very favorably entertained, especially by the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, of whom is Mons. Rochepotte, brother to Montmorency. Blois, 18 April. *Signed.*

Add.

18 April. 749. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. vii.
210.
B. M.
Ellis, 1 Ser.
i. 166.

Since Clarenceux's arrival with the King's writings for the publication of the challenge, which was done yesterday, the court is in better hope of the interview. The delivery of the King's letters by his grace to Marrenesse in the presence of the ambassador of Flanders has at last recompensed the long withholding of them. This day the King removes towards Paris. He wishes to know if the King his brother will forbear making rich tents and pavilions; "and looketh daily to receive fro him as well his measure for the making of the cuirass as also to receive the vauntbrasse and gauntlet." Blois, 18 April.

Mutilated, p. 1.

18 April. 750. SIR NICHOLAS VAUX to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.
218.
B. M.

[Lilgrave] puts them in hopes by his letters [of procuring] out of Holland such timber, board and glass as he was commissioned to do. They will be able to finish the square court at Guisnes by the last day of May, provided John Rastell, Clement Urmeston, and John Browne, the King's painter, "do make and garnish all the roses,—a marvellous great charge, for the roses be large and stately." They cannot finish them till they get more money. Here is none but crowns, "and they be not valued at so much in London as they go for h[ere]." Wishes Sir John Heron to take a declaration from them how the money has been employed. It appears by Urmeston's bill that the roses will amount to a large sum. Begs that Wolsey will call them before him, and do what is expedient to finish the work, "that the King be not disappointed of his roses." The duke of Suffolk has many batons of Urmeston's making, and "divers of the King's arms and beasts cast in moulds which now would do great ease and furtherance to the King's business." Begs he will get the Duke to lend them. Requests him to command Hopton to deliver to Henry Comptroller "all such cables, ropes, and cords" as he can spare. The French King [is making great preparations for] "this triumph at Arde, and hath ta four houses of the town, and a great piece of the abbey there called Anderne, and intendeth to make great wherein much of his pastimes shall be showed, as the mast[er] of the] works there did report." Timber is being provided at Rouen "the same tilt, counter, lists, stages, and barriers that were set up in Paris." The bearer will inform Wolsey as to the meeting of my lord Chamberlain with Chatillon for viewing the ground. Guynes, 18 [April]. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

19 April. 751. WILLIAM [WARHAM] ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Notwithstanding that Wolsey stopped a suit brought against him by one Myles in the Common Pleas, on the ground that a Chancellor for the time being ought not to be sued in that court, "for then the Common Pleas should have superiority upon the Chancellor," and had forbidden the

1520.

officers of the Chancery to make out writs in that behalf, a new writ has been issued by Paul Coke, a cursitory in the Chancery, and received in the Common Pleas by Thos. Bonam, keeper of the writs there. Betson, Mydlemore and Anthony Lowe were solicitors for the writ, Myles himself being a prisoner at Westminster. "Had never pennyworth" of the goods Myles speaks of. Knoll, 19 April. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: My lord cardinal of Yorke and legate de latere. Endd.

20 April. 752. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.

R. O. Wrote on the 18th, and before leaving Blois visited the Dauphin, St. Pap. vi. 61. "to whose chamber I was conveyed by the seigneurs de Lescue and Suffoke, where we found him in his bed." "He was marvellously well disposed to be joyous as ever I saw child; and among other things took a marvellous pleasure in young Kyngston, whom, after he had seen once, he called him *beau fils*, whom he would sometime have kneel down, and sometime stand up. In effect, sir, I have not seen any child take a greater phantasy to no creature than he did to the said Kyngston. I saw him out of all his clouts. I assure your highness it is as fair a babe as can be, and as large for his age." Dined with the Legate's brother. The Admiral thinks that the King will be at Montpypeawe or Chasteauneuf on St. George's day; and then spoke to him of the Garter, and thought that an interchange of Orders would not be difficult. He concluded by saying: "Monsr. l'ambassadeur, I would I could report to you the semblable words which the King my master hath devised to speak to the King his good brother at their meeting, which I promise you, on mine honor, be of such efficacy that if your master could have appetite *a mordre mon maistre, aiant entendue lesdictes parolles, il le logeroit dedens son cueur, sil estoit possible.*" Bogeansye, 20 April.

Sent two letters on the 9th and 18th, addressed under the French ambassadors' packets. *Signed.*

Add.

21 April. 753. MONASTERY OF MERTON, Winchester dioc.

Writ to the escheator of Cornwall for restitution of temporalities on election of John Lacy as prior, whose fealty is ordered to be taken by Robt. Toney and Will. Burbank. Westm., 21 April.

ii. Similar writs for Surrey and Sussex, Essex and Herts, Cambridge, Berks and Oxon., Hants and Wilts, Devon, Norfolk, Beds and Bucks, and Kent. Westm., 21 April.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 33.

754. CONVENT OF BUCKFAST, Devon.

S. B. Licence to Alfred, the abbot, to hold a weekly market on Friday, in the town of Bukfastelee, and two fairs annually, of three days each; viz., one at Bukfastelee, commencing on the eve of St. John ante Portam Latinam; and the other at Brente, Devon, ending on the day of St. Gabriel.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 33.

755. MONASTERY OF ST. MARY, CANONS ASSHBY, Northt.

S. B. Mortmain licence to Richard Randall, the prior, and the convent, to acquire possessions to the annual value of 12 marks.

Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 29.

1520.

22 April. **756.** CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Went yesterday with Worcester to the Pope with Wolsey's letters about the archbishop of Canterbury. He is now away from the city, and has entrusted the affair to the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor. Was told some days ago that the Pope was going to send a nuncio, but said nothing of it, as he did not hear it on good authority, and could ascertain neither the person nor the time. Now that the meeting of the two Kings is reported as certain, though the Pope does not mention the nuncio, it is generally believed that Petrus de Pazzis, a Florentine nobleman, related to the Pope, and a layman of mature age, will be sent. Is sending his secretary to England. Rome, 22 April 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.: R. D. meo, &c. card. Ebor. Angliæ primati ac S.D.N. et apostolicæ Sedis legato.

23 April. **757.** CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

158*.

B. M.

His ambassador will have told all [that has] been devised in the matter which the King and Wolsey desire. Wishes nothing more than to please and satisfy the King, as will be understood more fully by the letter which he has written to Henry. Prays Wolsey to see that the interview takes place as soon as possible, as his ambassador will tell him more fully for whom he begs credence. 23 April. *Signature mutilated.*

Hol., Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le Cardinal d'Engleterre.

23 April. **758.** WARHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

In behalf of Owen Tomson, who has for six years occupied his mint at Canterbury, and who is sued by Robt. Trappys, goldsmith of London. Trappys surmises that his servant delivered to Tomson, to be coined, certain bullion, amounting to a great sum, and intends to have him condemned in London, contrary to right, because he is of great power and substance. Otford, 23 April. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To the card. of York and legate de latere. Endd.

23 April. **759.** For SIR ROB. BRUDENELL.

To be chief justice of the King's Bench. Westm., 23 April.

Scored out as cancelled, but without note of vacatur.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

24 April. **760.** SIR THOS. LUCY.

R. O.

Receipt by Robt. Bayly, proctor of the House of Shene, dated 24 April 12 Hen. VIII., for 26s. 8d. from Sir Thos. Lucy, by Olyver Ireland, his servant, due "for a pension of the abbey of Lawnder, to be paid for Ashby Leger."

25 April. **761.** CHASTILLON to WORCESTER.

Calig. D. vii.

211.

B. M.

Has just received a packet from their ambassador in England, addressed to the English ambassador in France, which he has dispatched. Has sent off La Bastie to Calais. Begs to have Worcester's instructions about the lists as soon as possible, because the time is short. "A Ar[dre]," 25 April. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: A Mons., Mons. le conte de Worcestre, grant chambellan d'Angleterre.

1520.

25 April. **762.** HENRY VIII. to LEO X.

Mart. Amp. Urges very strongly the claims of the bishop of Worcester to the
Col. III. 1306. cardinalate. Greenwich, 25 April 1520. *Signed by Vannes.*

*Lat. Add.*26 April. **763.** WARHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

In behalf of his servant Rob. Coosen, who is molested by Ric. Hawke, Will. Serles, and Thos. Serlys in a suit at law. Hopes that Wolsey will not think that he is acting from partiality in summoning Will. Serles to answer on a charge of perjury. Otford, 26 April. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Add.: My lord card. of York and legate de latere. Endd.*26 April. **764.** [The EARL OF WORCESTER] to HENRY VIII.

Calig. D. VII.

212.

B. M.

This morning Mons. de Bastye came from Chastillyon at Arde, and complained to him that it was said for truth that Henry would wait to see the king of Castile before speaking with Francis. Worcester replied that he knew of no promise made to that effect, but if the elect Emperor did land in England, Henry could not but receive him as honorably as Henry VII. did his father, and that Henry was determined to keep the day of meeting with Francis. De Bastye then inquired if he had heard Henry's pleasure as to the place for the second meeting and for the camp, which it was desirable to settle immediately. "And also that the sa[me] lord Chastill[on] hath had plain [instructions from the] King his master that the second meeting an according to the order and appointment th[at my] lord Cardinal had made and send to his [said] master" under his own hand and seal; it was "to be indifferent be[tween] Arde and Guisnes," not elsewhere. Worcester replied that it should be so if any such ground could be found midway between Arde and Guisnes, or else in some place not more distant from the said place for the second meeting or camp and Arde, than between Guisnes and the foresaid places. Promised, if it were agreeable to Henry, to go and speak with Chastillon at Guisnes, and meanwhile to get ready timber and materials for the camp. After dinner La Bastie expressed a desire, "for the love he beareth to the King's grace," to tell him one thing, which he feared might be an obstacle to the interview, though he swore, "as he was a true gentleman," he was never commissioned to mention it. He said that if the King had, as it was noised through all Flanders, arranged a prior meeting with the king of Castile, it was contrary to the promise made by my lord Cardinal in the King's name; "th[at] my said lord Cardinal showed him that y[our] grace had knowledge that there was [some] communication for interview betwixt the [King] his master and the king of Castile; [and] that my Lady, his master's mother, and [my lord] Chyevres, had appointed to for the conclusion thereof King his master met with him, whereupo[n] bade him write to the King his ma[ster, if] he will promise not to speak or meet [with the] said king of Castile till your grace and h[e] been together, he wold do the same, or else th[at his] grace could not;" that Francis had accordingly consented to the Cardinal's desire; and that if Francis had seen the king of Castile before meeting with Henry, he thought the latter would have been displeased, and the meeting broken off. Worcester replied that he had heard nothing of any such promises, but if they had been made he Has written divers letters, which have not been answered. Desires to know the King's mind, as Chastillyon calls upon him every day. Calais, 26 April.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 5. Add.: To the King most excellent highness. Endd.

1520.

26 April. **765.** EARL OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote on the 17th inst. touching my meeting with Chastillyon between Guisnes and Ardre to view and order the camp, when we could not agree unless I had acted contrary to my instructions; and again on the 18th and the 23rd on the same subject; to all which I have had no answer. Enclose a letter received today from Chatillon, which I cannot answer until I hear from the King or you. We have not yet agreed about the place, and he thinks I am dissembling with him. Wish therefore to know the King's pleasure as soon as possible. There are 1,000 pioneers at Arde, ready to set to work at the camp, but nothing can be done until I hear from the King and you. Lord Bastye came to me suddenly this morning, and brought word that Chatillon thinks I am very long in answering him, and concluding where the second meeting and the camp shall be. His post is come, "and hath answer to do therein as your grace hath appointed by your writing," of which he has a copy. He says that our charge will soon be performed, if I have power to act according to it; but he thinks it will be impossible to "perform all our plate by the day appointed" if I tarry long.

La Bastye has showed me many other matters concerning the meeting with the Emperor, which I have written to the King. A letter must be sent to Sandes, Vaux and Belknap, to command purveyors to provide timber, brick and carpenters. They are loath to meddle with it, saying they have no charge from the King, and I have none as yet. Calais, 26 April. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace, legate a latere and chancellor of England.

26 April. **766.** ERASMUS to MORE.Er. Ep. xv.
15.

Of More's dispute with Brixius: the *Anti-Morus* and More's epigrams. Urges More not to reply, but let the dispute die, and suppress the lines which gave offence to his opponent. Antwerp, 6 kal. Maii 1520.

767. MORE to ERASMUS.Er. Ep. xv.
16.

In reply to the above. Defends himself from the calumnies of Brixius—exposes the malevolence, bad faith and vanity of the latter. When they are together at Calais, for which place the King is now starting, they will have an opportunity of talking this matter over. Expects to see Erasmus at the interview, and thinks that as Brixius is secretary to the French queen he will be present also. 1520.

26 April. **768.** For THOMAS MARQUIS OF DORSET.

S. B.

Licence to import annually during his life 20 tuns of wine for his own household, without paying duty. *Del.* Westm., 26 April 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

28 April. **769.** SIR JOHN PECCHE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The enclosed writings came today. The great personage in trouble, as the bearer reports, is the abbot of De la Vault, near St. James's Hospital at Paris. It is for some words he spoke, "which were uttered to the French king by Englishmen, as he saith." He is guarded in his own house. "Also where he ever writeth to have reward as hath been promised him, the promise hath not been made by me, nor in my time." Only at this present time I told the bearer that if his master could find out the intent of the Frenchmen, and send me news every twelve or fourteen days, instead of every month or two months, I would ask you to procure him a reward. Sends a bill of news collected by the spies. They are out again to do the best they can. Calais, 28 April. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace, legate, &c. *Endd.*

1520.

28 April. 770. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Learns from the treaty concluded between his ambassadors and the English commissioners, and also from the letters of Joannes de Salice his secretary, the arrangements made for the meeting between Henry and himself. Thanks Wolsey, and is now ready to start, waiting only for a favorable wind. Hopes the meeting will not be interfered with if he is delayed for a few days by adverse weather. Coruña, —† April 1520; Imp. 1, "aliorum vero omnium quinto." *Signed*: "Yo el Rey."

Lat., p. 1. Add.

28 April. 771. CHARLES V.

R. O.

Ratification, under the great seal, of the arrangements made for his interview with Hen. VIII., between John lord de Berghes, Lawrence de Gorrevod, Gerard de Plana, Philip Haneton and John de Salice, on the one hand, and Thomas [Ruthal] bp. of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstal, LL.D., and Richard Pace on the other. Corunna, 28 April 1520.

Lat. Seal crushed.

28 April. 772. CHARLES V.

R. O.

Confirmation of the treaty of intercourse made by his ambassadors with England, 11 April 1520. Corunna, 28 April 1520. *With seal much broken.*

29 April. 773. CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.

Vesp. C. vii.
34.

B. M.

Mon. Habs.
172.

Has received his letters of the 13th, and understood by them and Jehan de la Sauch the arrangements made by his ambassadors for their interview, which are entirely satisfactory. Has despatched letters of ratification, and is only waiting for wind to leave. Has put the affairs of Spain in good order, and hopes to be at Sandwich before the 15th May; but trusts Henry will wait for him, if he be delayed by lack of wind, till at least the end of the month. Corunna, 29 April 1520. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

29 April. 774. CHARLES V.

Mon. Habs.
171.

Instruction to Jehan de le Sauch, what he shall say over and above the letters which he carries to the ambassadors in England.

1. He shall inform them of Charles's state of preparation for departure; that he is only waiting for a favorable wind, in order that they may certify the king of England that if things are favorable Charles will land at the day and place agreed on, or at least soon after; and the ambassadors shall make all possible instance that, if he be detained, the King may wait for him. 2. He shall say that there is no need for Charles to send the vessels of war on the 3d of May as arranged, because he intends, if he has a good wind, to be at sea with his army by that time; but the ambassadors shall request the king of England to bring out of the port of Hampton into the Spanish sea the five vessels of war that he is to set forth, promising that Charles's army shall be equally at his disposal. La Roche and the Audiencer are to remain with Elna till Charles's arrival. Corunna, 29 April 1520. *Signed.*

Fr.

29 April. 775. GUIL DE CROY (CHIEVRES) to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv.

50°.

B. M.

Has received his letter of the 14 April. Learns by Johannes de Salice, the imperial secretary, Wolsey's good wishes and desire for a conference between their sovereigns, which will be extremely agreeable to the

1520.

GUIL. DE CROY (CHIEVRES) to WOLSEY—*cont.*

Emperor, who is only waiting for a fair wind. Hopes to be at the place appointed on the day fixed, but requests to have a few days' grace if prevented by stress of weather. Refers him to Jo. de Salice and the bishop of Elna. Coronna, x[xix]† April 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

30 April. 776. CHARLES V. to QUEEN KATHARINE.

Mon. Habs.
Abth. II.
Bd. I. 173.

Thanks her for what she has done to promote his interview with Henry VIII., the arrangements for which have given him the greatest satisfaction. Is ready to sail, and only waiting for wind. Trusts to see her at the time appointed, but hopes, if any delay occur, that she will get the King to wait for him, as he has given him hopes that he will do. Coronna, 30 April 1520. *Signed.*

Sp.

April. 777. CARD. CAMPEGGIO to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Hears he is intending to cross the sea to meet the French king. Cannot attend on him to offer his services, but sends the bearer, one of his secret servants. Rome, —† April 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

778. [WOLSEY to SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD.]

Vit. B. xx.
245*.
B. M.

" as the said princes be of [great coura]ges, activity and valiantness, § by reason whereof they at the said interview to do and execute feats of arms and make challenges against all comers is therefore to me thought convenient that in case the said princes shall mind so to do, [and] that the French king can be agreeable to come to Guynesne, Calais, or to Saint Peter's within the King's pale with his Queen and ladies, there to sojourn with the King my master" for 5 or 6 days, a place may be prepared there for the said feats of arms. In like manner the King his master may, with his Queen and ladies and nobles, go to Arde to stay with the French king for a similar purpose; or else "after acquaintance and thorough intelligence had betwixt the [pri]nces, a coven[able] place between Gwynes [and] Arde may be [app]ointed by mutual [con]sent, where the [said] feats may be [exec]uted." It will be expedient, for the safety of the princes and visitors, to have the place encamped and fortified; the king of England to resort to Guynesne, and the king of France to Arde daily, after the triumphs are over; and from time to time "the one prince to banquet and take pastime of pleasure with the other."

Draft, in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, p. 1.

779. GRANTS in APRIL 1520.

April.

GRANTS.

2. Alan Percy, clk., brother of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. Grant of a messuage, with garden, in Stepenheth, Midd., which Thomas earl of Surrey and Anne his wife held by patent 14 March 1 Hen. VIII., which was surrendered on the death of the said Anne. *Del. Westm., 2 April 11 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 24.*

2. Sir Rob. Brudenell, John Cheyne and Th. Langston. Wardship and marriage of Thomas s. and h. of Sir Rob. Cotton; on surrender by Hugh Edwardys, John Turnour and Geo. Quareles, executors of Sir John Sharpp, now deceased, of patent 30 Oct. 10 Hen. VIII., granting the same to the said John Sharpp. *Del. Westm., 2 April 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

† Supplied from top margin.

‡ Blank in MS.

§ The first clause is corrected. The original reading was . . . "as I the said Cardinal remembering, hearing and perfectly understanding [the coura]ges, activities, and valiantness of both the princes."

1520.

April.

GRANTS.

2. John Dutton, *alias* Dytyn, of Chester, of Hatton, Cheshire, of London, of Weston, Oxon., and of Holt, chaplain. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 2 April 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

3. Alexander Manseno. Licence to import 600 tuns of Gascony wine and Toulouse woad. Eltham, 27 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 3 April.—P. S.

4. Benedic de Opiclis. Licence to export 300 tuns of beer. Eltham, 30 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 4 April.—P. S.

11. Ric. Cachemaid, page of the Chamber, and Th. Garton, page of the Wardrobe of Beds. To be beadles of the forest of Dean, Glouc., and doorwards of the castle of St. Briavel there, upon surrender by Cachemaid of pat. 30 July 4 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 10 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 11 April.—P. S.

12. Sir Wm. Compton. Licence to impark land in Overcompton and Nethercompton *alias* Compton Vyneyatys, Warw. *Del. Westm.*, 12 April 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 24.*

12. Sir Wm. Compton. Exemption from serving on juries, &c. *Del. Westm.*, 12 April 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 24.*

13. Th. Warde, yeoman harbinger. To be doorward of Walingforde castle, Berks, parcel of the duchy of Cornwall, *vice* Wm. Norburge, deceased. Eltham, 28 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 13 April.—P. S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 32.*

16. Feodaries of Crown Lands. Appointment of Th. Baskerville as feodary of crown lands in cos. Heref., Glouc. and Worc., and the Marches of Wales. *Westm.*, 16 April.

ii. Similar appointment of Th. Hall, in cos. Hants, Linc. and Camb.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 18.**

17. Lawrence Eglesfeld. Lease of the site of the manors of Sutton and Elmyngton, York; and among other appurtenances a parcel of land in the tenure of Wm. Robynson, in Elmyngton; and the farm of the fishery of the river Derwent; for 21 years, at various annual rents. *Del. Westm.*, 17 April 11 Hen. VIII.—S. B. Enrolled, *Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 17.*

18. Rob. Little, groom of the wardrobe of Beds. To have a corrody in Elye priory, *vice* Rob. Baildon, in same manner as Sir John Sherpe. Greenwich, 17 April 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 18 (?) April.—P. S.

18. Ric. Wright, of Honnesdon, Herts. Pardon., 4 April 11 Hen. VIII.—*Del.*, 18 April. P. S.

UNDATED.

Sir Henry Wyat, master of the crown jewels. Grant to him and his heirs of free warren in his demesne lands of the manors of Alynton, Boxley, Ovenell, Rundall, Okyngton and Milton, Kent; and in his other demesne lands in the parishes of Alyngton, Aylesford, Boxley, Shorne and Milton, Kent.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 21.*

Commission of Gaol Delivery.—*Guildford Castle*: Sir John Fyneux, John More and Simon Fitz, who are to convene at Southwark. *Cancelled.—Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 30d.*

Sir Ric. Carewe and Ric. Devenysahe. Inspecimus and confirmation of pat. 6 May 14 Ric. II. confirming—

i. Charter, 30 Edw. I., being a grant of free warren to John, son of Geoff. de Sancto Leodegario (St. Leger) and Isabella his wife, in Writlinge, Boxtepe, Dabyngton and Broxmedle, Suss., and Offeley, Herts.

ii. Charter, 11 Edw. III., being a grant to Thos. de Hoo, knt., of a market and fair at Wortlyng, Suss., fairs at Bocstepe and Dabyngton, and free warren in Hoo and Stopisley, Beds., and Whathamstede, Herts.

Sir Ric. is son and heir [of Alianora, d. of Th. lord de Hoo and Hastings, s.†] of Th. de Hoo, knt., and Isabella his wife. Ric. Devenyssh is son of Elizabeth, sister of Alianora.—*Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.*

Sir John Cutt. Lease of the site of the manor of Flampsted, Herts, parcel of the lands late of the Earl of Warwick, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 106s. 8d., and 6s. 8d. of increase.—S. B.

12 HEN. VIII.

24. Rob. Smythyate *alias* Gyll, of Laurence Waltham, Berks. Pardon. Greenwich, 16 April 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 24 April 12 Hen. VIII.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 6.*

25. Wm. Studley *alias* Studden, of London. Pardon for the murder of John Fyssher, of London. *Del. Westm.*, 25 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

25. Fras. Bryan. To be steward of the manors of Stanford and Westhanney, Berks, and Buklonde, Synkleborow and Agmonds-ham Wodrowe, Bucks, with the usual fees. Wanstead, 15 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 25 April [12 Hen. VIII.]—P. S.

25. Rob. Reynolde, of London, draper. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petchie, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 14 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 25 April 12 Hen. VIII.—P. S.

* Enrolled on the roll of the 11th year, apparently by mistake. See 16 April 1519.

† The words in brackets seem to have been omitted. By an inquisition of 33 Hen. VI. it is stated that Th. Hoo and Elizabeth his wife had issue Ann, then wife of Geoffrey Boleyn, alderman of London; and that on Elizabeth's death Hoo married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Leo Wellys, and had issue Ann, Eleanor and Elizabeth. Another inquisition of 20 Edw. IV. shows that Ann Boleyn, widow of Geoffrey, Ann wife of Roger Copley, Eleanor wife of Nich. Carewe, and Elizabeth wife of John Devenyssh, were daughters of Thomas late lord de Hoo and Hastings, son of Sir Thomas Hoo, and heirs of the latter.

1520.

GRANTS in APRIL 1520—*cont.*

April.

GRANTS.

25. Roger Brereton, of Westminster, *alias* of Malpassee, Chesh. Pardon for the murder of Ric. Tilston at Westminster. *Del.* Westm., 25 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

26. Rob. Gyrton and Anne his wife, John Wodmansee and Thos. Wodmansee. Licence to alienate the manor of Mantell, and lands in Missenden Parva, Bucks, to Simon Watson, Ric. Irelande, Thos. Waldram and Rob. Symes. Westm., 26 April.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

26. Nich. Goode. Lease, on security of Th. Avelyn, of Okyngham, Berks, fuller, and Edw. Goode, of Echelford, Middx., of the manor of Shawe in Old and New Wyndesore, Berks, for 21 years from Mich. 1522, at the annual rent of 24*l.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* increase.—S.B. (*undated*). Westm., 26 April. *Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27.

27. Alexander Lovell, of Mylton, Oxon., shepherd. Pardon for stealing a sheep, value 2*s.*, from Henry Asshenden, at Mylton, belonging to Hugh Lenton. *Del.* Westm., 27 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Signed:* Lewis Pollard.

27. Henry Bele, of Bristoll, *alias* of Strand hospital, without the bars of the New Temple, London, *alias* of Portbury, Somerset. Pardon. *Del.* Westm., 27 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 22.

27. Wm. Crosse, of Burton, Heref., and Thomas his son. Pardon for stealing sheep, the property of Ric. Bulkyn, at Stretford. Greenwich, 15 April 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 27 April 12 Hen. VIII.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 12.

27. Reginald Dygby and Anne his wife. Livery of lands, Anne being one of the four sisters and heirs of John son of John Dan-

vers, and one of the three sisters and heirs of Mary Danvers, another of the four sisters and heirs of John Danvers, junr., which John Danvers, junr., and Mary Danvers, were late in the King's custody. Greenwich, 11 April 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 27 April 12 Hen. VIII.—P.S.

27. Brian Newcomen. Lease of waste lands called Saltefleteby Meles, in the King's soke of Gayton, Linc., between Saltefletehaven and Skydebrowke on the north, Thedythorp on the south, the sea walls of Saltefleteby on the west, the sea on the east, for 14 years from Mich. 1525, at the annual rent of 20*s.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.* of increase. *Del.* Westm., 27 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 6.

27. Stephen Jobson. Revocation of protection in consequence of his staying at Cardyff. Westm., 27 April.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

28. Benedict Davy and John Cheltham. Lease of three mills, in the lordship of Olney, Bucks, lately belonging to Anne late countess of Warwick, with tolls, &c., for 21 years, at the annual rent of 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Also remission of the said rent for the first year, to be expended in repairing the mills, and the same every fourth year for repair of the millstones. *Del.* Westm., 28 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

28. John Wylson, clk. Presentation to the vicary of Artreth church, Carl. dioc., *vice* Ranulph Denton, dec. Greenwich, 25 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 28 April.—P.S.

30. Rob. Banester, clk. Presentation to the church of Etton, York dioc. Greenwich, 29 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 30 April.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 12.

2 May. 780. LEO X. to HENRY VIII.

Vit.B. iv. 61*.

B. M.

In behalf of the bishop of Ascoli, going to England to invite England to assist at the meeting of Christian princes. "In villa [Manliana, 2 M]aii 1520."

Lat., badly mutilated.

2 May. 781. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

In behalf of the same. "In villa nostra Manliana," 2 May 1520, 8 pont. *Signed:* Ja. Sadoletus.

Lat., vellum, mutilated. *Add.:* Dilecto filio nostro Thomæ tit. S'cæ Cecilæ Card. Eboracensi.

782. MORE to ERASMUS.

Er. Ep.
xiv. 15.

Regrets that the arrangement made between him and Lee has not been observed. As he was away, cannot say by whom or how it was broken. It would have been better had Lee's book appeared earlier, when there was less irritation on both sides. It is more bitter than More expected; but if Lee's allegations be correct, Erasmus can scarcely wonder it should be so.

1520.

2 May.

783. ERASMUS to MORE.

Er. Ep.
xiv. 16.

In reply to the above. Is surprised that More, who had been on terms of intimacy with Lee, had not seen through his bitter temperament, as Erasmus did. That is the reason Erasmus would listen to no terms of accommodation; and when Pace, on his return from Germany, attempted to reconcile them, Erasmus declined his offers. Is preparing an answer to Lee. Antwerp, postridie kal. Maias 1520.

2 May.

784. LAUR. CAMPEGGIO, Cardinal, to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Had written that he was going to send his secretary Florianus, and the Pope a nuncio. The secretary set out on the 23d April, and on the 30th the nuncio, who is the bishop of Ascoli, auditor of the chamber, and a friend to the cardinal de Medici. Two other nuncios are being sent; John Rocelains, a Florentine, to the French king, and Marinus Caraciolus, the prothonotary apostolic, to the Emperor. Supposes Worcester has written to Henry of the Turkish affairs; but, meeting the Pope yesterday *ad Manlianum*, was told that 300 ships had been equipped by the Turk, which could not be for use against the Sophy, but more likely were intended to attack Rhodes. If the Turk take this island, Italy and all Christendom will be in great danger. As Rhodes has not sufficient strength to hold out, the Pope asks Henry to send assistance. The first attempts of the enemy should be resisted, that he may see that Christian princes are united, and desist from further attacks. Rome, 2 May 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. Headed: Duplicata. Add.*

785. LAUR. CAMPEGGIO, Cardinal, to [WOLSEY].

R. O.

After signing his letter, letters came to the Pope from Ragusia with news of Turkish and Syrian affairs. Sends a copy, but cannot add more, as the bearer is in haste. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1.

2 May.

786. FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

[Calig. E.
i. 11. ?]
i. 155.
B. M.

Credence for De la Bastie, sent to arrange the interview. Ferrieres, 2 May. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

3 May.

787. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Vesp. C.1.302.
B. M.

Wrote his last on the 29th April. "Notwithstanding the opposition of the moon, the wind as yet holdeth fast at N.E., to the great displeasure of all the company;" howbeit, they hope it will shortly change, and they shall come in time to England. The King sends thither John de la Sauche, the marshal de Loges, with two harbingers (Tuke writes "furriers"), with a list of lords and others appointed to land with his majesty, and prepare the lodging, "as your grace shall order, who may know the queen of Arragon is always the next to the King well lodged and honorably taken in the court of every man."

"[I have advertised your grace how the Audiencer, in the King's name, the 28th day of the last month, came to me and delivered me the ratifications both for the meeting and intercourse, the which been in good forma, and I have received them, seeing not prejudice, but advantage, by reason of the

* The other is in Vit. B.1v. 51. B. M.

1520.

SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

*prorogation of the said intercourse; that is once a sure matter, whatsoever for lack of the weather do ensue of the other.]**

Letters have been sent to Helna, stating that they are quite ready, and wait only for the wind, and that you should defer your going over till their arrival: "[and as touching your grace, that not only with the bishopric and pension the same shall be remembered, but with much more].* Saying the lord Chievres, moreover, the King his master, in case semblable, rather than not abide at home for the King his uncle, he will make himself diseased or find some other justification." They do not desire the King to break his promise of meeting with Francis, but to delay it till they come. Montany has been ordered to wait upon Wolsey immediately, and tarry there for the King his master. "[According to my former letters, the Chancellor sayeth, considering the two Kings shall meet together, upon better advice it is thought to him not requisite any proposition.]"* "And as to the Frenchmen, since my last letters [sent by posts]*, I heard nothing; and, as I have advertised, to them was sent by exchange, [payables at Lyons upon this mart of Exter,]* 50,000 crowns of gold."

† "The astatis of Castilla have granted to the King, for the continuation of the haide, foure underth and fisty tousand ducatis, to be payed in trieyeris, by evin porcion[s], beginning the first payament in Januyer of the yere xxj.; and have the said astatis accepted by a comon consent, for lutenant general, the cardinal of Tortosa, and for the consilers of the privy consail, the bishop of Burgos, the lord Fonseca, the commander Major and licentiate Berghes," who are despatched to Castile with the cardinal of Tortosa. The archbishop of Granada is president of the Council of Justice. The archbishop of Cosence, an Italian, the Papal nuncio, is also elected privy councillor. Rain has since fallen. "At Le Crounnys," 3 May 1520.

P.S.—The secretary, Marshal de Loggis, and "arbergiers," set forth tonight.

Hol., cipher, deciphered by Tuke, pp. 4.

4 May. 788. CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has heard from Jehan de la Sauch, who has returned, the conclusion taken about the interview on the 15th May at Sandwich, and has sent letters of ratification to the English ambassador, as his former letters state. Has been waiting in this port for three weeks, the ships being all ready; but the wind remains contrary, and prevents him either crossing himself, or sending back De la Sauch in the usual bark, with the "maréchaux de logis" and "fouriers," to give Henry warning of his departure. Sends this post by land, that Henry may know what detains them, and will come as soon as the wind changes. La Courroigne, 4 May. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

4 May. 789. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Vesp.C. i. 305.

B. M.

Has been detained by contrary winds. Hopes the proposed interview may take place, that no advantage be given to those who wish to malign it. Coronna, 4 May 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

4 May. 790. SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Important news from the Turk has lately arrived, of which the Pope wished Henry to be informed as soon as possible. Writes in full to

* These passages omitted by Tuke in the decipher.

† This paragraph is partly omitted, partly abridged, by Tuke in the decipher.

1520.

Wolsey. The Pope has great confidence in Henry, and thanks him for the promises contained in the letters to Campeggio, which were lately read in the consistory. Rome, 4 May 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

4 May. **791.** [SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 52.

B. M.

Has received no answer for eight months to the letters he wrote on his own and the Pope's behalf. The Pope is much displeased, especially as he has received no intimation of the approaching conference. When the letters were presented by a proctor of the archbishop of Canterbury, he stated he had not heard from England for six months, and they never wrote except to beg something. Worcester and Campeggio have been able to do nothing in the matter of the jubilee requested by the archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope put off for a month and more sending a nuncio to the conference, and has now chosen the bishop of Ascoli, who started three days ago. He is to impress upon the sovereigns the state of Christendom and of Rhodes. Melancholy intelligence is come that the Turks have been making great preparations against it. If Rhodes be taken, a great part of Christendom must be lost. The Pope is making great efforts, and demanding aid everywhere. The imperial ambassador has at present had no interview. It is supposed that the Emperor will make no arrangement until he is first† crowned at Aix. This will delay the creation of new cardinals. Rome, 4 May 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

5 May. **792.** JU. [CARD. DE MEDICIS,] Vi[cecancellarius,] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 53*.

B. M.

In commendation of the bishop of Ascoli. Florence, 5 May 1520. *Signature burnt.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

5 May. **793.** ERASMUS to FOX BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Er. Ep. xii.

20.

Lee's invectives against Erasmus are much disliked. His critique is more injurious to himself than Erasmus. Hears that Lee is publishing another work, more virulent than the former, and has sent it to Paris to be printed. He has suborned one John Batmanson, a young man and a Carthusian. Wishes Fox would interpose. Louvain, 3 non. Maias 1520.

5 May. **794.** LEON. LAUREDANO, DOGE OF VENICE, to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Rym. xiii.

718.

Thanks him for having expressed his determination to consider the interests of Venice at the coming interview between the kings of France and England. Ducal Palace, 5 May 1520. *Sub plumbo. Signed.*

Lat. Add.

5 May. **795.** HENRY VIII.

S. B.

I. Acknowledgment of the receipt on the 1st instant (May), at Calais, of 50,000 francs=26,315 crowns of the sun and 30 sous of Tours, from Francis king of France, in part payment of 1,000,000 crowns of gold of the sun, which Lewis late king of France agreed in Nov. 1514 to pay to the king of England. Westm., 5 May 1520, 12 Hen.VIII.

II. Commission to Sir John Pecche, deputy, Sir William Sandys, treasurer, and John Bunoult, secretary, of Calais, and Robert Foulter, the King's servant, to receive the above. 1st May.

1520.

HENRY VIII.—*cont.*

III. Acknowledgment of the receipt on 23 Dec. last, at Calais, of 1,000 livres of Tours, in crowns from the king of France, in part payment of 23,000 livres, being the residue of the money which the inhabitants of Tournay owed to the King, and which the French king promised to pay. Westm., 5 Jan. 1519, 11 Hen.VIII.

IV. Receipt on 23rd March last, at Calais, of 1,000*l.*, on the same account as the preceding. Westm., 5 April 1520, 11 Hen.VIII.

V. Commission for the receipt of the sums mentioned in § III. and § IV. Westm., 27 Feb. 11 Hen.VIII.

VI. Receipt on the 1st instant (May), at Calais, of 25,000 francs, equal to 13,157½ crowns of gold of the sun and 15 sous of Tours, in part payment of 600,000 crowns of gold which the French king agreed to pay for Tournay. Westm., 5 May 1520, 12 Hen.VIII.

VII. Commission for the receipt of the said 25,000 francs on 1 May 1520. *Lat.*

6 May. 796. CALAIS ACCOUNTS.

R. O. Wages paid by Robert Fowler to artificers, &c., and for freightage of boats conveying stuff from St. Peter's to Guysnes; also prests made to purveyors of stuff necessary for the King's new buildings at Calais and Guysnes from 12 March 11 Hen.VIII. to the 6 May 12 Hen.VIII. Total, 2,446*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*

Pp. 3.

R. O. 2. Duplicate of the above.

Pp. 4.

7 May. 797. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. VII.

215.

B. M.

Ellis, 1 Ser.

i. 168.

This day his fellow Parker left for Calais with seven goodly coursers. Hears that they are most esteemed "pieces that were in Italy," especially the one sent by Signor Fabriccio. "Their fellows, all their bounty considered, are not to be found on the far side the mountains." Is sure that this is a subject that "shall be nothing tedious" to the King. Two days after their arrival at Calais they will be ready for the King; "for I never saw or heard horses to be so far led in such plight and courage as they be in." On Saturday last the Queen and the ladies arrived at Paris; this day the King. Tomorrow or Wednesday they start for Abbeville. The King will be at Montreuil or Boulogne on the 20th. Paris, 7 May. *Signature burnt off.*

P. 1, mutilated.

8 May. 798. HENRY VIII.

S. B.

Ratification of the treaty for a meeting between him and Charles king of Spain, concluded at London, 11 April last.

Commissioners for England:—Th. bishop of Durham, privy seal, Cuthbert Tunstall, master of the Rolls, Richard Pace, chief secretary, and Thomas More. Commissioners for Spain:—Bernard de Mesa, bishop of Elua, Gerard de Pleine, lord of Maigny de la Roche, Philip Haneton, treasurer of the order of the Golden Fleece, chief secretary and audiercer, and John de Salice, secretary. London, 8 May 1520, 12 Hen.VIII.

S. B.

2. Ratification of treaty of intercourse between the same, concluded at London, 11 April last. Same commissioners as above. London, 8 May 1520, 12 Hen.VIII.

1520.

10 May. **799.** HENRY VIII. to the ABBOT OF ST. MARY'S, YORK.

R. O.

Orders him to pay 220*l.* of the King's money to Lord Dacre, warden general of the East, West, and Middle Marches, for repair of Wark Castle. Greenwich, 10 May 12 Hen.VIII. *Signed and sealed.*

*Add.*10 May. **800.** IRELAND.

R. O.

Costs of preparing the two galleys for transporting the earl of Surrey, great admiral, into Ireland, from 1 March to 20 April 11 Hen.VIII., paid by John Hopton. To John Clogge, master of the "*Kateryn Gale*," for victualling men working on the ship, 15*d.* a week each man; twine for remaking the foresail, 14*d.*; thrones to make mappes, 8*d.*; a pulley block, 6*d.*; 4 schevers, 6*d.*; 2 plumpe boxes, 16*d.*; a plumpe, 8*s.*; victualling carpenters at 18*d.* a week; wages of 29 carpenters on the *Kateryn Gale* and the *Rosse Gale* from 1 March 1519 to 5 April 1520, 2*d.* to 8*d.* a day; oakum, 4*d.* a stone; 18 lb. thrones at 2*d.*; 8 shovels at 3½*d.* To Thos. Jermayn, master of the *Rosse Gale*, for victualling men at 15*d.* a week; 6 lb. twine, 2*s.* 6*d.*; sail needles, 2*d.*; 28 lb. of ratline, 4*s.* 2*d.*; a line for lachetts for the mainsail, 12*d.*; a sounding line, 12*d.*; 1½ loads of oaken timber, 10*s.*; 250 inch and elm boards at 2*s.* the 100; 1,250 1½-inch boards, for overlopes, 3*s.* 8*d.* the 100; 400 ft. of overlope board at 4*s.* the 100. 12 April anno 12, to 28 April, anno dicto, 26 carpenters at from 2*d.* to 8*d.* a day; a sounding lead and line, 18*d.*; a main mast, 30*s.*; for sawing 1950 boards, 19*s.* 6*d.* To Rob. Comes, for a couple of saw[yers] for 9 days, finding themselves, 12*d.* each. To Thos. Abowrowe, of Deptford, for 108 ft. of boards, 2*s.* 8*d.* To Juell, clerk of Deptford, 3 beds for 6 weeks, 3*s.* To John Whitt, smith, a garland of iron, weighing 16 lb., at 1½*d.* a lb., for the mast's top; 2 pair of garnets for the ports, 20*d.*; a lovehook, a fishhook, a lycehook, and a boathook, weighing 12 lb., 18*d.*; an iron hoop for the plumpe, 6*d.*; 550 "roffe" and "clinche" for the boat, 16*d.* a 100. To Nich. Pynson, of Southwark, for mending and dressing pitch and tallow kettles for flesh and fish, 9*s.* 8*d.* 10 May 12 Hen.VIII., to Mason, baker of Stratford, 70 doz. bread, with the "vayntages," 12*d.* a doz. Peter Swynebanke, brewer, 13 pipes 1 hogsh. beer, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the pipe. Flesh of 1 ox, 19*s.*; 200 Newlond fish, 20*s.*; 200 of harbardyn, 25*s.* the 100; herrings, 11*s.* 2*d.* the barrel. Totals:—Wages, 13*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; victuals, 16*l.* 17*s.*; lodging, 7*s.*; necessities, 18*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*

Pp. 9.11 May. **801.** THO. EARL OF SURREY.

S. B.

Wardship of Rob. son and h. of Geo. Ashefeld, with the custody, among other possessions, of the manors of Lykyllhawe-in-Norton, Suff., Croxston, Camb., and of Ellyng, Hunts, and the lands called Torallys, Trowsys, Hunterston and John Lemans, in the towns of Hunterston and Great Ashefeld, Suff. *Del.* Westm., 11 May 12 Hen.VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 14.12 May. **802.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has heard from Norroy, king at arms, and from Guillaume des Barres, Charles's secretary, that Henry is displeased at the delay in the publication of the chapters for the jousts at the approaching interview with the king of France, which were brought hither by Norroy, and that he is not satisfied with her excuses. Has now, notwithstanding her reasons against the publication, had them published as solemnly and honorably as possible, as the bp. of Elna, and des Barres, whom she is sending to England, will tell him. Gand, 12 May 1520. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. *Add.* *Endd.*

1520.

13 May.
Mon. Habs.
174.**803. MEETING OF CHARLES V. and HENRY VIII.**

Considerations touching the meeting of Charles V. and Henry VIII. *

As it is impossible now to hold the interview on the 15th May, it must be considered:—(1.) That the king of England means to keep his promise to France, and be at Guisnes on the 31st May, but will wait for the Emperor as late as the 26th. Today is the 13th, and six or seven days will be occupied in scouring the sea to Sandwich; so that if the wind be not propitious within six days there is no chance of the interview taking place this month. It would be well, therefore, to send despatches to Hoochstrate, if he has crossed the sea, and to the bp. of Elna and provost of Utrecht, with credence to the king of England; also letters in Castilian to the Queen, in the Emperor's own hand, expressing his regret at not being able to fulfil his engagement; others to Wolsey from the Emperor and the Marquis*, the latter to thank Wolsey for his offer to advise him at the meeting touching the affairs of the Emperor; others from the Emperor to Richard Pace, to thank him for his good will; letters of credence to the bishop of Durant (Durham), and another to the secretary "Brientuk," to thank him for his services to the ambassadors;—all to be delivered or retained at the discretion of Elna.

The credence of the ambassadors to be, to show the great way the Emperor has travelled in so short a time from Barcelona, in order to sail, if the wind had allowed him, for Flanders, the time he has been ready in this port, his regret at not being able to accomplish the interview in May, and his hope to do so in July, or, if that be impossible, at least to see him and the Queen in passing; that although the treaty makes no mention of this third interview, they have powers to arrange and conclude it. They must be empowered to tell the King the Emperor is quite confident he will not treat with France to his prejudice, but keep himself open to treat with him for the common good. They shall urge the Cardinal not to trust the French, but accept the Emperor's offer, "*luy traynant d'une souppe en miel parmy la bouche*," though the Emperor hopes to do more for him hereafter; and if he accept it, the bp. of Durant shall be promised a pension of 1,000*fl.*, Pace 8 [hundred?], and "Bruentuck" 3, making in all 2,200 (*sic*), which shall be deducted from the 3,000 to Wolsey.

Special instructions to be given to Elna, how to act with the *domprévot*; and letters to be written to both to find out what practices take place between France and England.

They shall also show the King and Wolsey on what terms the Emperor intends to be with the Pope, the Venetians and the Swiss.

Corunna, 13 May '20.

Fr.

804. HENRY VIII. and CHARLES V.

R. O.

Remembrances for the interview between Henry VIII. and the elect king of Romans.

It is thought convenient that the place should be fixed at an equal distance between Calais and Gravelyngh according to the treaty; and as it is within the King's pale, a pavilion must be erected by Ric. Gibson, serjeant of the King's tents, and bread, wine, &c. provided by the Steward.

Sir Edw. Ponynghes, treasurer of the household, and Sir Wm. Sands, treasurer of Calais, are appointed commissioners to view the place.

The interview is to be held on Wednesday, 4 July, at 3 p.m. The princes should leave their respective lodgings at Calais and Gravelines before 1 p.m., and after their communication return to their previous lodgings.

On Thursday the 5th, the King will leave Calais, with 100 noblemen and

* Chievres.

1520.

100 of his guard, to visit the Emperor at Graveling, spending Friday and Saturday there. On Saturday evening both Princes, with the Lady Margaret and the Emperor's nobles, will return to Calais. The Emperor, Lady Margaret, lord Shivers, and their trains, shall lodge in the Staple Inn, Don Fernando in Banester's house, the card. of Toledo with my lord Marquis, the archbp. of Colein in Whetill's house, and the rest in lodgings appointed by the Deputy, the Treasurer, the Marshal, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir John Husse, Sir Andrew Windesore and Sir John Daunce, "by oversight of" the Emperor's ambassador and marshal of lodgings.

All furniture in the lodgings of English noblemen shall remain against the coming of the Emperor's subjects, and those lodgings not yet furnished shall be allotted to those who have to provide such stuff.

The lord Chamberlain shall appoint a "substantial gentleman of the King's," as *maître d'hôtel* to each house where the Emperor's nobles lodge, to furnish the house and provide victuals every day from the Staple.

The gentlemen ushers of the Chamber, the knights "herbigers," and the other "herbigers," shall go beforehand to Gravelines, to take the lodgings assigned by the Emperor's officers for the King and his train.

It must be discovered whether the King and his train will be provided with house apparel, wine, plate, cooks, &c., or whether they must bring such with them. On Saturday night the Emperor's supper must be prepared in the Staple Inn, and the King will visit him familiarly there.

On Sunday following, both the Kings with the Queens, Don Fernando and the Archduchess with their nobles shall hear mass sung by the bishop of Durham at Our Lady's church. Keepers must be placed at the doors to see that none but noblemen and gentlemen enter.

After mass the Kings and Queens, with the whole company, will dine at the King's lodging at the Exchequer; that is, the two Kings and Don Fernando at one board, the Archduchess with the Queen, and the cardinal of Toledo, the archbishop of Colain, lord Chievres, duke D'Alva, archbishop of Valence, bishop of Liege, count Palatine, marquis of Brandborowe, and the dukes of Baver and Boger, with the Legate.

On Sunday night a supper will be prepared in a place devised for the purpose, and after supper a mummery, with a banquet, dancing, and other sports.

On Monday the King will dine with the Emperor at the Staple house. After dinner the Queen will take leave of the Emperor, and then the King will conduct him a mile or two out of Calais, and the Legate and other noblemen will accompany him till he be out of the King's dominions.

The making of the banquet house is committed to Sir Edw. Belknap; provision of victual to the head officers of the household.

"For the pleasant and honorable entertainment" of the Emperor's nobles, it is thought convenient for the King's lords, spiritual and temporal, "from time to time as the case shall require, and as by chance they shall meet together, every one after their estates and degrees, comfortably to accompany and entertain them, and every of them, as well in the King's court as elsewhere, in conducting them from place to place, to the church, the court, their own lodgings, or any other place whither they shall have appetite to resort."

The lord Chamberlain is to appoint officers of the wardrobe to furnish the lodgings of those of the Emperor's nobles who are not furnished with apparel, and he is to assign servitors for the King's chamber and banquet house.

The garnishing of the cupboards with plate is assigned to Sir Henry Wyat. Besides victual, fuel, &c., provision must be made for torches, quarreys, sises, fruit, wafers, hippoceras, and other "deyntithes," for the entertainment of the nobles in their lodging.

1520.

HENRY VIII. and CHARLES V.—*cont.*

The garnishing of the church is committed to the dean of the chapel, the devising of pageants at the banquet to Cornish, and the mummary is referred to the King's pleasure.

Pp. 5. Endd. : A memorial of things to be done at the meeting and interview of the King's highness and the emperor Charles at Gravelines.

- 13 May. **805.** For MARGARET COUNTESS OF SALISBURY, Governess of
P. S. the Princess [Mary].

Wardship of Elizabeth, kinswoman and h. of Th. Dalaber, with reversion of the possessions coming into the King's hands on death of dame Eliz. Dalaber, widow of Sir Ric. Dalaber, or of Anne Dalaber, widow of the said Thomas. The Countess to account for the revenues if they exceed 40*l.* a year. Greenwich, 1 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 13 May.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 13.

- 13 May. **806.** SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.
R. O.

Wrote last on the 7th, and received yesterday his letter dated the 9th with instructions and other writings. Went immediately from Paris to Beawevoys, 16 leagues off, and on his arrival between 9 and 10 o'clock at night found a servant of Master Vaux with a letter from the Chamberlain, stating that he and the French commissioners had agreed to fix the camp in the spot first proposed by him on English ground. Went, notwithstanding, to the King's lodging, and found him in his mother's chamber. Gave him Henry's compliments, and told him how busy he was in preparing for his journey to Dover, which he intended to take place on the 18th, hoping to be at Calais on the 25th or 26th at latest. Francis was very pleased to hear this, and called in his mother and the Admiral, who seemed equally pleased. He then said that Wingfield saw what diligence the ladies used in travelling, and they would not stop till they came to Abbeville, where he intends to fix the number to attend on him at the interview, which shall not exceed the number appointed by Henry. As to the ladies, he thinks Henry will not be offended if all meet for such an assembly come without any refusal. Could make no direct answer, not knowing Henry's pleasure, but said "that I never saw your highness encumbered or find default with over great press of ladies."

The French guard always ride in their brigandines, under pain of discharge. Tells him of this, that he may do the like if he think fit.

Francis had been informed of the spot chosen for the camp by the Marshal Chatillon, and was content with it. He expressed himself sorry for the Cardinal's sickness, and hoped he would be present at the interview. He said he had been credibly informed that the Turk was at sea with a puissant army, and that 9,000 of his horsemen had descended in Fryolle. Crevecœur, 13 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add. and endd.

- 807.** FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

R. O. Memorial.

"Where Saint George is left out, is for consideration of more indifference, and set in the court celestial in which he is comprised."

As to the term of continuation of the challenge, Francis remits it to Henry as the latter will be out of his realm. For his part, he would be contented for it to last a year.

The courses at the tilt will be limited to six, considering the number of challengers that may come, and that some will be so vainglorious as to

1520.

wish to run as long as the day lasts, or their horses endure, and that the answerers on the French side only will be above 200. One course on the plain field shall be considered enough, because, the answerers being so many, there will be many shocks and hurts, not without the loss of many horses and the danger of the masters. The number of strokes with the sword to be at the pleasure of the ladies. According to Francis' opinion, "which always he referreth to yours," with the more nimble sword more strokes shall be delivered, and more gorgeously, than with the "peasaunt" sword. He thinks that "at the barriers the heavy swords shall be much better to be occupied." As to the combat at the barrier, for the words "with pieces of advantage" are substituted "tonnelets and bacinets," as the answerers might have been in doubt as to what was meant. The two-handed sword is left out, as it seems a dangerous weapon, and few gauntlets would stand the heavy strokes to which they would be exposed. It is left, however, to the challengers' pleasure to choose the two-handed sword or the other. In the same article, instead of two sorts of lances, is put lances and pikes, to allow of diversity of weapons.

Since it is necessary to have two fields for the exercising of arms, to avoid certain difficulties which Wingfield mentioned to the Cardinal in his last letters, Francis thinks there should be also two "perons." The one on the English side to have three shields of Henry's colors, the other on the French side with Francis' colors. "And for that there be named two white shields that the same of your grace's may be set out argent in metal, and the white of your brother's side shall be in color only." Lest the French "peron" might be more garnished with shields than Henry's, seeing the comers on this side would present them thereto, it is agreed that half those of the French nation who come to do any feat shall deliver their shields at the English peron, and like division to be made of the noblemen. In the same way, half the English shall present their shields at the French peron, and thus the number shall be made equal. *Signed by Sir Ric. Wingfield.*

Pp. 2. Add.: The King's highness. Endd.

14 May. 808. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD TO HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. vii.

216.

B. M.

Wrote last yesterday. "And [the same evening] the King your good brother being at supper about eight of the clock, I received your grace's of the 11th day of this present month, containing your pleasure for the setting of the field for the feat of arms in one village called Campe," according to his highness's arrangement with La Battye. Has thanked the French king for acceding to his master's wishes, as reported by him in a letter to Wolsey of the 30th April, which he perceives has been detained by the way. Francis replied he was glad to have done Henry a pleasure, and that Wingfield's letter had been delayed by marshal Chastelyon, who, notwithstanding his orders to acquiesce in the lord Chamberlain's arrangements, thought "to have won by policy some other ground" more to his master's honor. Though in this he had acted "like a wise servant," Francis immediately wrote to him "to condescend to his former pleasure." His grace will thus see what it is to send letters by their posts. If his despatches had arrived in season, Henry would have been spared "much business for the appointing of the said field."

Told the French king how Henry thought every day a year until they met; at which Francis greatly rejoiced, as appeared "by his pleasant countenance and fashion," saying Wingfield should be a witness for him that his desire for it was no less strong, "considering the continual travel he caused the Queen here to take, being in the case that she is in . . . I assure your grace you would have no little compassion if y[e saw] the poor creature with the charge she beareth." Intends to be at Abbeville on Wednesday next, being Ascension-Even, there to tarry till the Cardinal

1520.

[SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.]—*cont.*

arrives at Dover. Will repair to Ardre when the Cardinal is at Calais. Wingfield expressed to him his hope that their present amity was no more than a shadow of what it should be. Crevyqueur, 14 May.

Mutilated, pp. 2.

14 May. **809.** SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vii.

217.

B. M.

Wrote last to him from Paris on the 7th. Has had communications with the King here these two nights past, which Wolsey will find reported in his letters to the King today and yesterday. To Francis's inquiries after Wolsey's health, he answered he had heard from Mr. Secretary and Brian Tuke that his grace had suffered from the colic and jaundice. Francis assured him he would not for anything the Cardinal should be absent from the interview, and told Wingfield to require the Cardinal to recover strength on his behalf. Change of air would do him good; that he had better physicians than could be found elsewhere. He spoke with such affection, "as it appeared well by his countenance and manner that your disease touched him without dissimulation." Wingfield hopes the Lord will give him strength, as the affairs of the two princes and all Christendom will suffer by his absence. Crevyqueur, 14 May.

On Friday at night last was led to the Bastille.

(*Added in Wingfield's own hand.*) The court will be glad to hear of his recovery, and of his setting forward. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

15 May. **810.** ERASMUS to ŒCOLAMPADIUS.

Er. Ep. xiii.

21.

Had visited Germany before this, had he not been delayed by the approaching interview. Charles is daily expected. The kings of France and England meet on the shores of Calais about the first of June. The archbishop of Canterbury has given Erasmus notice to be there. Luther's books were near being burnt in England: "nec erat remedium. Attulit remedium amicus quidam humilis, sed in tempore vigilans." Has answered Lee. Louvain, 18 kal. Junias 1520.*

15 May. **811.** [CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv. 55.

B. M.

Sent in his former letters the prorogation of the legateship, &c. Has received no answer. Learned by private letters of the 18th April that Wolsey had been ill, and since, that he had recovered and gone to [Hampton] Court for the benefit of fresh air. The bishop of Ascoli passed Florence on the 6th May, to be in time for the conference. The Pope had gone for some days to the Manlian suburb for his annual course of physic. The writer visited him the day before. Would have been glad to attend the King on his journey to Calais. As that cannot be, sends his servant Florian. Rome, 15 May 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., pp. 2, mutilated.

15 May. **812.** SIR ARTHUR PLANTAGENET.

R. O.

Bill, dated 15 May 12 Hen. VIII., by which Thos. Suffcote agrees to carry and house the tithe corn and hay belonging to Sir Arthur, in the parish of Harting, at next harvest, for the sum of 4*l*.

On the dorse: Paynyswike, Whaddon, Morton Valance, Rybbysford, Whetthill, Cheder, Charlton, Nortonbecham, Kyngston Lile.

* In a letter of the same date to the cardinal of Mayence (xiii. 22), Erasmus speaks of the expected arrival of Charles V. and the magnificence of the preparations.

1520.

16 May. **813.** BERWICK-UPON-TWEED.

R. O.

Muster Book of the 50 gunners in the town and castle of Berwick, from 14 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII. to 16 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Signed*: Antone Ughtredd, C. of B.

Pp. 3.

16 May. **814.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. vi.

37.

B. M.

Sends Hesdin with letters from the King her nephew, received yesterday by post. Everything is ready for his departure, and he only awaits a favorable wind, and cannot fail to arrive shortly. Has ordered Hesdin to present his letters in conjunction with the bishop of Helna. The principal article of their charge is to ask Henry to defer his departure until the king of Castile's arrival, who has great desire to see him. Hopes Henry will consider the inestimable advantages which would result from an interview. Ghent, 16 May.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. Add.

16 May. **815.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

138 b.

B. M.

A post came from Spain yesterday the 15th, which the King her nephew despatched to apprise the King and Wolsey of his brief coming. Sends her maitre d'hotel, Hesdin, in haste, to deliver it in conjunction with the bishop of Helna. If the wind continue favorable he will arrive in England before her warning. Begs Wolsey to wait for him. He has sent certain persons to the King and Wolsey, who are to be present at his landing. Ghent, 16 May.

Hol., Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: Mons. le Cardinal d'Angleterre.

16 May. **816.** ERASMUS to JOHN BOTZEIM.

Er. Ep. xii. 32.

Is sorry to hear that a pamphlet is in circulation against Pace, sc. *Apologia in Paceum*. Whatever Pace may have said about Constance, was said in joke, without any ill intention. He jested on Erasmus in the same work, which was written *ex tempore*. Lee is rousing the Dominicans. Pace has lately succeeded to the preferment of Colet, the dean of St. Paul's. Louvain, 17 kal. June 1517.

16 May. **817.** For RIC. BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

P. S.

Wardship of Ric. son and h. of William Bengier and kinsman of John Bengier and Joan his wife. Greenwich, 18 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* [Westm., 16 May] 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 13.

16 May. **818.** For the CONVENT OF ST. SAVIOUR'S, FEVERSHAM, Kent.

S. B.

Licence to acquire lands in Kent, to the yearly value of 14*l.*, from John Cole, clk., King's chaplain, who purposes to found a free grammar school in the monastery. *Del.* Westm., 16 May 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 21.

17 May. **819.** SIR JOHN PECCHE to WOLSEY.

[Calig. E.

i. 11. 7]

i. 102.

B. M.

Elvisshe, at [his departure] from the French court [with] the King's letters, advertised him that 15,000 or 16,000 men had been sent towards Arde, by the French king. Their chasing spears for the field are painted with the French colours, "white underneath black and tawny wreathed." Great preparations are made of gunpowder in wine vessels. Has sent out spies to learn the truth. Calais, 17 May. *Signed.*

Mutilated, p. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace, legate elatria (sic) and chancellor of England.

1520.

- 18 May. **820.** [WOLSEY] to the GOVERNOR and COUNCIL of GENOA.
 R. O. For justice to Robert Cave, a Bristol merchant, whose ship, the *Juliana*, had been taken by Genoese pirates. Ex meis ædibus, 18 May 1520.

Lat., p. 1. In Vannes' hand. Add.

- 19 May. **821.** [The EARL OF WORCESTER to HENRY VIII.]
 Calig. D. VII. 219. They have marked out the ground for the camp as chosen by Chatillon according to the platt designed by Wolsey. They find, however, that the tilt will be 208 feet from the Queen's scaffold, and 88 feet from the further side of the field, too far for them to have a good view. They propose, therefore, to remove it to the middle of the field, so all the partitions and rails will have a better sight. They disapprove of the ditch marked by Wolsey within the camp along the scaffold, as dangerous and inconvenient, and propose a rail eight feet from the scaffold instead. Has refused to consent to remove the tilt as Chatillon had proposed, alleging the insecurity of the ground, or write to the Cardinal upon the subject. Waits for his answer. Calais, 19 May. *Signature burnt off.*

Hol., mutilated, pp. 4.

- 20 May. **822.** SUIT between JOHN UNDERHILL and the BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.
 R. O.

i. John Underhill to Wm. Nysell.

Desires to be recommended to his sister, Nysell's wife. Sends a copy of the bishop of Chichester's letter, promising to see him discharged against Nysell. If he is not so, before Whitsun week, will agree with Nysell next term. Has never had any of the money. London, 30 April.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: Mr. Nysell, at Senock.

ii. Robert Sherburn, bishop of Chichester, to [Underhill].

Has read his letters about the suit against him. Acknowledges the receipt of 100 mks. from Owen Meredith, by [Underhill], in part payment of 400 mks. owed by him. Aldyngbourne, 20 Feb.

Lat., copy, p. 1.

iii. John Underhill, dean of Wallingford, to William Nysell.

Asks him to send all the letters he has from the bishop of Chichester, to be left either with Knowles or Wm. Morys, the King's broiderer. Will be in London on the Wednesday or Thursday before Passion Sunday. London, Our Lady Even in March.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: Mr. Nysell, of Senock.

iv. Robert Sherburn, bishop of Chichester, to ———.

Concerning his suit with John Underhill. Aldyngborn, 20 May.

Hol., p. 1, much mutilated.

v. Robert Sherburn, bishop of Chichester, to Wm. Nysell.

Sir John Underhill has obtained a privy seal against the Bishop for the repayment of 100 mks. which he alleges to have borrowed for him of Owen Meredith, who was the bishop's receiver in the vacation of London by translation of my lord of Canterbury. At the determination of his account he owed Sherburn 250*l.*, for 100 mks. of which he was answered by Underhill. If Nysell has received these 100 mks. it is plainly wrong. Meredith, without authority, gave the 250*l.* to lord Berners while Sherburn was in Rome, and Berners stopped his receipts. Sir John Collet, then reeve of Stepney, owes 100 mks., and the residue is in other hands. Wishes him to look up Meredith's accounts. It is not borrowed money, as has been alleged. Never needed to borrow, thank God! Selseye, 11 Feb. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To Master Nysell, of Senock.

1520.

vi. Interrogatories of the part of John Underhill, clk., dean of Wallingford.

Whether the bishop of Chichester borrowed 100 mks. of Meredith?

Whether the Bishop required the Dean to be bound by obligation to Meredith, and promised to save him harmless?

Whether he saved him harmless or not?

Whether the Bishop was bound in any way to the Dean to keep him harmless?

P. 1. Endd. : Laurence Mauners, Wm. Woodde.

vii. Interrogatories on the part of bishop of Chichester. *Lat., pp. 2.*

viii. Depositions in answer to these questions, by Lawrence Mauners, of Feversham, Wm. Woodde, of London, haberdasher, Thos. Savage, of Barnet, gentleman, taken 14 July 11 Hen. VIII.; of John Wyndcote, of London, gentleman, taken 5 April 11 Hen. VIII.; of Wm. Nysell, gentleman, and Thomas Partrich, 30 April 12 Hen. VIII.

Pp. 11.

20 May. 823. BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

R. O. Oath of canonical obedience to the holy see.

ii. The same in English.

P. 1.

R. O. 2. Leo X. to the bishop elect of Lincoln.—Faculty to take upon him the bishopric, and enclosing form of the oath.

P. 1.

R. O. 3. Form of the oath, somewhat differing from the above.

P. 1.

ii. Duplicate of § 2 and § 3.

Pp. 2.

In hands of the 17th century.

824. The TWO INTERVIEWS.

Ashmole, No. 1116. Narrative of the meeting of the king of England and the Emperor at Canterbury, and of Henry with Francis at Guisnes.

ii. 5. ii. The posies and writings that were in the round house made at Calais for feasting the Emperor, A.D. 1520.

21 May. 825. VAUX, SANDYS and BELKNAPP to WOLSEY.

R. O. Have caused Robt. Fowler to make a declaration of the money spent on the castle at Guisnes and the cheker at Calais, from 12 March to 6 May, which was the last day on which any money was paid for wages, except Heron's payments for the garnishing of roofs and presting of artificers. The bearer will give him Fowler's account. The emptions and provisions cannot be given in detail yet, as Lelegrave, who received 2,430*l.*, is still in Flanders. Henry Comptroller, Urmeston, Sadler and Browne, with many others, are still in England, and have not declared. The expense has been great, owing to the distance the stuff had to be carried, and the shortness of the time; but, when finished, Wolsey will think the money well bestowed. The work has been done according to a "platt" devised for the said buildings, and which Wolsey said the King wished to have carried out; and now the King complains they have made more buildings than are mentioned in the "platte," for his houses of office, stables for his coursers and the Queen's palfreys, the armoury and the camp, which will amount to a great charge; and the time is so short, the buildings so great, and the stuff so

1520.

VAUX, SANDYS and BELKNAPP to WOLSEY—*cont.*

far off, that they are in doubt how they shall finish before the King's coming. Neither Clément Urmeston, John Rastall, nor Browne, the King's painter, who has to gild the roofs, have come to Calais, and the stuff for the roofs is not sent. Asks Wolsey to send them over. The French king's commissioners work better than they did at the beginning. They seemed doubtful of their master's coming. It is said that artillery is being secretly conveyed to Arde; and they can the more believe it, as Mons. Shatilyon told them he should send for artillery shortly after their last meeting. Advise the King to send the ordnance lying on the Tower wharf and other places. Guysnes, 21 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: The Cardinal's good grace, legate and chancellor. *Endd.*

826. FOWLER'S ACCOUNT.

R. O. Prests delivered by the commandment of Sir Nic. Vaux and Sir Edw. Belknapp to persons in England.

To William Lelegrave, 350*l.* Henry Smyth, 300*l.* Ric. Gibson, 200*l.* Mr. Browne, painter, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Johnson, the messenger, 40*s.* Umfray Coke, 30*l.* Clement Urmeston, 20*l.* Loyall, 20*l.* Willm. Vertue, 10*l.* Cornelius Johnson, 10*l.* Sir Edw. Belknapp, 100*l.* for Gy Herry Sadeler, 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Galyon, the glasier, 20*l.* Thos. Stokton, 10*l.*

"To divers persons on this side the sea."

To John Wendebank, for a man that must deliver lime, 10 cr.=43*s.* 1*d.* Ric. Wendebank, for the men at Fynes who draw stone, 4 cr.=17*s.* 4*d.* Galyon, the King's glasier, 40*l.* Oliver Trodes, by Thos. Ilam, 40*l.*, and 200 cr., 44*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John Tybott, for provision of lime, maundes, &c., at St. Omer's, 43*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* Wm. Lelegrave, by Thos. Tate and another, at Antwerp, 6,000 cr.=1,300*l.* Thos. Tate, for Vincent, the King's painter in Antwerp, 40*l.* Vincent, for his costs going to Antwerp, 20 cr.=4*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Nic. Tyrry, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John Tybott, for 4,000 ft. of glass, bought at St. Omer's, 180 cr.=38*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Jacob Hardy, messenger, for John Medwall, 100 cr.=21*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Cornelius Maste, glasier, 1,000 ft. of glass, 10*l.* Jacob Hardy, 20*s.* Jas. Trodes, for timber, 100 cr. Loyall, 5 cr. Thos. Ilam, 21*s.* 8*d.* Tyrry, 35 cr. Thos. Wright, canvas for the dragon, 20*s.* 4*d.* Sir Ric. Whetehill, for the camp, 1,000 cr. Jacob Hardy, 21*s.* 8*d.* Thos. Growte, servant of Ric. Gibson, 40*s.* Galyon, the King's glasier, 8*l.* Ric. Gibson, by Ric. Bertelott's servants, 40 cr. Galyon, the glasier, for setting up the King's glass, 20*l.* Wm. Lelegrave, at Calais, 3,600 cr. Total prested on this side the sea, 2,673*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* Total prested by Robt. Foulter, in England, and on this side the sea, 4,079*l.* 1*s.* *Signed by Foulter.*

Pp. 4.

22 May. 827. TREATIES.

R. O. Receipt by Fox bp. of Winchester, for the following deeds, 22 May 12 Hen. VIII. 1. A proxy by king Lewis [XI.?] to the bp. of Elna (*Elven'*) under the French seal. 2. A treaty of amity prorogued by the said Bishop, sealed and signed by him. A treaty of prorogation of an annual cense by the Bishop, signed and sealed "Francia, E. iiiii^{ti}." *Signed.*

P. 1.

23 May. 828. JOHN HERFORDE, customer of Plymouth, to HENRY VIII.

Galba, B. VII. 25*. At this hour, 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday 23 May, Peter Grislyng, of this town, whom I sent by your command to discover the Emperor's navy, is come back with the ship that conveyed John Radcliff with letters to your grace from the Emperor. He says the Emperor is past

B. M.

1520.

Plymouth, accompanied with the queen of Arragon and only 60 ships, and by this hour is between Sterte and Portland. The owner and master of the ship that carried Radcliff says he is coming after in a "spynes" with letters from the Emperor to your grace. The Emperor came out of Groyne on Sunday last, and was the first that went to sea. Written the above day and hour in the 12th year of your reign.

Hol., p. 1. Add.

23 May. 829. For WM. NANFAN.

P. S.

To be clerk of the council at Calais, as held by Roger Lathbury, deceased, or Brian Tuke, by patent 28 Oct. 2 Hen. VIII., *vice* N——— Lathbury, deceased. Greenwich, 7 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 23 May.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 19.

24 May. 830. CHATILLON to WORCESTER.

Calig. D. VII.

221.

B. M.

Certain gentlemen have arrived and expressed a desire to take part in the tourney ("pour toucher aux escus"). Answered them that the "perons" were not yet ready, nor the shields slung. They informed him that, as many others were coming, it was necessary that the perons should be completed as soon as possible. Regrets that Worcester will not be there till Thursday, as that is the last of May, and the King is expected on Monday. Begs an answer by the bearer. Ardre, 24 May.

Fr., contemporaneous copy, mutilated, p. 1. Add.

24 May. 831. CHATILLON to WORCESTER.

Calig. D. VII.

222.

B. M.

Has received his letters by the bearer, the secretary of Calais, touching the ditch and the paling. It is very mal-à-propos, considering the time;— it is far more necessary to have ready the peron and the tree for hanging the shields for the reception of those who are coming every minute. Is afraid the lists will not be ready. Ardre, 24 May.

Fr., contemporaneous copy, mutilated, p. 1. Add.

24 May. 832. FRANCIS I. to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. VII.

223.

B. M.

Has received notice from La Bastie his ambassador, by which he learns that Henry is on his way to a house belonging to mons. de Conturbery, named Estafort, and will proceed thence to Calais, according to their appointment. Promises to be at Boulogne. Denies the report that he is fitting out naval armaments in Provence and at Brest. One vessel is repairing at Brest to prevent its destruction, and to serve against the Turk if needful. At Marseilles he is only making preparations to resist the Moorish and Turkish pirates. Montreuil, 24 [May]. *Signed.*

Fr., pp. 2, mutilated.

24 May. 833. SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.

R. O.

An auditor *de Camera* from the Pope, who arrived on Tuesday, had yesterday an interview with the King's mother and the Admiral "in my said Lady's chamber." The King, who was hunting in the forest of Creeye, was sent for and came back late at night. The Auditor immediately after departed for England. Montreuil, 24 May. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: My lord Card.

1520.

834. SIR THOS. BOLEYN.

R. O.

Fragment of a blank indenture, in which Sir Thos. Boleyn covenants with the earl of Devonshire to give up certain "forests, farms, and offices" which he holds of queen Katharine as survivor of Sir Edmund Carew, at a yearly rent, to be paid at the feast of All Saints, of 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, "saving and reserving 100 of deer to be and remain in the said forest of Exmoor." He is to surrender his patent to the Queen on condition that the Earl can procure a new grant to himself; after which the Earl agrees to pay him 200 marks, one half at the time of the surrender, and the rest at the feast of All Saints 1523, "in the Cathedral Church of Paules, before the rood of the north door of the same church, between the hours of 9 and 11 of the clock before noon in the same day." The name of the possessions is lost.

Pp. 4.25 May. **835. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.]**Calig. D. vii.
224.

B. M.

Ellis, 1 Ser.
i. 171.

Wrote his last yesterday. This day the King, after dinner, assembled all the great personages of the realm in his bedchamber, when Wingfield was present. The King informed the audience that he had been advertised of Henry's departure from his manor at Greenwich, and his voyage towards Dover, and he trusted the meeting would take place shortly. He intended to entertain Henry as "the prince of the world whom he esteemed, loved and trusted most." He urged his nobles to receive the English in a friendly manner, and avoid bringing any evil advised persons to the meeting. In the end he commanded the Chancellor to draw up a proclamation. Yesterday arrived *les filles de Navarre*. Montreuil, 25 May. *Signature burnt off.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.25 May. **836. OLIVER DE LA VERNADE (LA BATIE) to [FRANCIS I.]**Calig. E. ii.
174.

B. M.

[The Cardinal] had told him that his master had heard the King of France was equipping 12 or 14 vessels, which he did not believe until he had sent persons to make enquiry; from whom he had learned the names of the ships, and that they were to sail in 15 days. Encloses a roll of them. The Cardinal requested La Batie to obtain satisfactory assurance from his court, and whilst the king of England was over there, no vessels should be equipped for war, otherwise he could not advise his master to cross the sea. He wishes to have the security to this effect under Francis' great seal. If he have it on Sunday evening he will cross on Monday; if on Monday, on Tuesday. Canterbury, 25 May. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.25 May. **837. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.**

R. O.

Has received his letters by his servant, the bearer, and has given him a safeconduct for those deputed to purchase provisions, as Henry asks. Gand, 25 May 1520. - *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. *Add.*26 May. **838. MORE to ERASMUS.**Er. Ep. xiii.
37.

Of two young scholars respecting whom Erasmus was interested. The latter, whilst staying at More's house, showed him some writings of Vives, with whose elegant scholarship More was highly delighted. Is glad that Vives stands so well with his friend the Cardinal, and hopes this

1520.

will be a means of mending his fortune. Hopes to see Erasmus at the interview of the two kings. The Emperor is expected today. The King will set out to meet him early in the morning, perhaps tonight. It is impossible to describe the delight of the King, nobles, and even the people, when the message arrived that the Emperor was on his way to England. Canterbury, pridie Pentecostes 1519.

839. ERASMUS to MORE.

Er. Ep. xiii.
38.

In reply to the above. Will not thank More for his goodness to the boy, for it is like all that More does. Is glad More agrees with him in his estimate of Vives. Will be at Calais if his health hold good, to take a last farewell of all his friends. 1519.

26 May. 840. SILVESTER GIGLIS BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Writes in behalf of the bearer, Sir John Borobrich, priest, chaplain of St. Thomas's Hospital, whom he has before recommended to Wolsey, and who is leaving Rome on account of the great poverty of the hospital. Has often written about the hospital, but received no answer. Hopes Wolsey will give Borobrich an audience. Since Bussett's departure, a young man named Ellis Bodley has had the administration of the house. "I cannot say but he has done full diligently;" still his accounts and those of the hospital should be looked into. Borobrich is bringing Wolsey two bonnets of the same make "as the thoders were of;" which, he reported to Worcester, "were most just and consonant to your noble purpose." Rome, 26 May 1520. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.

26 May. 841. FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.

Calig. D. vii.
225.

B. M.

Proclamation by Francis I. for order during the tourney.

1. All vagabonds to void the place in six hours after the publication of this, on pain of hanging. 2. No one to come to the interview without tickets signed by their masters, to be delivered to Gabriel de la Chastre; marchans, vivandiers and tradespeople shall address themselves to the prevost de l'ostel, from whom they shall receive tickets; under the same penalty. 3. No gentleman or officer of any degree "facent dieu . . ne portent parolles injurieuses, ne sonnans en manna . . . des personnes des gen[t]ilshommes?" assembled at Arde or Guisnes. 4. All at the assembly to pay respect to the English and their retinues. 5. This notice to be placarded in all thoroughfares and public places. Done at Monstrel, 26 M[ay] 1520.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

27 May. 842. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.
226.

B. M.

Repeats his denial of any armament. No vessel shall start from Normandy or Brittany during the time of the interview. Has heard of the arrival of the King Catholic at Sandwich. Will start from this next Wednesday, to be at Ardes on Thursday. Montereul, 27 May. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: [A] mons. le Cardinal, &c.

27 May. 843. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has received his letter dated Canterbury, 26th instant, and informed the Admiral of its contents, showing him the memorial of the intelligence which Wolsey had received from certain ports, and which several of the council thought very strange, not understanding what it meant; and that Wolsey, "to avoid all such suspicion and occasion of grudge that your

1520.

SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to WOLSEY—*cont.*

grace had, as well upon your honor as danger of your life," assured the council, so that they are now pacified. To this the Admiral answered that it was plain Wolsey was a fast friend to his master, and he might well make that assurance, for none of the vessels were equipped for war, except the galleons, which are the duke of Albany's, and have been "a dekkynge" nearly two years; and as for the ship which is going to Denmark, it is only to bring strange beasts from that country. The king of Denmark lately gave Francis a pair of "arraynes," of which the male is dead, and the ship is being sent for another. Has seen the female in the park of Bose de Vincent. In conclusion, he said he did not believe that Henry could suppose that "his highness's said good brother, being of so entire affection, love and confidence to him," could imagine such an "unkind way" as this is supposed to be. Esteems this prince "to be of such virtue that he would * have any like thought, with purpose of execution of the same, for all the good earthly." Before Wingfield's coming, the Admiral had received letters from La Batye containing the purport of Wolsey's letters to Wingfield, and also a like memorial; and he told him that letters should be sent, after Wolsey's desire, as soon as the King had dined.

The King was at mass today at the Jacobins, where high mass was sung by the bishop of Amiens. At the King's offering, the chapel, with the hautbois and sacbuts, sang and played together, "which was as melodious a noise as ever was heard." At his return, he spoke to Wingfield of the news he had heard from his ambassadors of the King Catholic's descent at Sandwich, and said he was sure that nothing that he or his council would ask of Henry, prejudicial to France or contrary to any treaty, would take effect. He also hoped that the King Catholic's visit would not delay Henry's passage. Muttrell, 27 May, at 2 of the clock after dinner. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

27 May. 844. CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Thanks him for his letters and acknowledgment of his services. The Pope was pleased to see, from Henry's and Wolsey's letters to the Cardinal, the king's filial respect and great desire for the preservation of universal peace, and the spread of the Christian religion. Writes more fully to Wolsey. Rome, 27 May 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

28 May. 845. CAMPEGGIO and the BISHOP OF WORCESTER to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. iv. 56.

B. M.

A messenger arrived on the 15th with letters from Wolsey of the 4th. Have communicated with the Pope. Nothing will be treated of, in the forthcoming conference, to the prejudice of the Church. Have told him of the arrangements, which pleased him mightily. When the clause of the bull of prorogation on which the clergy relied is sent, they will examine into the matter. Rome, 28 May 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

28 May. 846. SILVESTER GIGLIS BISHOP OF WORCESTER to HEN. VIII.

R. O.

Writes to Wolsey, in conjunction with cardinal Campeggio, the Pope's answer to what they had been charged to tell him. Thanks the King for his letters on the subject of his promotion, which he hopes will be at the next creation of cardinals. Rome, 28 May 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

* "not" evidently omitted.

1520.

28 May. 847. SILVESTER DE GIGLIS, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has answered jointly with Campeggio the important matters in your letters to us, with which the Pope was much pleased. Am glad that the hats (*birreta*) satisfy you, and will for the future observe the same form in sending them. Expects to be promoted at the next creation of Cardinals, owing to the King's letters to the Pope and the Cardinal Protector. Has written to his friend John Tayler, to remind Wolsey of this matter.

There is no Turkish news, except that the great fleet they are preparing is thought to be intended, not for use against Italy or Rhodes, but for defence. It is reported that the Spanish fleet at Sicily has attacked and nearly taken the island of Gerbe, between Sicily and Africa, a haunt of Moorish and Turkish pirates. If the island be taken, these pirates will not be able to sweep the seas as boldly as formerly.

Some months ago the works of Friar Martin arrived. Much of their contents is disapproved of by great theologians, by reason of the scandals to which they might give rise, and part is condemned as heretical. After long debates, it has been decreed by the Cardinals to declare Martin a heretic, and a bull is in preparation on the subject, of which I will send a copy. Rome, 28 May 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. Add.

28 May. 848. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Desires credence for the count of Hoestraten, the bearer. Gand, 28 May '20.

As the King her nephew has kept his promise, hopes Wolsey will act towards him as a friend. *Signed. The last sentence in Margaret's hand.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le cardinal d'York, legat en Angleterre.

30 May. 849. TREATIES.

R. O.

Indenture, dated 30 May 12 Hen.VIII., witnessing that Cuthbert Tunstal has delivered to Sir John Cutte the two confirmations of the treaties for intercourse and an interview between Henry and the king of the Romans, dated 11 April last, and signed by Charles. *Signed by Tunstal.*

30 May. 850. [HIERONYMUS POTHÉLINUS to LEO X.]

Vit. B. iv.

57.

B. M.

On the 20th his master Petrus Berizlo, bishop of Vesprim, whilst engaged with the Turks, and hotly pursuing them, was slain, as Simon the bearer will inform him. Begs assistance against the Turks. These places are wholly defended by his brother the new Ban. Segua, 30 May 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated.

851. FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.

Calig. D. vii.

229.

B. M.

Instructions [by Wolsey to ———]

" he shall speak with Sir Edward Ponynge an[d] if he and counsaile for preparation of my lodging there at such resort thither; and in case the King's harbigers be there, [not only*] to desire the said Mr. Controller [to] speak unto them for assignation of a good and convenient lodging near unto Christ's Church [or] St. Augustine's." To induce them to be more active, is content they shall receive two nobles or 20s. Would like to have Master Colman's house. Is to put the harbingers in remem-

* These two words are interlined, but seem to be superfluous.

1520.

FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

brance to procure him lodgings at Sandwich and Dover when the King repairs thither. Is to deliver his letter at Calais to Sir John Peche, the King's deputy there, to procure him a house and take his opinion of purveyance. Would like to know if it is as cheap there as here, or whether he shall have flour packed in barrels and sent over. Has written to Sir Deputy for Mrs. Baynam's house, whether beer be as cheap, good, and plentiful there as in England,—whether wine can be had if needed,—also muttons, veals, green geese, capons, checons, rabbits, heyrnsewys, bytters, brewys, quails, storks, and other dentyethys (dainties), and how they may be best procured; also fuel and things necessary for the kitchen. "At his coming to Mr. Belknap at Guynes, principally to remember that the ground where my tents and halys shall stand b[e ap]ointed in a dry and convenient place." * * * [Some lines lost.] * * * "devises aswell as the deputie of Calais and dentyethis owt of Flaundes or Picardy with all diligence to return, so I may be ascertained what spede he hath hadde expedient to be taken in all and singler the premisses, making always my lodgynges [in the places] byfor specified in suertie, so that I be not disapoyntyd at my cummyng."

At Waren's return he is to leave Thomas Gyttyns to see to the provision of everything, using the assistance of Michlow, "and other the King's officers of mine acquaintance," as he shall think good; also taking the advice of N., and to take a let[ter from] my barber to him." Has delivered 20*l.* "as for a prest" to Waren and Gyttyns, and will remit other sums on the return of Waren.

Draft in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, pp. 2.

May.
R. O.

852. STUFF provided by ELYS HYLTON for the Queen's use, in April and May, 12 Hen. VIII.

Bought of Luys Harpissfeld, 2 pieces of white satin, 86½ yards, at 7*s.* a yd., 58½ yards green velvet, 11*s.* the yard, 72½ yds. green satin of Brygis, at 2*s.* 4*d.* the yard, yellow and russet velvet at 11*s.*, black velvet at 9*s.* 6*d.*, "sarcent changeable" at 4*s.*, green cloth of gold at 33*s.* 4*d.*, ¾ yd. crimson velvet, 9*s.*, black velvet at 10*s.* 6*d.* for henchmen, black satin at 7*s.* Total, 149*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*

Of John Westgate, green velvet at 12*s.* 4*d.*, white satin at 6*s.* 8*d.*, Holland cloth at 16*d.* the ell: total, 25*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* Of Barker, in Chepe, white satin at 5*s.* 8*d.* Of Ric. Justice, through Ric. Gybson, green velvet at 10*s.* Of Barton, in Chepe, black sarcent at 4*s.* 10*d.*, green and russet velvet at 12*s.*

Of Rauff Waryn, green velvet at 11*s.* and 11*s.* 4*d.*, 1 ell linen cloth 8*d.*, 1 yd. cloth of gold 40*s.*: total, 58*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*

Of Kelevytt, ½ yd. 1 nail cloth of silver damask, 28*s.* 6*d.* To John Norres, in Friday Street, linen cloth at 7*d.* and 9*d.* the ell. Black velvet of Hilton's own at 10*s.* Thos. Candish, for green satin of Briges at 2*s.* 2*d.* Fras. de Barde, blue sarcent at 4*s.* 6*d.* Harpissfeld, 8½ yds. yellow satin at 6*s.* a yd., for 7 doublets for henchmen; black sarcent at 4*s.* 2*d.* Wm. Buttry, white cloth of gold at 43*s.* 4*d.*, cloth of gold of damask bawdkyn at 46*s.* 8*d.* Of Colier, in Chepe, through George Bryggus, crimson velvet at 14*s.* 4*d.* and at 12*s.*; by the lord Chamberlain's command, 17 May. 13 yds. yellow damask at 6*s.* a yard. Of John Hichcoke, russet kersey at 20*d.* Bought in Blackwell Hall, broad grey cloth at 3*s.* Kelevytt, broad grey cloth at 3*s.* 6*d.* Of John Fole, grey kersey at 16*d.* To Rauff Tompson, for 3 yds. of grey cloth for his coat, at 3*s.* 4*d.* Of Rob. Blakgrove, grey kersey at 20*d.* Thos. Kelevitt, 40 yards white kersey at 2*s.* 2*d.*, and for the shearing 16*d.* Christopher Ascue, black kersey 2*s.* 8*d.* Black cotton at

1520.

4½*d.* a yd. Thos. Kampe, broad black cotton for lining the henchmen's gowns, at 14*d.* Master Smith, in Watling Street, scarlet kersey at 5*s.* 4*d.* To Ric. Justice, John Wheler, and John Scut, 3 yds. of grey cloth a piece for their coats, at 3*s.* 4*d.*

Declaration of the expence of the stuff:—

Cloth of gold and silver, 12¾ yds. 1 nail, delivered to Anth. Carlton for bordering of 2 "chare" saddles; to the footmen for guarding their hose; to Ebgrave, the embroiderer, for feathers of arrows on their doublets; for making 7 coats for henchmen; and for foresleeves and placards for their doublets. White satin 160½ yds.; 159 spent in 55 doublets for the guard. Green velvet 283¾ yds. for 55 coats for the guard, 14 coats for the 7 henchmen, bordering 18 coats for grooms and pages of the chamber, half a bow case for the Queen, and coats for the litter men; part delivered to John Smyth, clerk of the Council, to Wallynger, master of [the] barge, and to yeomen and grooms of the stable. Russet velvet, 44¾ yds. for coats for henchmen and litter men, and half the Queen's bow case. Right crimson velvet, 22½ yds., delivered to Ebgrave for a saddle for the Queen and doublets for footmen. Crimson velvet, 46½ yds., for arrow girdles for the guard, bordering scarlet cloaks for footmen, and for 7 coats mixed with cloth for henchmen. Black velvet, 102 yds., for doublets for litter men, bonnets and gowns for henchmen, and bordering their cloaks. Yellow velvet, 14 yds., for 7 doublets for henchmen. Yellow satin, 8¾ yds.; henchmen's doublets mixed with cloth of gold. Black satin, 18 yds.: 6 footmen's doublets. Black sarcenet, 56½ yds.: gowns for henchmen, and lining the capes of their black velvet gowns. Green satin of Bruges, 94¾ yds.; guarding 35 coats for grooms, &c., and for doublets for Geo. Halte and Ric. Hayes, "charymen." Blue sarcenet changeable, 77½ yds., for a traves and bed curtains for the Queen. Linen cloth, 131 ells, for shirts for footmen and henchmen, gussets for the same shirts, and 6 pair of trussing and bearing sheets. Broad grey cloth, 352½ yds., for coats for yeomen of the guard, grooms of the chamber and stable, &c.; given to 2 Dutchmen who kept the horse which came out of Flanders, 6 yds. Tawny kersey, 8½ yds., for 6 pair of hose for footmen. Black kersey, 13½ yds., for hose for footmen and litter men. White kersey, 112½ yds. for hose for the guard, for 2 "conducts" waiting on the chariot, &c. Scarlet kersey, 14½ yards, for hose. Scarlet "brode," 24 yds., for cloaks for the footmen. Black cloth brode, 16¾ yds., for henchmen's cloaks. Cotton and fringe lining, 616½ yds., for lining coats.

Stuff bought by Elis Hilton at the above-mentioned time. Mr. Wilkynson in Canwyke St., 3½ yds. green cloth at 4*s.* the yard, for the half of 2 coats made for the Queen's guard, which she did not like, and so gave one to Ric. Justice, and the other remains. Of John Breten, draper, 3½ yards marble cloth for the other half of the said coats, at 4*s.* Garard the capper, Milan bonnets for the guard, at 6*s.* each. At the sign of the Coppe in Fleet Street, bucklers for the guard at 11*s.*; two others in Shoreditch, at 9*s.* 3*d.*, swords with scabbards at 2*s.* 8*d.*, hawberds at 4*s.* For the henchmen: Milan bonnets at 6*s.*, making black velvet bonnets at 3*s.* 4*d.*, fringe for the same bonnets at 8*d.* the ounce; making 14 shirts, 21*s.*; points at 7*d.* the dozen; orange-coloured boots at 3*s.* 4*d.* a pair; arming shoes at 10*d.*, black frice shoes at 10*d.*, spurs, 6*d.* a pair, &c. For the footmen: Milan bonnets, at 5*s.* 4*d.*; other bonnets, 3*s.* 4*d.*; coifs of gold, at 10*s.* each; making of 18 shirts at 8*d.* each; hose; points at 6*d.* a dozen; shoes at 6*d.*; hats at 16*d.*; white fustian and canvas for lining their doublets, at 18*d.* each. Littermen: making hose, at 12*d.* a pair; Holland cloth for shirts, at 12*d.* the ell; shoes at 6*d.*; bonnets at 3*s.* 4*d.*; white fustian and canvas for lining velvet doublets and short coats. Chairmen, Richard Hayes and Geo. Holte, "conducts in the stable, appointed to ride and wait on the chair;" hose, 2*s.*; scarlet Milan bonnets, 8*s.*

1520.

STUFF provided by ELYS HYLTON for the Queen's use—*cont.*

50 russet and green horse cloths lined with canvas, 5s. each. To Parker, for painting the close car, 53s. 4d. 5 spruce chests with hanging locks, 32s. 8d., for the Wardrobe of Robes. To Roger Brown, taking the stuff of the guard from London to Canterbury, 20s. Thos. Kelevytt, tailor, making garments for the Queen's use, 28l. 3s. 4d. Carrying a cartload of stuff belonging to the henchmen, &c., from London to Gravesend in a great boat, 5s.; from Gravesend to Canterbury, 26 miles at 2d. a mile. John Vincent, for attending on it, 5s. 4d. 3 yds. cloth at 3s. 4d., and 2 yds. green velvet at 11s., given to John Bryght, yeoman of the Chamber, by the Queen at Guysnes, for a coat. Washing the Queen's stuff one night at Dover, and carriage into the wyke, where it was shipped, 16d. Carriage of the same stuff from the ship in Calais harbour to the Queen's lodging, 14d. To a carpenter at Guysnes, for making presses, 8d. 2 yds. of green satin of Bruges, to border a coat for a keeper of the Queen's horse bought in Flanders, 4s. 8d. 2 doz. silk points for the French henchmen, 12d.; ribbon and aglets for their bonnets, 16d. Carriage of hauberks from Calais to London, 8d.

Total, 710l. 3s. 1½d. Paid by Griff. Richards to Hilton, 549l. 3s. 3d.; to Ric. Colyer, 62l. 6s. 2d.

Pp. 26.

ii. Bought of Wm. Lok, mercer, 10 May 1520.

¾ yard cloth of silver, 32s. 6d. ½ yard cloth of silver, for scutcheons and arms, 23s. 4d. 17½ yards blue satin of Bryges, at 2s. 4d. 17½ yards red satin, at 2s. 4d., for lining chairs for the Queen. 14¾ yards yellow damask, at 6s. 8d., for lining a chair. 2 yards crimson satin, at 11s. 2 yards violet satin, at 8s., for lining a vallance of cloth of gold. "Paid by me, Elys Hylton."

P. 1. Headed: To the Queen's grace.

853. [CARDINAL DE MEDICI to ———.]

Vit. B. iv. 87.

B. M.

The contradictory proceedings of his correspondent on the part of Wolsey, in regard to the Pope's conduct with the Emperor, have much confused his Holiness, especially as he can[not] learn Wolsey's meaning from any one else, and because both the Emperor and the French king pretend to have England on their side. Has been with the Pope several times on this matter, who wishes to know the truth, and has bid him write to his correspondent, and state that Wolsey should instruct him to this effect:—that he (Wolsey) desired to send a person of credit to the Pope, to inform him of his intentions. They may thus correspond without suspicion. He is likewise to add that Wolsey must put no confidence in the bishop of Worcester, and that matters cannot proceed if the Pope has not a faithful negotiator. When he was at Florence, had often written of the secret intelligence between Wolsey and himself. [The Pope] has ordered him to execute the wish of Wolsey, and thank him for his good inclination towards his Holiness. Is to tell Wolsey that the Pope remits to him the arrangement of the intelligence. The writer states, that nothing gives him so much pleasure as Wolsey's confidence, and he would be delighted if he could have a personal interview with the Cardinal; but as this is not possible, his correspondent must supply his place as well as he can. The correspondence must not entirely be kept up by writing, but as far as can be *vivâ voce*. His correspondent can do the same in matters concerning the legateship and the faculties required by Wolsey. Does not possess, however, much knowledge of England (*de ista regione*), which he should not have thought would have required so much experience as France and other countries. The Pope is very anxious to oblige the King. Considering that the bishop of Worcester does not possess such qualities as are suitable to so high

1520.

a promotion, the Pope has determined to [abstain] from conceding it; although he has hitherto dissembled his intentions, and perhaps may find it necessary to do so still. Wolsey is not, therefore, to be startled if he receive certain briefs in commendation of Worcester.

Lat., very badly mutilated, pp. 3.

854.

GRANTS in MAY 1520.

May.

GRANTS.

1. John Pate, groom of the Wardrobe of Beds. Grant of the ferry of the Thames at Richeimount, Surrey, *vice* Nich. Grey; also the house there now inhabited by Grey. Greenwich, 23 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 1 May.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 6.*

1. Wm. Barker. Exemption from serving on juries, &c., privilege of wearing his hat in the King's presence, and licence to wear double tunics of silk, velvet (except purple), and woollen cloth cloaks (except sables), and shirts of silk and goldwork. *Del. Westm.*, 1 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

1. Th. Owen, of London, *alias* of Westminster, brewer. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 1 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 7.*

1. Joan Gaffereys, spinster, wife of Nich. Gaffereys, of Gloucester, shoemaker, *alias* of Hereford, "cordener," *alias* of London. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 1 May(?) 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

2. Th. Hert. Constat and exemplification of patent [1 June 1] Hen. VIII. (which see). *Westm.*, 2 May.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 23.*

2. Alex. Culpeper. Wardship of Geo. s. and h. of Ric. Harper, jun., also heir of Ric. Harper, sen., and Elizabeth Screne, widow. *Del. Westm.*, 2 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 18.*

4. John Hale. Lease of the Sharneford Mills and a moor in the lordship of Lammershe, Essex, late of the countess of Richmond, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 4*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 4 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 7.*

5. Recognizance cancelled, made by Th. Clifford, of Skipton in Cravyn, York, Sir Roger Belyngeham, of Burnelsede, Westmor., and Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, Westmor., 8 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 5 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

5. Peter Motton, yeoman of the Guard. To be keeper of the little park of Denbiegh, N. Wales, with 2*d.* a day, and grant of "le Countesse Towre" there, which was occupied by Wm. Almer for "le loge"; on surrender of patent 7 Dec. 15 Hen. VII. Greenwich, 5 May 12 Hen. VIII. (*Date of delivery not given.*)—P. S.

6. Anth. Savage, of Elmeley, *alias* of Hanley, Worc. Pardon of the homicide of John Pauncefote, of Hasfeld, Glouc., justice of the peace in co. Glouc. *Westm.*, 6 May.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.*

7. Sir John Marney. Wardship of Katharine and Elizabeth, ds. and hs. of Christina, Marney's wife, and hs. of Sir Roger Newburgh. The possessions are situated in Combe and Stoke, Dorset. *Del. Westm.*, 7 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 13.*

7. Martin Ferraunt, of St. Clement's Danes, without the Bars of the New Temple, capper. Pardon for felony. Greenwich, 4 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 7 May.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 7.*

8. Rob. Swayn, of Halifax, York, shoemaker. Pardon for killing Christ. Bailley in self-defence. *Westm.*, 8 May.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 7.*

8. John Southall, yeoman of the Guard. To have the fee of the crown, being 6*d.* a day, *vice* Oliver Towner, deceased. Greenwich, 6 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 May.—P. S.

9. Edw. Skydmore and Isabella his wife, Roger Wygston and Christina his wife, and John Huntley and Alice his wife. Livery of lands; viz., the manor of Welcourt, Kent. The said Isabella, Christina and Alice are the next heirs of John Langley, deceased; viz., daughters of Edm., son of Walter, father of William Langley, father of the said John, who was seized in his demesne as of fee of the said manor, held of Edward duke of Buckingham, and of certain rents and services parcel of the manor of Sbrynklyng, Kent. *Del. Westm.*, 9 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Signed: T. Nevyle. S. B.—Pat. p. 2, m. 6.*

9. Robt. Haselrvege, gent. usher of the Queen's chamber. To be bailiff of the lordship of Yelvertoft, Northt., *vice* Gerard Danet, deceased. Greenwich, 6 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 9 May.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 18.*

11. John Morton, junr. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Margaret late wife of Thomas Morton, and h. of Wm. Wodford, viz., d. of William son of Ranulph Wodford, of Asheby Folevyle Leic. (*sic.*) *Del. Westm.*, 11 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 7.*

11. John Okeden. Livery of lands as s. and h. of William Okeden. *Del. Westm.*, 11 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 5.*

11. Rob. Husey. Wardship of Francis, s. and h. of Ralph Banaster. *Del. Westm.*, 11 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 14.*

1520.

GRANTS in MAY—*cont.*May.
GRANTS.

12. Th. Ap Grono. Lease of certain lands in Eriveat and Wenonok Witt'us, in the commote of Issalet, lately in the tenure of Grono Ap Jevan Ap Gign, father of the said Thomas; for 10 years, at the annual rent of 36s. 8d., and 20d. of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 12 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 14.*

14. John Jenyns. Lease of the manor of Walkehamstowe Fraunces *als.* Lowehall, Essex, formerly belonging to Anne late countess of Warwick; for 21 years, at the annual rent of 15l. 3s. 4d., and 4s. 8d. of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 14 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 10.*

14. Sir John Heron, treasurer of the Chamber. Lease of the manor of Highall, in Walkehamstowe, Essex, parcel of Copercioners lands; for 21 years, at the annual rent of 48l., and 3s. 4d. of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 14 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 10.*

14. James Worsley, yeoman of the Robes. To be captain of Caresbroke Castle and the Isle of Wight, steward, surveyor, and receiver of the Crown lands in the said Isle, and master of the hunt of the King's forest there; with 20l. a year, and authority to lease the said Crown lands: on surrender of patent 27 May 1 Hen. VIII. in favor of Sir Nich. Wadham. *Del. Westm.*, 14 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 6.*

14. Th. Rotheram. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Sir Th. Rotheram. *Del. Westm.* 14 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 5.*

14. Christ., s. and h. of Christopher Savage and Anne his wife, d. and one of the heirs of John Stanley and Geo. Savage, clk. Livery of lands in Chepyng-Campden, Buryton, Westington, Aston-under-Ege, Ulington, and Norton-under-Ege, Glouc., whereof the said George Savage was enfeoffed to the use of the said C. Savage, sen., and of the reversions of all possessions now held for life by Thomas Savage and Arnold Savage of the inheritance of the said Christopher the son in co. Chester, to the annual value of 8l. *Del. Westm.*, 14 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 1.*

14. Anth. Edway, of St. Clement's Danes, without the Bars of the New Temple, London, fletcher. Pardon. Greenwich, 25 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 14 May.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

14. Ric. Crosse, of London, merchant-haberdasher. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petché, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 12 May 12 Hen. VIII.—*Del. Westm.*, 14 May.—P.S.

16. Edw. Willoughby, usher of the Chamber. To be bailiff, during pleasure, of the lordship of Mancefeld in Shirwood, Notts, in the King's hands by the death of Simon Digby.

Greenwich, 6 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 16 May.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 20.*

16. Cecilia Fyfa, of Norwich, spinster. Pardon for having, on 5 May 11 Hen. VIII., broken into the house of Andrew Williamsson, at Norwich, and taken a red and yellow quarter-coverlet, value 2s.; and on 1 May from the house of Wm. Hemlyng, two pewter dishes, value 12d., and two pewter saucers, value 6d. Greenwich, 5 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 16 May. *Note in margin:*—"De fine facto xx. die Junii de Wilhelmo Jelson et Antonio Ayleworth, pro brevi de ingressu habendo—vj^a viij^a."—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 12.*

16. Th. and John Howles. Lease of the manor of Whitfeld, Isle of Wight, for 21 years; rent 14l. 9s., and 20s. of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 16 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

17. Henry Strete, serjeant-at-arms. Lease of the herbage or pasture in Exeter Castle, parcel of the duchy of Cornwall, with appurtenances in Crokenwell and elsewhere in Devon, except the gaol near the castle, for 21 years; rent 33s. 4d., and 20d. of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 17 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 20, 21.*

17. John Garrard, of London, draper, *alias* vintner. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petché, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 15 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 17 May.—P.S.

18. Peter Fulham, of Lowghton, Essex, laborer. Pardon for having killed John Brokke, of Lowghton, laborer, in self-defence. *Westm.*, 18 May.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 13.*

18. John Wellesbourne, page of the Privy Chamber. Lease, in consideration of 20l. paid to the King, of the manor of Ambresbury, Wilts, parcel of "Salysburyslandis," for 21 years; rent, 16l. 5s. *Del. Westm.*, 18 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 7.*

19. William [Atwater] bp. of Lincoln. Pardon for the escape of Nicholas Curtes, of Northampton, plumber; John Cokkes, of Repon, York, laborer; Henry Sleton, of Wodhows, Leic., tailor; Robert Crokker, of Melton Mowbray, Leic.; and William Tailour, of Hotoft, Linc., scholar, who were committed to the Bishop's custody as convict clerks. *Del. Westm.*, 19 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 18.*

19. Sir Th. Fetiplace and Eliz. his wife. Grant, in tail, of the lordship of Stanford, in "le vale of Whitehorse," Berks. *Westm.*, 19 May.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 12.*

20. Griffith *alias* Geoffrey Yonge, of Kingsclere, Hants, *alias* of Ellesmore, marches of Wales, and Rob. his son. Pardon for the murder of Th. Batemanson *alias* Glover, at

1520.

May.

GRANTS.

Kingsclere. Eltham, 25 March 11 Hen. VIII.
Del. Westm., 20 May.—P.S.

21. Oliver Oglaunder. Lease of the manor of Whitfeld, Isle of Wight, for 21 years; rent 14*l.* 9*s.*, and 4*l.* 11*s.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 21 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

21. John Segewik, page of the Wardrobe of Beds. To be the King's gardener in the manor of Wodstok, with the usual fees. Greenwich, 3 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 21 May.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 11.*

21. Sir Ric. Cholmeley, knt. of the Body, John More, justice of the Common Pleas, Richard Broke, serjeant-at-law, Rob. Blagge, baron of the Exchequer, and John Broke, serjeant-at-law. Licence to Cholmeley to impark 200 acres in Stoquye, Camb.; also to More and Ric. Broke (who are seized of the manor of Holmechalle, Camb., and lands in Holmechalle, Stowquye and Little Wylbram,

to the use of Cholmeley,) to have free warren in their lands in Stoquye; and the same to Blagge and J. Broke, who are seized of the manor of Peddon and other land in Stone, Kent, to like use. *Del. Westm.*, 21* May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 6.*

22. Henry Rowte, clk. Presentation to the church of South Somercotes, St. Peter's, Linc. dioc., *vice* Ric. Southake, deceased. Greenwich, 20 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 22† May.—P. S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 12.*

22. John Gurney, of Bekilswade, Beds. Pardon, and release from the custody of the bishop of Lincoln, to which he has been committed as an attainted clerk. *Del. Westm.*, 22 May 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

23. Oliver Bosworth and John Gegge, both of the parish of Hurste, Berks. Pardon. Greenwich, 11 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 May.—P. S.

855. FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.

R. O.

"A remembrance for my lord concerning 100 men to be conveyed to Guisnes."

Captain, petty captain, chaplain, fifer, drum, archers, bills (named). Conduct money from Motesfount to London, 70 miles at 12 miles a day; for 5 days at 2*s.* 6*d.* a man. Prest money while at London, from 29 May to 2 June, and for 4 days more between London and Dover, 6*d.* a day. 4 yds. cloth for each man's coat, at 16*d.* a yard. Prest money for the captain from Mottesfount to London, and wages going to Dover, 4*s.* a day; for the petty captain, 2*s.* Total, 63*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

Pp. 8.

3 June.

856. LEO X. to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. IV.

48**.

B. M.

Has stated in his previous letters that the army of the Turks had crossed the Bosphorus. Now hears that a great fleet is collecting in the neighbourhood of Rhodes. Urges him to take measures for the safety of Christendom. Rome, 3 June 1520.

Lat., much mutilated. Add.

4 June.

857. [SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER] to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. IV.

58.

B. M.

Had written in his last the Turkish news to Wolsey. When they had given up all apprehension for this year of danger to Christendom, the old rumor suddenly springs up of great preparations being made by the Turks, and fascies to fill up the ditches,—no doubt against Rhodes. The knights have sent urgent requests for assistance; 2 large galleys are in the port of Leghorn, with 700 foot on board. In compliance with the promises made to Campeggio, begs that the King will send 1,000 foot for 4 months, and a sum of money by some of the English knights at Rhodes to raise and ship them thither. The Pope does not want to touch them. The bearer will tell him more. The King is in great reputation in Christendom. Has heard no more news of the storming of Gerbe by the Spanish fleet, of which he had spoken to Wolsey. News has just come of the arrival of the Emperor in those parts, which has given great satisfaction. Rome, 4 June 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., pp. 3. Add.

1520.

4 June. 858.

Vit. B. iv.

60.

B. M.

CAMPEGGIO [and the BISHOP OF WORCESTER] to WOLSEY.

After their last letter about the preparations of the Turks, a unanimous report had come from Constantinople, Venice, &c., that a fleet of 300 galleys had left the Hellespont, to attack Rhodes, as was generally supposed. The Pope has sent letters to require assistance;—presses Wolsey. If the Rhodians are defeated, repentance will be too late. The Pope has hired certain galleys at the port of Leghorn, and a large galleon. Jo. Paul Balioni, who attacked the churches of Perugia, suffered for his crimes in St. Angelo, on the 2 June. Rome, 4 June 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. Add.

859. FRANCE and SCOTLAND.

R. T. 137.

Teulet, i. 17.

Memorandum of what Francis is to say for Scotland at his interview with Henry VIII.

Before going, it would be well to find out what England will do for Scotland, telling them that Albany has authority to treat, if they think fit. If they agree to that, to propose an alliance for mutual defence between the three kingdoms, without in any way infringing the previous treaties between France and Scotland. If they do not wish Albany to return to Scotland, alleging that the King would be in danger, and that the Queen would be probably illtreated, is to reply that she would be more glad than any one else to have him back; that the King is in Edinburgh Castle with a guard, and that no one can enter without leave but the Queen, who can go when she likes. Three great personages appointed by the estates, have the custody of his person, and are changed every four months. If the King chooses, he might send a body (*guet*) of his Scotch guard to satisfy the English, with an *homme de bien* to conduct them to the captain of the Edinburgh Castle. The Pope, France, England and Denmark should send resident ambassadors to Scotland, to watch over the safety of the King and preserve the friendship between their states. The captain of the guard set over the King by the council to take the keys of the castle every night. If the Queen will deliver Stirling Castle to Albany, the King shall be removed thither, or to some other place as seems best. If it is necessary to remove him, from sickness or other cause, it shall be done by advice of the ambassadors and of those who have charge of his person, in presence of the Queen, if she be in Scotland. Albany shall not interfere with the King's personal matters. The ambassadors to be allowed a company of six persons each, and to see the King as often as they think fit. The Queen's property to be restored to her according to the conjunct feoffment. The English not to prevent the governor's passing and repassing to Scotland. If the English do not agree to this, they can prolong the truce with the same articles as that made by the governor and ratified by the three estates when he was in Scotland. If it come to a discussion, it may be noted that the English have often broken the truce, and were the cause of the murder of La Bastye, the capture of Poillot, and the death of the prior of Coldingham, at which 40 or 50 Englishmen were present. Likewise there was a great number at the rout of the warden of the Marches, where one was killed. They have also taken our (Scotch) ships and goods. Are informed by Albany that at the Tournelles at Paris, the English ambassadors said that Henry was satisfied with the Governor's conduct; on which Francis turned to Albany, and bid him remember that, as it was to his advantage, if Henry refuse these overtures, it will be evident that he does not wish to treat France as a friend. Francis will remember that since the death of the late king of Scotland, no peace or truce has been made with Eng-

1520.

land without his advice, and now he ought not to forsake them. It is impossible to preserve the kingdom, unless the Governor return hither immediately, as the English wish to see them divided and fighting with each other.

Fr., pp. 5.

860. [HENRY VIII.] to the LIEUTENANT and COUNCIL of IRELAND.

R. O.

St. P. II. 31.

Understands, by their joint and several letters, the time when they arrived in Ireland, the rebellious state in which they found the country, their measures taken to put down the insurgents, and their lack of horse, victuals and assistance from subjects within the Pale; on which account they wish to have 80 horsemen from the North of England and Wales, and to be allowed to discharge as many footmen of the guard as may pay their wages, seeing that many of them, being wealthy householders, would be content with 2*d.* or 1*d.* a day to return to England, if they were assured of 4*d.* a day after the war is over. Hopes the difficulties they have encountered at first will be overcome. As the Irish are assembled in so many distant places in woods and other strongholds, has authorized Sir Wm. Bulmer to get ready 100 light horse of the north parts to be at Chester on 10 August, under the leading of his son Sir John, who is well known to "you our lieutenant." Has also written to Sir Rice Ap Thomas to get 50 Welsh horsemen in readiness to take passage on the same day. Has advanced money for their coats and conduct, and a month's wages beforehand at 9*d.* a day each man; the captain 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the petty captain 18*d.* They are at liberty to discharge footmen of the guard as they propose. As the horse cannot live upon their wages they may take coyne and livery until the land be reduced to obedience. The investigation touching the conspiracy of the earl of Kildare is committed to the Chancellor, the cardinal of York, who has not had leisure hitherto to examine it on account of the interviews with the king of the Romans and the French king. The Earl, however, continually attends upon the said Chancellor, and will be tried according to law. Thanks them for sending the archbishop of Dublin to Waterford to arrange the dispute between the earl of Desmond and Sir Piers Butler. Hopes they will be reconciled, and assist in suppressing the rebellion. Desires them to practise with the leaders, both of the Englishry and of the Irishry, to come to them as obedient subjects. If the King can do any good by writing to them himself, will do so; "for now, at the beginning, politic practices may do more good than exploits of war, till the strength of the Irish enemies shall be enfeebled." Are to sow divisions amongst them to prevent their confederating. If, by such means, they attain any "towardly comfort" this year, next year the King will increase their power. The French king has offered, unasked, to send thither any number of horse or foot Henry may wish. Informs them that after the king of Castile had visited the King at Canterbury, he repaired to his dominions, and the King crossed to Guisnes for the interview with the French king.

Draft, corrected by Ruthal, pp. 7.

6 June. 861. FRANCIS I.

R. O.

Eym. XIII.

719.

Ratification of the treaty made on the Field of the Cloth of Gold with Henry VIII., touching the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, the sums of money to be paid to England, and an arrangement with Scotland to be settled between the duchess d'Angoulême and Wolsey. Arde, 6 June 1520.

Latin.

1520.

FRANCIS I.—*cont.*

- Rym. XIII. 721. 2. Similar ratification by Henry VIII. Guysnes, 6 June 1520.
Latin. Fr. 12 Hen. VIII. m. 6.
- S. B. 3. Second ratification of the above by Henry VIII. Guysnes, 13 June
 Rym. ib. 1520.
 723. *Latin. Fr. 12 Hen. VIII. m. 3.*

7 June. 862. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O. Sends the seigneur de Fletres, the bearer, to show the King and Wolsey the arrangements he has made for the meeting. Ghent, 7 June. *Signed and sealed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A monsr. le card. d'Iorck, legat et primat d'Angleterre.

8 June. 863. CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.

R. O. Will write to the bishop of Helna in answer to what the King has stated, relative to Wolsey's communications with the king of France and the lady of Angoulême, on the points touched upon at the meeting at Canterbury. Ghent, 8 June. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

8 June. 864. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O. Has written to his ambassador, the bishop of Helna, on the matters which have been signified to him touching Wolsey's communication with the king of France and the lady of Angoulesme his mother. He is to credit him entirely in all matters touching the meeting at Canterbury. Ghent, 8 June. *Signed and sealed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: Mons. le cardinal d'Yorck, legat et primat d'Angleterre.

8 June. 865. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O. Desires credence for Thomas Pynelle (Spinelly), the bearer, who is going to England (*par dela*). Gand, 8 June. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le card. d'York.

8 June. 866. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. vi. 162. Wrote last on the 4th. On the 6th the Emperor made his entry into Ghent with great triumph. The court will remove on Monday or Tuesday next to Brussels, where the estates are convoked for the 15th, and will shortly after return to Flanders to be near the King. Was told by the lord Marquis* that the provision for the renunciation of the bishopric of Badajoz, and for the pension of 2,000 ducats upon Palencia, had been sent to Rome, and a copy despatched to the bishop of Elna. Has notified the bishop of Worcester, that as the Pope had given the bishopric of Palencia to the bishop of Badajoz, Wolsey should enjoy a pension from the day his predecessor gave it up. The lord Marquis, in his master's presence, promised me that a better should be provided, and that if an opportunity came they would do still more for Wolsey's exaltation. The Emperor is informed that Wolsey has been twice in communication with the French king, and looks anxiously for his success. Mons. de Fletres has orders to cause victuals to be brought, and do all service to the King. Hears that the bishop of Elna received when in England 10,000 ducats, and the pro-

* Chievres.

1520.

mise of the bishopric of Yayn, worth 8,000 ducats, at the next vacancy, the present Bishop being 90 years old. The viscount of Lombek, the Emperor's chief secretary, wedded to the fair lady of Lykerke, desires that the King will commission Spinely to christen in his name a child he is expecting at the end of the month. The governor of Bresse sends his recommendations. He is the minion of the lord Marquis, and holds the second place after him with the Emperor. No news from Almain, but old letters from Sicily mention the arrival of the Emperor's army at Algerbys, and that the bridge between the island and the mainland had been won, so that news is expected of a complete victory. Ghent, 8 June 1520.

The bishop of Palencia says Badajos is worth more than 5,000 ducats.

Hol., pp. 4, mutilated.

10 June. **867.** [HIERONYMUS POTHELINUS to ———].

Vit. B. iv.

57*.

B. M.

As the nuncio sent by his holiness had taken his leave for Hungary, news was brought of the death of the bishop of Vesprin. Thought right to send intelligence which he obtained from the bearer of the Bishop's letters; sc., that in Croatia and Slavonia, the bishop having attacked a small body of Turkish horse and foot, whilst pursuing them, fell in with the Turkish line of battle, and his saddle turning he fell to the ground, and so fought on foot, but was slain by the multitude of his enemies. His head and one hand were cut off, but recovered by the Hungarians. This is the reason why Dom. Martinus will not leave till tomorrow. Rome, 10 June 1520.

Lat., p. 1, mutilated.

10 June. **868.** HANSE TOWNS.

S. B.

Rym. xiii.

722.

Commission to Will. Knight, LL.D., John Husee, Thomas More, and John Hewster, governor of the company of English merchants, to settle the disputes between England and the Teutonic Hanse. Calais, 10 June 12 Hen.VIII.

Latin.

Fr. 12 Hen.VIII. m. 2.

11 June. **869.** THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.†

B. M.

"La description et ordre du camp, festins et joustes."

A news letter.—To fulfil the duty imposed on him by his correspondent, the writer must give some account of the order of the interview in these past days; which he has seen in part, and in part learned from others.

To prevent confusion it had been arranged that each King should bring a limited number of men, "et dont je vous envoie le nombre de ceulx de la bande du roy d'Angleterre, ainsi que je l'ay recouvert par escript d'aucun d'entre eulx," amounting to 3,000 men and horses, not including the train of the Queen, duchess of Suffolk and ladies. Francis made proclamation on his side, when at Montereul, that none should follow his train nearer than two leagues, on pain of the halter, except those enrolled; and the like proclamation was made at Calais and Guynes. There returned, in consequence, more than 10,000 persons who had no business at the camp. The King then came to Ardre, an old town long ago destroyed, of which he had caused the fosses and castle to be repaired with diligence; and the king of England and his company came to Guynes, a little old town, the castle of

† Black letter pamphlet, printed "cum privilegio pour hayt jours." The English account of the meeting will be found in Hall's Chronicle, p. 604, and was evidently taken from the journal of an eyewitness.

1520.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

11 June. which is strong and has been newly repaired. The two Kings, being about two leagues apart, sent ambassadors to each other to announce their arrival. The king of England sent the cardinal of York, accompanied by a number of princes and nobles. Before him went fifty gentlemen of his household, bareheaded and bonnet in hand, mounted on good horses and clothed in crimson velvet, each with a great gold chain worn "en escharpe," their horses richly caparisoned, at the least with crimson velvet;—then fifty gentlemen, his ushers, bareheaded, and bearing gold maces as large as a man's head at one end. After them, also bareheaded, the bearer of his double cross of fine gold, with a beautiful crucifix of precious stones, clothed in a long robe of crimson velvet; on his shoulders a fine hood with a short cornet of crimson velvet lined below with fine embroidery and goldsmith's work. Then four lacqueys, with bonnet in hand, adorned with great plumes, their doublets of cloth of gold. Then two "staphiez" or guards of the Legate, on each side of his mule's head, and two tall young men, bareheaded, and clothed in paletots of velvet, bearing before and behind the device of the Legate embroidered on their paletots, each with a long gold baton in his hand like a poleaxe. Then the Legate, in a robe of velvet upon crimson velvet figured (*velours sur velours cramoisy figuré*), the rochet of fine linen over all, and a red hat upon his head, with large hanging tassels; mounted on a barded mule with headstall, studs, buckles and stirrups of fine gold, and the trappings of crimson velvet. After him, five or six bishops with the grand prior of Jerusalem, &c. Then 100 archers of the King's guard, well mounted, with their bows bent and their quivers at their sides.*

Next day the archbishop of Sens, the Admiral, La Trimouille and others, dressed in cloth of gold and well accoutred, accompanied by the Admiral's archers and others with hocquetons of goldsmith's work, went to Guynes, conducted by "my lord" deputy of Calais, and were met by the admiral of England, the grand master Talbot, and a great number of gentlemen and archers well arrayed, who conducted them to the king of England at Guynes castle. The King received them very honorably, amid great noise of artillery and music. The lords of England feasted the French lords in their tents marvellously, from the greatest to the least, "et jusques a deschirer leurs robes quant il ny vouloient entrer, pour les festier." After the conference the French lords returned, conducted by a great company. On their delivering their answer the King was very joyful, and I believe the day for the Kings to see each other was then fixed; which was next day. On Thursday, the day of Fête Dieu, at the hour fixed, artillery sounded on each side, to let the Kings know of each other's departure. First marched the prévôt de l'hôtel with his archers and the trumpet, who, being arrived at the camp, made proclamation that every one should avoid on pain of the halter. Afterwards marched Messrs. Gabriel de la Chartre, Pontdormy and other captains, all in cloth of gold, with gold chains about their necks, and accompanied by the archers with their hocquetons of goldsmith's work, and horses barded with the same. Then the marshals of France; then the Grand Master with the King's steward and officers; all in cloth of gold. Then the Grand Seneschal, mons. de Saint Vallier, who conducted the 200 gentlemen, some in cloth of gold, some in crimson and others in coloured velvet. Then the princes de Tallemont, La Roche sur Yon, and others, in cloth of gold, who led the King's pensioners. Then the Swiss on foot, their captains on horseback; all in new liveries, with rich plumes and plenty of drums and flutes. Then the trumpets, hautbois, clarions, sackbuts, &c. Then the King's gentlemen and chamberlains, all in cloth of

* Here follows a description of Wolsey's visit to the French king, which is the same as in no. 2.

1520.

11 June. gold and silver, *eschiquetez et escarlatez*. Then the Constable in cloth of gold frise, set with jewels, and his horse barded with the same, bearing the naked sword before the King. Then the King, upon a beautiful horse covered with goldsmith's work, accompanied by the princes of the blood and his great council. He wore a cassock (*saye*) of cloth of gold frieze with a mantle of cloth of gold "*trait en escharpe*," both richly jewelled. After him marched a great number of gentlemen, captains and archers of the guard, well accoutred. Thus accompanied, the King arrived at the camp, which is on the bounds of France and England, between two little eminences, where stood the pavilion in which they were to confer, very rich and covered with cloth of gold.

The same time the king of England had left Guynes with his company and the archbishop of York legate, all most richly accoutred and better mounted than I can express. The two kings stopped at about two casts of a bowl (*getz de boulle*) from each other, where they could see each other, when silence was made on both sides. Suddenly the trumpets and other instruments sounded, so that never was heard such joy. After it was over, the Kings spurred their horses fiercely (*de grant roydeur*), and embraced each other two or three times on horseback, bonnet in hand; then dismounting embraced again. No one entered the pavilion but the Kings, the legate of England and the admiral of France, who have managed the whole affair. The constables of France and England remained at the entrance with their swords naked as they had borne them before the Kings. The grand esquire of France and the admiral of England were a little behind, and after the Kings had talked together made a sign to the lords to approach and salute them. The King gave a very gracious reception to Suffolk and the English, and embraced them, the king of England doing the like to the French lords. Both hosts were well supplied with barrels of good wine, and drank together, repeating several times the toast "Good friends, French and English."

After the conference I understand it was arranged that on Sunday the French king should visit the queen of England at Guynes, and the King of England visit the French queen, whom he called his sister, and my Lady at Ardre.

Friday and Saturday the camp was visited by the lords of both sides, who made each other great cheer.

Sunday, 10 June, the King left Ardre, to dine at Guynes. The king of England went by a different route, accompanied by the Constable, the Admiral, and other lords sent to conduct him. Artillery sounded on both sides to let each know of the other's departure. As he was not there, cannot describe the King's reception by the queen of England; but understands he was received in the most courteous manner possible by that Queen and the duchess of Suffolk. In one place within Guynes were two great gilded "*cuves*," and in the middle of each was a large fountain, with several flowrets, which continually spouted white wine and claret, the best that could be found, with large silver cups for any one to drink, "*qui estoit une chose singulière*." The king of England going to Ardre was attired in a double mantle of cloth of gold made like a cloak (*cappe*), embroidered with jewels and goldsmith's work, a "*seion*" of cloth of gold frieze also embroidered with jewels, a beautiful head-dress of fine gold cloth (*toille d'or*), a beautiful collar *en escharpe* made of jewels, three of which were very conspicuous. On arriving at the Queen's lodging, he met her ladies, the most beautiful that could be, dressed in cloth of gold. The said King "*alloit tout a son aise pour les veoir a son plaisir*." The King's mother received him at the entrance to the King's lodging, and conducted him along the alley where the ladies were, to the entrance of the *salle* where the Queen waited for him. She was dressed in a robe of cloth of

1520.

11 June.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

gold frieze, embroidered "dung grant demy pied de pierrerie fine," the kirtle of cloth of gold *battu*, the wrist sleeves (*mancherons*) covered with diamonds and embroidered with fine jewels, wearing on her breast a fine diamond called "la poinete de Bretagne," and the ornaments round her head very rich, set with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. The King's mother and the Duchess were dressed so richly as it would be impossible to express. The King, on entering, made reverence to the Queen, who rose from her chair of state to meet him. He then kissed her, with one knee on the ground and bonnet in hand, and afterwards kissed Madame, the Duchess, and all the other princesses and ladies of the company. This done, he returned to the Queen, who took him by the hand and made him sit beside her. At the dinner the Grand Master held his gold baton upon his neck, and the other *maîtres d'hôtel* held their batons low near the ground. The *écuiers* were all in gowns (*chamarres*) of cloth of gold. All sorts of instruments sounded at the dishes and courses most melodiously. The great lords were about the table where the said King and Queen dined, and all the great lords and ladies of England were entertained. Cannot describe the number of viands, plates, vessels, &c. The king of England is a very handsome prince, "honnête, hault et droit," in manner gentle and gracious, rather fat, and with a red beard, large enough and very becoming. The tables being removed, the Queen and my Lady led the King into a high room, richly adorned with tapestry of cloth of gold, and carpeted (*pavée*) with crimson velvet, where they talked at leisure. This done, he took leave, and on mounting his horse gave it the spur, and made it bound and curvet as valiantly as a man could do. At his leaving the artillery sounded, as also did that of Guynes on the departure of Francis, which was at the same instant. They met each other on the way, and embraced, asking each other "What cheer?"

These festivities over, it was thought right that the French queen should visit Guynes, and the queen of England Ardres.

Cannot write of the jousts, as they are not yet over. The lists were made with counter-lists in the French fashion, but at the request of the king of England the counter-lists were taken away. The plan is that the two Kings shall hold against all comers, and shall have for aids, viz., for Francis, the Constable, Alençon, and 18 gentlemen; for Henry, Suffolk, the Admiral, and 18 others. The two shields of the Kings have been set up by the heralds with great solemnity. Has seen the two triumphal arches, which are very rich. Round the lists are fine galleries for the lords and ladies. Today the jousts have begun, and the two Queens have seen each other on the scaffolds.

The King's camp was outside Ardre, near a little river upon a meadow, where were several fountains. In it were 300 or 400 tents that it was goodly to see; among others a great pavilion of the King, as high as the highest tower, and three of a middle size, as high as the walls of a town, of wonderful breadth, covered with cloth of gold outside, and inside cloth of gold frieze. The great one was covered at the top with cloth of gold frieze, and below with velvet *cramoisy* violet, powdered with gold fleurs de lis. On the top was an image of St. Michael gilt with fine gold, as large as a man, having a mantle *en escharpe*, painted with fine azure, and powdered with fleurs de lis, and holding a dart in his right hand, and in the left a shield with the arms of France very brilliant. On the other tents were numerous vanes with the arms of France. The tents of the English were hardly fewer in number, and in fine order. Could not express half the triumph if he wrote for a fortnight. At the camp by Ardre, Monday, 11 June.

Fr.

1520.

June.

870. THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.*

"L'Ordonnance et ordre du tournoy, joustes et combat, a pied et a cheval. Le tresdesire et plusque triumpfant rencontre, entreveue, assemblee et visitation, des treshaultz et tresexcellens princes, les roys de France et de Angleterre. Les festins et l'ordre qui y a este observe. Les noms de ceulx qui ont jousté et combatu, et de ceulx qui ont le mieulx fait. Les ditz et deviz des roys et aultres personnages mis et apposez au dessus des portes du festin fait a Calaiz, a lentreveue du Roy Catholique et du Roy d'Angleterre, et aultres choses singulieres."

As God has given the cherished treasure of peace to France and England, to prevent idleness and sedition, seeing that "le chevalereux Mars a délaissé moiens exquis," sixteen gentlemen of name and blood, viz., eight French and eight English, for the honor of God and the love of their ladies, intend to maintain these articles (to which is prefixed a ballad "Enfans de Mars, heritiers de noblesse"), viz.:—1. In consequence of the numerous accidents to noblemen, sharp steel not to be used as in times past, but only arms for strength, agility and pastime. 2. The challenge to commence 11 June, and continue for a month, or so long as the two Kings shall be together, when the said gentlemen will answer all comers with blunt lances in harness, with *pieces d'avantage cramponées ou non cramponées*, without any fastening to the saddle that might prevent mounting or dismounting with ease. Each challenger to have eight courses, with middle-sized lances, or greater, if any of the comers prefer it, between one hour after dinner and 6 p.m. 3. The said gentlemen shall ride each one course in the open field with all comers, as many strokes to be given as the comers demand; great lances to be used and single-handed sharp swords, with blunt points, closing not allowed unless the comer desire it. 4. The said gentlemen shall give one encounter to all comers with blunt casting lances, and four strokes with blunted single-handed swords. With the double-handed swords, as many strokes shall be given as the judges think fit, but no closing allowed. 5. Harness with *pieces d'avantage*, means with no head-piece but an *armet*; neither helm, demi-helm nor bassinet allowed. 6. The challengers shall send round heralds to declare the rules of the combat. 7. On the 6th June, a tree shall be chosen, bearing the noble thorn entwined with raspberry, and on it shall be hung the shields of the challengers, and below them three escutcheons, black and grey, gold and tawny, and the last silver. Tablets, guarded by heralds, shall be hung below these for the names of the comers.

Première Emprinse. Those who wish to run in the lists must touch the black and grey shield, and deliver their shield of arms to the herald, who shall write down their names, and how many courses they desire to run, and whether with great lances or middle sized. *Seconde Emprinse.* Those who desire to enter for the courses in the field must touch the second shield. *Troisième Emprinse.* Those who wish to fight at the barrier must touch the third. *Quatrième Emprinse.* Those who desire more than one combat must enter their names in each tablet accordingly. If the judges decide that the challenger is worsted in any combat, he must give a gold token to the lady in whose service the comer fights, and *vice versâ*. Each gentleman shall fight in the order in which his name has been entered. Any one disarmed so that he cannot complete his courses must be content with what he has done for that day. If any of the challengers are ill or absent by order of their princes, the remainder shall choose a substitute. If the horse of a comer bolts from the lists†, and yet runs the course, it shall be counted as a course. Also, if it happen that the horse bolts,

* Printed in black letter "cum privilegio," by Jehan Lescaille, the privilege to last for a year from 31 July 1520.

† Fouyst la lice.

1520.

June.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

it is but fair that the comer shall have a fresh start. If a challenger strikes or kills the horse of his opponent he shall not run again that day, without the ladies' leave. Any who have been once answered what they demanded, shall not make a second demand. Whoever strikes against the saddle of his opponent shall be disallowed two broken lances. All Sundays and feasts of the French and English churches shall be observed, by abstinence from running.

Prologue of the interview of the two Kings.

Contrasts the interview with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, which ended in discord, while friendship is the object of the former.

Enlarges upon the beauty of the pavilions, exceeding the pyramids of Egypt, and the angelic visages of the "Heroydes princesses." The eloquence of the Muses would be insufficient, and Apollo himself would remain abashed if he were to attempt it.

The order of the interview. The French king, Queen and Madame spent Whitsuntide at Monthereul, where the cardinal d'Albret and the ladies of Navarre met them. The king of England was meanwhile at Canterbury with the King Catholic, who arrived at Dover on the 26th of May. After his departure the King and Queen embarked for Calais, and then proceeded to Guisnes, to meet the French king and queen, who were waiting for them at Ardre. This town being old and in decay, the fosses and ramparts were repaired by the French king, and a brick house was built for this meeting, but not perfectly completed. The tents and pavilions, numbering 300 or 400, made of cloth of gold and silver, and velvet, emblazoned with the arms of their owners, were pitched near a small river outside the town. The King had three middle-sized and one large pavilion. At the top of the large one was a figure of St. Michael, gilt, with a blue mantle powdered with gold fleur de lis, holding in his right hand a dart, in his left a shield with the French arms. They were covered with cloth of gold, inside and out. The pavilions of the Queen, Madame, Mons. d'Alençon, the Constable, Messieurs de Lorraine, de Vendosme, de Guise, St. Pol and others were all very fine. The large pavilion of the King was afterwards blown down and the mast broken. The princes and gentlemen lodged in their tents, and in the castles and villages around. There was good order everywhere, and abundance of provisions at reasonable prices. The king of England, on his arrival at Calais with his Queen and all their train, sent an embassy to the French king, consisting of the cardinal of York and others, as follows:—First, before the Legate, 100 archers of the Guard, in doublets of crimson velvet, with cloaks (*chamarres*) of fine scarlet; then 50 gentlemen of the Household, their bonnets in their hands, with cloaks of crimson velvet, and great chains of gold. They rode with their lances on their thighs, but went no further than the gates of Ardre. Next came the gentlemen and servants of the Legate, with their bonnets in their hands, all in crimson velvet, mostly wearing gold chains scarfwise, and their horses trapped in crimson velvet. Next, the Legate's crossbearer, in a scarlet robe, and a crimson velvet hood, with a short *cornette*. He carried two crosses till he was past the territory of Guisnes, where he left one. Next, round the Legate were four lackeys, in paletots of crimson velvet, with his device in goldsmith's work, bearing gilt bâtons and poleaxes (*bees de faulcon*). Then came the Legate, on a richly caparisoned mule, with gold frontstall, studs, buckles and stirrups, the footcloth of velvet figured on crimson velvet, the rochet of fine linen over all, and a red hat with large hanging tassels. After him, five or six bishops, the grand prior of Jerusalem, and several prothonotaries, in crimson and black velvet, and wearing great gold chains. Last, were 50 archers of the King's guard well mounted, their bows bent, and their quivers at their side, in red cloth jackets, with a gold rose before and behind.

1520.
June.

The French king sent to meet him La Tremouille and Chastillon, with a great number of gentlemen, and 50 archers of the Guard. They met the Legate at two bowshots from Ardre, and joined the procession, marching behind the Legate and before the bishops. The King met him, riding on his mule, at the gates, where he arrived about two hours after dinner. The princes, gentlemen, archers and Swiss were arranged on both sides of the street, from the gate to the King's house; the trumpets, fifes and other instruments played most melodiously, and the artillery made such a noise you could not hear. At the King's lodging, the Legate dismounted, and the King embraced him, with great signs of affection, bonnet in hand; then led him to his lodging, where they talked together for a long time with the other princes and lords, all magnificently dressed. Meanwhile good cheer was made to all the Legate's company. That done, the Legate returned to Calais.*

The Saturday following, 2 June, the Legate revisited the King with a small company, at Ardre, and remained about 7 hours. Friday and Saturday, the Archbishop of Sens, the Admiral and other French lords visited the king of England at Calais. After supper on Saturday the king of France went to Marquise, between Ardre and Boulogne, where the ladies were, returning on Monday evening. Tuesday, 5 June, the king and queen of England, with their train, went to Guisnes. On their arrival, artillery was fired both there and at Ardre. Their tents were pitched near the castle, and those of the train in the field near the town. All necessities were brought by sea from England. The King built a banquetting house, the most sumptuous that has long been seen. The foundations are of stone, the walls brick, and the rest wood; surrounded by cloth painted like brick; the covering painted *à l'antique*. Inside was tapestry of cloth of gold and silver, interlaced with white and green silk, the colors of the king of England. It contained four great *corps de maison*, eight saloons, chambers and wardrobes. The chapel was painted blue and gold, with hangings of gold and silver, and rich cupboards of plate. The gates were like those of a great castle, guarded by armed men above. At one door were two gilt pillars, bearing statues of Cupid and Bacchus, from which flowed streams of malmsey and claret into silver cups, for any to drink who wished. Between one of the gates and the castle of Guisnes was a winding alley, covered with verdure, like the house of Dædalus or the garden of Morganna la Fée, of the days of the knights errant.

Wednesday, 6 June, the archbishop of Sens, La Trimouille, the Admiral and other great lords, went to Guisnes, and were conducted by the Deputy (Milort de bittes) of Calais. The king of England sent Talbot, his steward, to conduct them to the castle of Guisnes, with the sound of artillery and music. They were received and feasted by the English as if they were their brothers.

Thursday, 7 June, *la feste Dieu*, the Kings met in the Val Doré, a little valley between Ardre and Guisnes, in English ground, about vespers. The French king left Ardre, accompanied by the Constable, who carried the naked sword before him, and the Grand Escuyer, with the royal sword, powdered with gold fleurs de lis. After them came the king of Navarre, the dukes of Alençon, Lorraine and Vendome, the counts and lords of Guise, Laval, Lautraic, Dorval, La Tremouille and St. Pol, the marshals and lords of Chabannes, Chastillon, Lescun, Desperrault, Grand Master, the princes de la Roche Suryon, Tallemont, &c., in cloth of gold, wearing their order about their necks, and richly mounted. Then followed the archers of the Guard, with jackets of goldsmith's work; the gentlemen of the Household were on the left, without harness, according to their articles. The King was mounted on a beautiful charger, and clothed with a cassock of

* To Guisnes, in "La Description et Ordre du Camp."

1520.

June.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

cloth of gold frieze, a mantle of cloth of gold, richly jewelled, the front and sleeves set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and large pearls, hanging loose; his *barette* and bonnet of velvet, set with plumes, and resplendent with jewelry. Before him marched the Swiss, in his livery, with white feathers, led by Floranges, gorgeously arrayed, with fifes and all kinds of musical instruments. The trumpets and heralds marched near the King with banners displayed. Mountjoye, Bretagne and Normandie heralds, went next him. The cardinals de Boissi, Legate in France, de Bourbon, d'Albret, de Lorraine and several bishops, with the ambassadors of the Pope, the King Catholic and others, marched in the King's company to near the Val Doré, where bounds were set which none but the Kings should pass. On the other side the king of England, accompanied by the dukes of Rottingan (Buckingham) and Suffolk, the marquis Dorset, the earls Northumberland, Talbot, Salisbury, the Grand Chamberlain, "les contes Dancher (Devonshire?) et Kynt," with numerous gentlemen and archers, wearing gilded hocquetons of white and green velvet, and a number of gentlemen not armed. The king of England was dressed in cloth of silver, richly jewelled, with white plumes. When the two companies approached, the Kings descended the valley, gently, with their constables bearing naked swords. On coming near, they gave their horses the spur like two combatants about to engage, but instead of putting their hands to their swords, each put his hand to his bonnet. They then embraced bareheaded, dismounted and embraced again, and took each other by the arm to a fine pavilion all like cloth of gold, which the king of England had prepared. After a dispute which should go last, the two Kings entered together. The Admiral and Wolsey entered before them. After some conversation within the pavilion, each king embraced the lords of the other's company, whilst the trumpets and other instruments sounded on each side, so that it seemed a paradise. At night they took leave of each other.

Saturday, the 9th, the two kings came to the lists. The camp was on high ground, about half-way between Ardres and Guisnes, surrounded with fosses like a town, the houses and galleries on each side long and spacious, and well hung with tapestry; and there was a chamber, well hung and glazed, for the Queens. At each entry to the park and lists was a guard of 12 French and 12 English archers, but they did not refuse entry to any person honorably apparelled. The Kings caused their shields to be attached by the kings-of-arms to the *perron* and tree of noblesse planted at the foot of the lists with the triumphal arch; the foot of which tree was covered with cloth of gold, and the *carrure* with green damask, and the leaves were of green silk. There was a dispute among the heralds which shield ought to be hung first and to the right. The Constable and others on the part of Francis, and the Marquis and others for the king of England, were appointed judges; but, finally, the king of England caused the French king's arms to be placed on the right, and his own on the left, equally high. After several feats that day, the Kings took leave of each other.

Sunday, the 10th, the French king and several of his gentlemen went to dine at Guisnes with the queen of England, and the king of England dined with the Queen at Ardre, accompanied by several English princes. The French king's mother went before him to the entry of the great court of the house, dressed as a widow, and did him reverence. They walked together to the room where they dined, which was well hung with cloth of gold from top to bottom. On the table the dishes were only set on one side. The king of England sat down first, the Queen next him, then Madame, the duchess of Alençon, her daughter and Madame de Vendome. Each had a service apart in vessels of gold. Among the entremets were salamanders, leopards and ermines, bearing the arms of the French king and queen, "qui estoit une chose triumpante." At the third service,

1520.

June

largesse was cried by the heralds, who had a great golden goblet. And there was cried by Mountjoy, in the name of the king of England, "Largesse to the high, mighty, and most excellent prince Henry, &c., largesse, largesse!" Then the heralds came to the *salle haute*, where were the duke d'Alençon and other lords entertaining the princes of England, and Bretagne cried largesse, and then to the pavilion, &c. After much music, dances, songs, &c., the king of England took leave at 5 p.m., and returned to Guisnes. The reception given by the queen of England to the French king was not inferior.

Monday, the 11th, the jousts commenced. The kings of England and France, Vendosme, Suffolk, Dorset, Saint Pol and others held the lists, and were assailed by d'Alençon, the Admiral and others. This day the wind was so strong as to prevent the lances being couched. The Queens, who had not met before, were both present with their ladies, richly dressed in jewels, and with many chariots, litters and hackneys covered with cloth of gold and silver, and emblazoned with their arms. They sat together in a glazed gallery, hung with tapestry, and talked together about the tourney. Many persons present could not understand each other, and were obliged to have interpreters.

Wednesday, the 13th, the Kings and many of the ladies came to the camp, where were dancing, wrestling and other pastimes, but no jousting, on account of the high wind. Thursday, the 14th, the Kings and their aids tilted with the bands of Trimouille and Lescun, 25 men in all. The king of England and Suffolk did marvels. All returned home about 7. Friday, the 15th, the Kings did not run, but the other challengers received the bands of Vendosme and the marquis of Sallusses. The Marquis, out of 8 courses, broke 6 lances, *de droict fil*. Sunday, the 17th, the king of France and his mother dined with the queen of England in the palace which the King had built. Francis hearing that the King, who intended to dine with the Queen at Ardre, was still at Guisnes, went to see him, with only 4 companions, and finding him at breakfast, ran and embraced him. This action removed all suspicion from the minds of the English. The King, as was mentioned, dined with the queen of England, and after dinner there were masks and *damoiselles encornetées*, disguised as mummers. The king of England and his sister Mary dined at Ardre. The King dined apart, and sent for the Constable and others to dine with him. The Queen and the queen Mary dined together. After dinner there were dances, and the King retired to the Admiral's tent, where he and 30 gentlemen disguised themselves in the costumes of lanzknechts, Albanians, &c. On the following Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the jousts continued. Jerningham was nearly unhorsed by one of Tremouille's band.

Friday and Saturday, the 22nd and 23rd, the combats at the barriers were performed on foot, with thrusting and casting lances, and short and two-handed swords. Sunday, the 24th, the Kings closed the lists with the Constable and his band. Saturday, the 23rd, a platform was built in the camp, and near it a chapel, a fathom and a half high, on pillars. It contained an altar and reliquaries, and at the side were two canopies of cloth of gold, with chairs for the legates of England and France, and the cardinals of France, and seats below for the French bishops. On another side were seats for the ambassadors of the Pope, the king of Spain, the Venetians and others. Between the chapel and the platforms for the Kings and Queens were the chanters of the Kings, each with his *popistre*; and above the platform, two oratories, one for the Kings, the other for the Queens, and other chambers; from one of which the Legates and Cardinals started at 10 o'clock to go to the chapel, all in red camlet, and seated themselves under the canopies; while the archbishop of Sens, and the bishops of Verdun, Lizieux, Angoulesme and others, sat below the canopy near the altar, and De Boysy under another. The English bishops were

1520.

June.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

round the altar, to act as deacons and subdeacons, except the archbishop of Canterbury, who sat apart, near the French bishops. The English chanters began by saying *tierce*, which done, the English legate and the deacons, &c. changed their dress, and put on very rich vestments. The two Kings mounted the platform, and kneeled at the oratory, Francis on the right, and Henry on the left. The Queens did the like. There were with the French king, Alençon, Bourbon, the Constable, the king of Navarre, St. Pol, the King's confessor and the Grand Almoner. With the English king there were only two chaplains, who said mass at an altar at the oratory. About noon the English legate commenced the high mass *De Trinitate*. The first introit was sung by the English chanters, the second by the French. They had arranged that when the French organist played, the French chanters should sing, and *vice versâ*. Pierre Mouton played the *Kyrie*, then the English the *Gloria in Excelsis*; the *Pater* was sung by the French, with the King's band of *cors de sabottes* and fifes, the *Sanctus* by the English, and the *Agnus Dei* by the French, who concluded with several motetts. The cardinal de Bourbon, who brought the Gospel to the Kings to kiss, presented it first to Francis. He desired Henry to kiss it first, but he refused the honor. While the preface was being said, a great artificial salamander or dragon, four fathoms long, and full of fire, appeared in the air, from Ardre. Many were frightened, thinking it a comet, or some monster, as they could see nothing to which it was attached. It passed right over the chapel to Guisnes, as fast as a footman can go, and as high as a bolt shot from a crossbow. "And when God was shown at the said mass, which was with great honor, reverence and devotion," at the *Agnus Dei*, the *Pax* was presented to cardinal Bourbon to take to the Kings, who observed the same ceremony as before; then to the two Queens, who also declined to kiss it first, and, after many mutual respects, kissed each other instead. The benediction was given by the English legate, and one of the English secretaries made a Latin oration at the bottom (*fons*) of the chapel, turning to the royal personages, enlarging on the blessings of peace, and stating that those who assisted at the mass should have plenary remission; a privilege granted by the Pope to the English legate whenever he celebrated mass *in pontificalibus*. The platforms and galleries, which contained great numbers of people, were so well arranged that everyone could see. After mass the Kings dined together in a chamber on the high galleries. They sat on one side under a canopy of cloth of gold, the king of France at the top. The Queens dined in another chamber, and with them the queen Mary. The French queen was in the middle, under the canopy, and the duchess of Alençon at the end. The Kings and Queens always dined at home before coming to the banquets, and only conversed while admiring the service and the meats. The legates, cardinals and prelates dined in another room, and drank and ate *sans fiction*. The princes, princesses, lords and ladies dined in other chambers. After dinner the combats on foot were finished. Then the Kings and Queens returned home, the trumpets sounded, and in the evening bonfires were made in the lists, and at Guisnes, Ardre and Calais guns were fired, for it was the vigil of St. John.

Sunday, the 24th, the King went, masked, to Guisnes, to dine with the queen of England, and the king of England went to dine with the French queen. The Kings met in the lists, and bade each other farewell; and they seemed to leave each other with regret. The Constable, Lorraine Vendosme, the Admiral and others gave great banquets to the English princes and noblemen. The Kings, Princes and Princesses interchanged presents, as horses, litters, necklaces, &c. The Kings determined to build a chapel in the Val Doré, where they first met, for the daily performance of one mass, to be called "La Chapelle de nostre Dame de la Paix." The

1520.

June.

English king returned some French hostages who had been given for the affair of Tournay. "Dieu par sa grace permette la paix estre durable. Amen."

Two ballads, the first commencing "Au parlement de Volunte Divine," the other "Par fille et filz de illustre geniture."

Lists of those who ran each day set out in form as follows:—

11 June.

Tenans.

Le roy de France.
Le roy d'Angleterre.
Mons. de Vendosme.
Le duc de Suffort.
Le conte de Sainet Pol.
Mons. le marquis Dorset.
Rochepot.
Mons. Guillaume Kingeston.
Brion.
Monsieur Richart Jarningham.
Tonaues.
Sire Gilles Cappel.
Boucal.
Nicolas Carreau.
Montaillant.
Knebec (Knyvet?).

Les venans ont couru en
desordre.

Venans.

M. d'Alençon et sa bande.
Regne de Silly seigneur de Vaulx.
Graville.
Le Poullain.
Charles s. de la Brethonyere.
Regnault de Silly.
Jeh. Tercellin s. de la chevalerie.
Monterollier.
Loys de Silly seigneur de la Roche.
J. Tercellin s. de la ro. du Maine.
La bande de Mons. l'Admiral.
Monsieur Daguilly.
Messire Gilbert du Croc.
Claude seigneur Dulfes.
François de Bourdalles.
Georges Foudras.
Jaques de Harlay.
François de Montagu.
Mons. de Concursault.
Mons. de Gammache.
François de la Barre.
Pommereul.

Names of those who have deserved prizes ("qui ont merité avoir le pris"):—

Holders. The kings of France and England, Suffolk, St. Pol, Dorset, Rochepot, Brion.—*Aids:* The marquis of Salluces, Sir Ralph Ellercar, de Guyse, Francis Brian.

Comers. 1. Of Guise's band: la Vernade. 2. Of Tremouille's: La Chapelle and Beaujeu. 3. Of Lescun's: Hannebault, La Guyche, le conte Gayas. 4. Of Vendome's: Rob. Joyeulx *alias* Grant Pré, Guillaume de Bours, Hugh de Rencourt. 5. Of the marquis de Salluces: the marquis, le grant Tournon, La Villecte. 6. Of the "conte de Monshire" (Devonshire's): the Earl, Ant. Browe (Brown), Memorency, Arthur Poolle, Mompesat, Sir Will. Cary, Sir Jo. Neville. 7. Of Mons. Emond Albardo (Edmund Howard's): Mons. Emond, Raphael Ellerquair, Raif Brolra (Broke?), Ric. Jarnyngham, Jo. Anlaby, Randille Nymseulle. 8. Of Fleurenges: Mons. Jamays, the bailiff of Vitri, Renty, Jehan d'Aspremont, Rayre. 9. Of Bonneval's: La Tour d'Anjou, La Loue, Grossonne. 10. Of Bourbon's: Estarges, Jaques seigneur d'Argouges, le seigneur Beaulmont, Alof de l'Hospital seigneur de Choisy, le Pollain de la Bastisse, Sembrysse, François de Pellon s. de Gourd't (?), Hugh de Villelume, seigneur de Monbardon.

Judges for France: Dorval, governor of Champagne, Marshal de la Pallice and Daubigny. *For England:* The earls of Northumberland and Worcester, the Lord Chamberlain (Oxford), Lord Sainet Jesus (St. John's) and Ponynges. The heralds were Mont S. Michel and Garter kings-of-arms.

The devices and mottoes of the Kings placed at the gates of the banquetting house at Calais at the visit of the King Catholic:—

"Moy Artus roy, chef de la table ronde, &c."

1520.

June.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD—*cont.*

The names of noblemen with the King Catholic: Dukes of Alba and Bavaria, marquis of Brandenburg, princes of Orange, Debezemaño, marquis Arscot, Chievres, and count Porcean his son, Fiennes, count de Montasgu, Dort Servande Danderdo Admiral, the Commendador, son of Alva, the archbishop of Palermo, bishop of Courbue, the Chaplain Major, bishop of Palentia, Grand Almoner, bishop of Ebva (Elna), ambassador.

Fr.

871.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

Add. MS.
4620, f. 260.

B. M.

The view taken by the King's commissioners assigned to survey the charges of the French king's train lately lodged in Calais and the marches during the French king's abode there.

The ward of Griffith Aphendereth,—Thos. Melody, officer. Bills of parcels of John Kele, Raymond Cuttures, Harry Banester and others, for wine.

Similar particulars for Johnson's and other wards and officers; for the water bailiff's bailiwick, without the Lantern Gate; alderman Plankney's ward, and others of the West and East country without Calais. The above bills appear to have been mostly, if not entirely, for wine, except that under "the East country" is included a bill of those who had supplied forage to the French king's train in Marke and Oye, 14*l.* 8*s.*; hay, oats and litter, paid by John Palmer, 98*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* To Palmer, for making racks and mangers in woolhouses, changing the doors, "and repairing with reed and other necessities," 4*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*; oats, at 8*d.* the quarter, 6*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*; 3 loads of hay, 11*s.*; and for binding it in bottles, 6*d.*; 5 tuns 1 hhd. Gascon wine, bought of John Walters, vintner, "at 6*l.* gret the tun, which maketh sterling money 3*l.* 14*s.*" = 19*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*

Total, 943*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.*

Modern copy, pp. 22.

June.

872.

SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY.]

Galba, B. vii.
194.
B. M.

This morning I sent to Robertet to ask him to come to my lodging, my leg being in very ill temper after these three days travel. As I could not go to my Lady to deliver your message, I desired Robertet to declare it to her. He has done so, and returned to me this hour, telling me that as you have promised in a few days to tell her some things which no one else must communicate, she shows herself like a woman, very anxious to speak with you, and begs that while the Kings are together at the camp you will visit her this afternoon, or, if not today, tomorrow.

Hol., p. 1, mutilated.

13 June.

873.

NORFOLK and the COUNCIL IN ENGLAND to
[HENRY VIII.]

Vesp. F. xiii.
129.

B. M.

Ellis, 1 Ser.
i. 174.

Besides the joyful event of the Emperor's visit to England, have had knowledge of Henry's prosperous passage and arrival at Calais, and of his honorable meeting with the French king, for which they and all his subjects give thanks to God. On Saturday last were at Richmond with the Princess, "who, lauded be Almighty God, is right merry, and in prosperous health and state, daily exercising herself in virtuous pastimes." The realm is in good peace. Have had some causes referred to their decision, both from far and near. Westminster, 13 June.

Signed: T. Norfolk, Ri. Wynton, W. Lincoln, J. abbot of Westminster, John Berners, Jo. Fyneux, Thomas Lovell, Robt. Brudenell, John Cutte, T. Wyndam, T. Magnus, John FitzJames.

Pp. 2.

1520.

13 June. 874. HENRY VIII.

S. B.

Ratification of a treaty concluded, 12 March last, between Henry and Francis, by the mediation of Wolsey, for marriage of the Dauphin with the princess Mary. Guisnes, 13 June 1520, 12 Hen. VIII.

Fr., m. 3.

14 June. 875. CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Is daily informed by the bishop of Elna of the King's health and disposition, his good cheer and joyous pastimes at the meeting. Longs to return and join the King, and inform him of some good things which have happened since the writer's departure. Has been in good health, and occupied in visiting his subjects, hunting and hawking. As I take great pleasure in hearing news from you, will not fail to send you my news, hoping you will do the like. Brussels, 14 June. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

14 June. 876. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

To the same effect. Brussels, 14 June. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le Cardinal d'York.

15 June. 877. JOHN PECCHE and others to [WOLSEY].

Calig. E. II.
(64.)

B. M.

Complaining of the answer they had received from Mons. de Fayette, seneschal of the Bolonoys and captain of Boulogne, on their application for the evacuation of Conneswade, granted in farm to certain gentlemen at arms on the late suit of Sir Richard Wyngfelde. Calais, 15 June.

Signed: John Pecche, Edward [Benstede], Rychard Care[w], Nicholas Carew, Robert Wotton, H. Bannaster.

Mutilated, pp. 2.

16 June. 878. BUDÆUS to WM. MAINE.

Budæi Ep.
130b.

Regrets that in his straitened lodgings he had no materials for writing, when he never had a more fertile subject. The meeting of the two Kings and their retinues has grown up into intimate association. Never was such magnificence. The house of the king of England, run up in a few months for temporary use, and ornamented with incredible skill, might occupy the eyes and attention, for some days, of the least excitable man accustomed to such spectacles. The tent of the French king, erected at an unusual expence, astonished every one with its cloth of gold and other precious textures, and was never surpassed. Recommends to him the care of his children. Ardes, 16 kal. Junii (Julii?).

19 June. 879. SPINELLY to [HENRY VIII.]

Galba, B. VI.
166.

B. M.

The Emperor entered Brussels three days after leaving Gand, and is now gone hunting with the lord marquis at Ewra, and with him the cardinal of Toledo's nephew, "a lusty young prelate, moche lyke in the effyge to his uncle." Had many communications, in which the Emperor and the said Lord expressed their great satisfaction at their late reception in England, and their determination to keep the treaty. Herman Ryng, Wolf, his brother and a doctor have arrived here from Cologne to congratulate the Emperor; others are expected from Norymbergh, Holme, and Auspurg. The cardinals of Mayence and Cologne will come themselves; the cardinal of Sion is expected. The Chancellor has seen the treaty between his master and the Swiss, wherein they bind themselves "to the defence of his dominions of Almayne with the conte of Burgoyne," and will not give aid against any of the Emperor's dominions. This is all that the Chancellor

1520.

SPINELLY to [HENRY VIII.]—*cont.*

desired. Had he known as much before, he would not have made such great suits to them. The duke of Wyertenberg has received 6,000 g. guilders on his treaty with Zevenberg, and surety for 4,000. He will submit to the Emperor. The Emperor is delighted to hear of the great honor that Henry and his subjects have obtained in tilting with the French, as reported by the bishop of Helna, who also speaks highly of the prudent policy of England. Thinks their confidence in England will not waver.

The young lady of Lykerke, wife of the viscount of Lombek, is this morning delivered of a son. The Viscount hopes the child may receive the honor of the King's name. The duke of Alba, the queen of Arragon and the lady of Nassow will christen the child, as the Emperor and the Archduchess did a former one. The general estates assemble on the 20th. The cardinal of Toledo follows the Emperor. *The lords of Almayn murmur against the French king for wearing at the jousts a crown imperial upon his shield.* Brussels, 19 June 1520.

Hol., the cr. deciphered by Tuhe, pp. 5, mutilated.

22 June. **880.** SIL. BP. OF WORCESTER to [WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv.
62.
B. M.

On the 18th the duke of Albany, who has been here for some time, paid homage to the Pope in public consistory, in the name of Scotland. There is great hope of peace. Wolsey is much looked up to. Has heard from Thos. Spinelly that the bishopric of Badajos had been bestowed upon Wolsey, with a pension of 2,000 ducats on [the bishopric] of Palencia. The report is not confirmed by the Spanish ambassador at Rome. The Pope has delayed for a time the creation of new Cardinals. The credentials of Albany were dated May 1517. Letters have come from Constantinople, of the 27 May, stating that the great fleet of the Turks had not yet sailed. Rome, 22 June 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

25 June. **881.** ERASMUS to GERM. BRIXIUS.

Er. Ep.
XIII. 35.

On his quarrel with More, and expressing the great esteem he has for More's learning and character. "I have not seen many of your writings; of More's I have read several, and been on terms of intimacy with him. I think of More as all men, who know him, think;—as a man of incomparable genius, a most happy memory, a most ready eloquence. When a boy he learned Latin, when a young man, Greek, under the ablest teachers, especially Linaere and Grocin. In divinity he has made so much progress that he is not to be despised even by eminent theologians. The liberal arts he has touched not infelicitously. In philosophy he is beyond mediocrity; to say nothing of the profession of the law, in which he yields to no one. His prudence is rare and unheard-of; and for these reasons his sovereign never rested until he had brought More to be one of his council." As to the ostentatious contempt in which Brixius professes to hold More, the world will laugh at it. Antwerp, 7 kal. Julius 1520.

27 June. **882.** CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.
60*.
B. M.

Credence for the bearer, his audiencer, who will deliver his message in conjunction with the bishop of Badajoz. Brussels, 27 June.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. "A mons. le cardinal d'Iorck, primat et [l]egat Dengleterre."

27 June. **883.** SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. vi.
169.
B. M.

Wrote last on the 22d of the coming of Hesym, who is hourly expected. Arrangements are making for the meeting with the King's highness. This can take place at Bruges. The Emperor will receive them at Gravelines. Many Almayns are in the Court since the coming of the am-

1520.

bassadors of the archbishop of Treverya, and those of Cleves and Juliers. The archbishop of Cologne arrived upon St. John's day, with 100 horse; was met two leagues off by the count Palatine, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the lord Nassau, who would "not suffre th'emperor go to the yattys by reason [of] the houre extraordinary" (nine at night). Yesterday, at five in the afternoon, he was brought to the Emperor by the duke of Alba and the marquis of Bada; was received at the palace gates by Don Ferdinando, the bishop of Luke, and the marquis of Vylla franca, "whoose conveyd hym to the star of the grett alla, where was th'emperor with all the lordys and astates. And after an humble reverence don to the grownde, th'emperor with the bonett in his hand tuke him to his rect syde, and the broder Ferdynando to the left, goyng in the said alla under the clooth of astat that stand at one of the bowtts, where th'emperor sytte in a chaire, and the Elector with the remanent stowdde on theyr fyghts. Who with a new reverence madde an orasyon in Laten, rejoyssyng of his prospere cumyng, and gevyng for the same grett thanks to God, persuadyng the sayd magestye to the short parformance of all thyngs belongyng to his promocyon and electyon." The rest were of the same opinion. The Elector is a man of fair presence and good countenance, about 40 years old. He is well inclined to England. The bishop of Utrecht arrived this morning, with 120 horse and many gentlemen, all in one livery; the cardinal of Toledo in the afternoon, and divers earls, among whom is Robert de la Mark. A rumor is spread of a commotion in Spain. By letters from Valladolid on the 14th, the cardinal of Tortosa advises that at the return home of the deputies of Segovia from Le Grownny the commons "insurrexed" against them, crying "Viva el Rey et mora el mal conseyo!"—accusing them of granting money unto the King without securing the articles to be demanded of him. One they took without further question, "hanged by the fyghts, and coulted in pessys." Those of Burgos fled, but their houses were destroyed by the mob, who, on receiving some "prudds and vyllen words" from a Frenchman named Yoffroy (Geoffroi), and notwithstanding the French ambassador mons. De la Lansak was lodged in the same house, they took the good man of the house, "and coulted his harmys, hands, and legghys in the streyetys and placees prynspalls." Zamora and Madrid have followed the same example. In the latter the treasurer of Castile, called the lycensyato Barghas, is in great danger. He is accused of accumulating money, and being instrumental in sending all the gold out of the realm. The discontent is confined to the commons, but the Marquis de Vylle[na], "who is a wyse man allyed to all the lordys of Castylla, and kallyd by nature craft (crafty) and inquyete," is supposed to be concerned. He is discontented at not receiving the marquisate of Vyllena. The archbishop of Granada has written to the Emperor to remove all causes of disquietude. The 17 cities and towns of Castile require,—(1) that the alcañalla, the principal rent of the Crown, should be given in farm to the cities that pay it, as queen Elizabeth (Isabella) provided, and not to the Marrans, who are very extortionate; they have increased the revenues more than 100,000 ducats yearly: (2) that benefices be not given to strangers: (3) that gold and silver be not sent out of the realm: (4) that processes be not deferred. Just and reasonable as these demands are, the Emperor would not consent, not to be inferior to his predecessors.

The Chancellor and the governor of Bresse tell him that the French king's mother informed their ambassador that it was not requisite that any one should meddle in the business between her son and the Emperor. Has received information this morning of Hesdin's arrival, and that the King is not inclined to come to Bruges. They had proposed Bruges as more com-*

* This paragraph in cr.

1520.

SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

modious; Gravelines is not sufficient for the company. The duke of Alba and Dr. Karvayall anticipate advantage for the French if England does not show some reciprocal affection. Brussels, 27 June 15[20].

Hol., pp. 9.

28 June. 884. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

174.

B. M.

Wrote his last yesterday. The Marquis cannot depart till tomorrow. He will be with Wolsey on Tuesday, with the Chancellor. This morning lord Fynes has gone to Gant, and will accompany the marquis to Calais. The Emperor, the Archduchess, and don Ferdinand start on Monday next. La Roche left this afternoon for St. Omer's to join the Great Master. The Emperor and his council are sincere in their intentions. Spinelly warns Wolsey, "more syght sleeping than I awatthyng," that the concord between the Emperor and the French remains firm; though this be not advantageous for England remaining arbiter between them both. Brussels, 28 June 1520.

The elector of Cologne will not come with the Emperor.

Hol., pp. 3. Add.: "[To my] lord Cardinal's grace."

28 June. 885. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

164.

B. M.

Wrote yesterday. A servant of the bishop of Elna arrived immediately after by posts; on which the Privy Council was assembled. This morning asked the lord Marquis what he should write about the Emperor's going to Gravelines. He said their ambassador had warned his Majesty to hasten it, and they would make all haste possible. Dined since with the Chancellor, who said Wolsey had told the ambassador the King could not delay his going over longer than Monday next, but that a second post had arrived stating that Wolsey had persuaded him, for the Emperor's sake, to remain all Wednesday. The Marquis and Chancellor will therefore leave tomorrow for Calais, and the Emperor with the Archduchess on Monday. Many chariots are ready with stuff. The Chancellor suggests that while the Emperor is on the way, the t[wo] might commune with Wolsey. They blame the Bishop for not informing him of the reasons for the King's hasty return to England. They have delayed their provisions hitherto, in order to keep secret the meeting with Wolsey. They hope Wolsey will have regard to their honor, seeing they do all they can "for the anticipation of the day appointed by the last treaty and sworn of both parties," "desiring me to go to the lord Marquis again, and make me unknown of all the premises." Has spoken with him accordingly, "who yet hath remitted me at 8 of the clock, and not absolutely affirmed his coming." Brussels, 28 June 1520.

Hol., pp. 3, mutilated. Add.

29 June. 886. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

61.

B. M.

Desires his assistance in matters of which Guillaume Des Barres will speak to him. Even if all should be lost, will follow the King and Wolsey's counsel. Mons, 29 June.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. "A mons. le legat mon bon filz."

887. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

108b.

B. M.

If he has not written till now, it is for the "façons de faire," of which Wolsey knows. Cannot doubt Wolsey's good intentions, nor cease to wish him well and trust him. Hopes he will still use his efforts to preserve and augment friendship between Henry and Charles, according to the letter

1520.

he now writes to the King, and the writing he has given to the English ambassadors.

Hol., Fr., p. 1, Add.: Monsr. le Cardinal mon bon amy, le legat et primat d'Angleterre.

30 June. 888. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Vesp. F. III.

110.

B. M.

The desire he has to see Henry and Wolsey causes him to set out earlier than his affairs render necessary. Sends the marquis d'Arcot and the Chancellor to await his coming, which will be soon. Desires credence for them. Brussels, 30 June.

Hol., Fr., p. 1. Add.: Mons. le cardinal d'Angleterre, mon bon amy. *Endd.*

889. SURREY IN IRELAND.

R. O.

Item, to show my lord Cardinal that I [Surrey] have long ago told him that it is impossible for me to sign the indenture he has sent, binding me to serve the King with 50 archers and demi-lances on horseback, 50 footmen, all English, 100 Irish horsemen and 300 kerne. Cannot furnish more than the above number of English, 50 Irish horse and 150 kerne, which, with my other charges, will cost me more than I receive from the King and all the revenues of my lands in England. If war continue, it will be impossible to maintain that number. The Marquis in Spain, and Sir Edw. Ponynge at Tournay, had twenty nobles a day, and all their men in wages. I would his grace would give me a reasonable sum for my expenses, and put my men in wages, and let the Under-treasurer employ the rest that I now have from the King on such Irish soldiers as I and others of the council may appoint.—Item, to ask Wolsey to find some way of paying the carriage of victuals. It is impossible to pay it out of the price of the victual, as Wolsey suggests, because ale and bread are so dear that the soldiers could not live if they were dearer. Does not see how the footmen can be kept here any longer on their present wages of 4d. a day. Has hitherto paid the carriage himself, but can do so no longer.

P. 1. Hol., in Surrey's hand. Endd.: Information to be showed to my Lord's grace by estimation from my lord of Surrey. Ireland.

890. GRANTS in JUNE 1520.

June.

GRANTS.

20. Agnes Heth, of Luton, Beds., "syngle-woman." Pardon for having drowned her male child on the day of its birth, 25 Dec. *Del. Guisnes, 20 June 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 15.*

20. Geo. Lawson. To be master mason of the town and castle of Berwick, with 8d. a day out of the revenues set apart for the payment of the officers, &c. of the town, on surrender of patent, 12 May 7 Hen. VIII. *Del. Calais, 20 June 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 14, 21.*

A note is added at the foot of the S.B., concerning the wages; signed, John Daunce.

25. Inspeimus of a deed 5 Ric. II., conveying certain lands in the parish of Twynem, Sussex, from Ric. Heghe to John Brentfeld and Th. Thorndenne, and of an indenture of same date by which those lands were re-

granted to Ric. Heghe, and Rob. his son. *Guisnes, 25 June.—Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 7.*

26. Ric. Persall, of Chekley, Chesh. Pardon. *Del. Westm., 26 June 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Endd.:* "My lord steward."

28. Wm. Couper, groom for the royal mouth in the Pantry, and Th. Sparcheforde, groom for the royal mouth in the Ewery. To be bow-bearers and palers of the parks of Maiwode and Wolleys, in the lordship of Barnardes Castell, bow-bearers of Busshoppe-dale and Coverdale, palers of the parks of Cottestough and the west park of Middilham in the lordship of Middilham, and keepers of the woods of Aykesgarth, in the said lordship, during pleasure. *Greenwich, 14 May 12 Hen. VIII. Del. Guisnes, 28 June.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 10.*

1520.

1 July. **891.** M. DE ST. GELATZ (?) to ———.

Calig. E. i. 82.

B. M.

Informed him, by Verdellet and the courier he despatched after the King Catholic's embarkation, of all that he then knew. According to orders he has taken means to go by land, to learn the news since the departure of Charles. The towns have revolted, proclaimed the Queen, and appointed others in place of the royal delegates; have occupied the castles, refused the subsidy granted by some of their deputies at the court of Cologne, the export of money from Spain, and the giving offices to strangers. Valentia and Catalonia have refused to obey Mendosa the viceroy, and Arragon John de la Nusse. Does not see how peace can be restored without your aid. Arrived at Bordeaux in the evening. Has had an attack of fever. Hopes to start on Wednesday to go to his correspondent, and give him more ample information. Waits for the personages he left behind. Bordeaux, Sunday, 1 July. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

July. **892.** [WOLSEY] to LORD ———.

Galba, B. vi.

179b.

B. M.

Has transmitted his Excellency's answer to the overtures he sent him to communicate to the Emperor and Arschot. The King will always retain his fraternal mind to the Emperor, and will send to him Tunstal, master of the Rolls, who will not only have commission on that subject, but will accompany the Emperor to the Diet at Aix. He also sends Spinelly to follow the Imperial court. Thanks him for his friendly services to himself in relation to the bishopric of Badajoz, concerning which Spinelly will express his mind further. Commends the cause of cardinal Campeggio to the Emperor and the Marquis. Calais, — July 1520. *Not signed.*

Lat., p. 1.

July. **893.** [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HEN. VIII.]

Calig. D. vii.

236.

B. M.

Arrived on Friday last at the monastery of Fremonstyer, near the forest of Creyee, where Francis after hunting had returned and gone to bed to "refresh him." Between five and six he sent for Wingfield, who thanked him on the King's behalf for his cordial and loving letter sent by Bryon, which had dispelled his pensiveness "for the new departure from him." To what Wingfield was newly commissioned to declare, Francis made answer: that he was sure Henry in his intended meeting with the King Catholic would not listen to any proposal to his prejudice,—that Don Prevost, who on taking leave of him to visit his [master], told him that he had perceived a great amity had arisen between "your said good brother and your highness;" which Francis acknowledged, saying that he honored Henry for his high virtues, and had such trust in him that at his r[eturn] from Tirwan he would have ridden in post to Calais to see him, if he had not failed of provision of horse; and on the other expressing some surprise, added, "Don Prevost, marvel not hereat, for I [tell] you by the faith of a gentleman that not only I would go to [him] into his town of Calais, but upon the least desire which he ca[n] make me, go to him into his city of London. With the which his s[aid answer] he found the said Don Prevost marvellously abashed." He had sent orders to all his ports to treat English merchants well. Wingfield thinks similar orders should be given in England for the reception of French merchants. Cannot express "all the pleasant and loving devices whi[ch] he made to me of your highness kneeling by his bedside by t[he space of an] hour and more." Thinks he feels very cordially towards Henry, and will be to him the most faithful friend in Christendom.

1520.

On his way to the King, Wingfield had an interview with his mother at Rue, and desired her that she would always keep Henry, "her new acquessed son," in remembrance; for which she thanked him with a joyful countenance, and said that he did her the highest honor that ever lady received, to be mother to two the most perfect and accomplished princes that were ever in the world at once. She spoke of Francis's intended expedition to Milan, and said he intended leaving the government of his realms in Henry's hands till his return, to show his confidence in him. Presented his fellows and note to the King on Friday after his arrival, to whom after supper he showed one band of his hounds. Next day he was in the forest hunting at six. Wingfield and his comrades are to be with him tomorrow night. He promises "to make their lodgings himself for to hunt on Tuesday [within] two leagues of Amiens." He left this afternoon for Pykynge by water, accompanied by the Queen, my Lady, and Bryon, who arrived after dinner, and made an honorable report of Henry. Abbeville, . . . July. *Postscript too much mutilated to be intelligible.*

Mutilated, pp. 4.

1 July. 894. SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. vi.

235.

B. M.

Wrote to him last from Fremonstier, where he delivered to Francis Wolsey's two letters; "and first he opened the same written in French with your own hand, which he said to read more currently than he could do his own, wherefore he heartily desired you to write unto him from henceforth in French, though it might be somewhat painful to your grace." He expressed his delight at the love and friendship Wolsey bore him, and doubted not that "nother at this interview now shortly to be had, nor in none other place where other the King's highness or your grace shall be, he nor any of his affairs can take any harm. And said further, the King his good brother and he were two of the happiest princes of this world, the one to have such a subject and servant as your grace was, and he to have of you so perfect a friend and prudent counsellor; so that he thought verily both they and their causes, being manyed and ordered by you, could not fail to have glorious and prosperous success. And for conclusion said that your grace had of your sovereign lord the best master of Christendom, and of him the best friend;" and further promised Wolsey a much greater recompence than any remembrance he had yet made him for the trouble he had taken to effect the amity, "which he counteth to be to him the greatest treasure that ever prince had." "And your grace shall further know that he ke[pt] me kneeling by his bedside the space of one hour and more, devising of the King's highness and your grace, whereof more at lar[ge at] this time I do advertise the King's said highness.

"And this da[y I had] communication with him, being present only Mons. de Lescue, [and he] showed me that he intended to pass the mountains into hy[s duchy of] Milan before All Hallow tide, and that he doubted not fro thence that the Pope's holiness and he might Bononye. At which time, if it your grace might be there to join w what with their both authorities and credits that there might be such for the estate of the Church as should be honorable for he said to know the Pope to [be of such a] nature that if he were well handled by a man of your gr[ace's] wisdom] and reputation after your round and plain fashion, his said Holiness would not fail to condescend to all tha[t you] required. Notwithstanding, he said, he would not attempt or in this or any other affair of like

1520.

SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].—*cont.*

importance without th[e King] his good brother's consent, advice, and counsel."

The same day he departed from C[alais] Wingfield met the Marshal Chastelion returning towa[rds] . . . , who told him he was commissioned to provide the King a lodging there, "and my Lady a[nd the] King here both have verified unto me the same; so wyd[er your] grace will that I should speak for the laying down of th of the said Arde, considering that they intend to [make] the said lodging against another veue, or no, I desire [to know] your grace's pleasure by your next writings. And as concerning [the matter of] Couswade, I shall not fail to be in hand with the Admiral as [soon as] I shall see time convenient. And for that the King here hath [remembered] my lord of Devonshire, it should be well done that the King[']s grace did] remember Mesyeres, who is in the King's chamber here, [and in] singular good favor with him." Should have written sooner, but since his coming to this town has had no leisure. "At Abevyle, the fy[rst day of] July."

"I beseech your grace to have me in your loving remembrance, [in such] wise that my return may be to avaicte upon your g[race at your] voyage to Wallsyngham." *Signed.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

2 July. 895. The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. vii.

233.

B. M.

His letters of 26 June, informing them of the coming hither of the three gentlemen of France, were received on Thursday morning last, St. Peter's eve. The gentlemen themselves arrived in the evening, and, notwithstanding the short warning, were banqueted by the mayor of London in Cheepsyde, where they saw the watch, which they greatly commended. Next day Lord Barnes was sent to welcome them; they were received by the Mayor at dinner, visited the Hospital of Savoy, and the King's chapel at Westminster, well accompanied on horseback. The Abbot went with them, [and] "entreteigned them with right goodly chere sage required upon a Fryday; and on S[aturday] following" one of the sheriffs made them a "goodly dinner," and about noon they went to Richmond, as the tide was convenient, with the lords Barnes and Darcy, where they visited the Princess. After communication had, "goodly chere was made unto them strawberries, wafers, wine and ypcras in plenty. The same night the other sheriff of London made unto them a goodly supper." Yesterday, Sunday, my lord of Norfolk received them at dinner. Today they mean to see the Tower, and take their departure. Have written to the King, thanking him for his advertisements of the goodly acts and pastimes in those parts, as Wolsey will perceive by the enclosed copy of their letter. At W[estminster], 2 July.

Signed: T. Norfolk, Ri. Wynton, W. Lincoln, John abbot [of Westminster], John Berners, John Fynuex, Thomas Robert Brudenell, T. Wyndam [some other signatures burnt].

Add.: "To my lorde Cardynall's grace."

Mutilated, pp. 3.

896. [The LORDS OF THE COUNCIL to HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. vii.

231.

B. M.

Have received his letters, dated at the Castle of Guisnes on the 22nd inst. [June], informing them of the "joyous meeting and interview of your grace and the French King, the like whereof heretofore have not been brought

1520.

to such effect and purpose by any other your noble progenitors," and of the confidence shown by Francis in repairing to Guisnes Castle and putting himself in Henry's hands. Trust that this interview will be to the advancement and increase of the honor of his realm, for the quiet of Christendom and to the pleasure of God, considering that the King has been pleased to have your causes and matters at this season concluded plenary remission, and with full mind and purpose [to] edifice a chapel in the name of our Blessed Lady." They thank Henry for informing them of these things, and recommend that *Te Deum* be ordered in honor of the event. Since last writing they have sundry times visited the Princess, who is in good health, increasing in wit and virtue as in years. The kingdom is in "good tranquillity." They give attendance [constantly] in Council and order causes according to the laws. Have no news either from Ireland or Scotland.

Since this was written, on the 28th June, St. Peter's even, came the [three] gentlemen of France of whose arrival they had notice from the Cardinal; and on Saturday "after dinner, as tide [was commodious] for them, they being well accompanied by [the lord Barnes], lord Darcy and other," visited the Princess at Richmond. There were with her divers lords spiritual and temporal; and in the Presence Chamber, besides the lady-governess (countess of Salisbury) and her other gentlewomen, the duchess of Norfolk, her three daughters, the lady [Margaret],* wife to the lord Herbert, countess of Worcester, the ladies Grey and Neville, the lord John's wife, and others. She welcomed the French "gentlemen with most goodly countenance, proper communication, and pleasant pastime in playing at the virginals, that they greatly marvelled and rejoiced the same, her young and tender age considered." They then returned to London. Since their arrival they have been accompanied by the said lords Barnes and Darcy and others; they have also been received by the mayor and sheriffs of London, the abbot of Westminster, and afterwards by the duke of Norfolk.

Mutilated, pp. 3.

2 July. 897. JULIUS CARDINAL DE MEDICI to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has received his letters dated at the Castle of Guisnes, 13th of last month. Is glad that Wolsey has such a high opinion of the Auditor of the Chamber, as his many virtues and great experience with the Pope deserve. He knows the Pope's wishes for the common welfare of Christendom, and will declare to Wolsey his commission. Desires nothing more than general tranquillity, and will gladly serve Wolsey in any private or public matters. Florence, 2 July 1520. *Signed: Ju. Vicecancell'.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.: R. &c., D. Tho. Cardinali Eboracen.

3 July. 898. LORD DARCY.

R. O.

Account of Robert Jenour, showing the receipt by him from Thomas lord Darcy, on 3 July 12 Hen. VIII., of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, for a half year's fees of Thomas Bonham, receiver general of the duchy of Lancaster, and of John Burgon, auditor. Also of 10*s.* for Jenour's fee for half a year.

P. 1.

* Blank in MS.

1520.

4 July. 899. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O. Confirming to him an annual pension of 2,000 ducats, payable at Christmas and Midsummer, from the see of Palencia, by Peter bishop of that diocese, formerly of Badajos. Has written to the bishops of Ascoli and Caserta, and the official of Badajos, for payment of the said pension to Wolsey or his proctor. Rome 1500 (*sic*), 4 non. Julii, pont. 8.
Vellum, Lat., with a leaden seal.

4 July. 900. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY

R. O. For several days has not written to Wolsey, but sent the news to Florian his secretary, knowing how occupied he must be during this meeting of the Kings. Writes now to tell him what was done today at the Consistory. After the translation of Peter Mote from the see of Pax (Badajos) to Palencia, the administration of the former, with the retention of York and Bath, was granted to Wolsey, as proposed by cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, according to the Emperor's wish, and the annates of all the three are condoned. The bishop of Worcester has done much towards effecting this. Advises him to write and thank the Pope and Cardinals. The 15,000 or 16,000 ducats thus condoned are a mark of their good will. Some expense will be incurred in the expedition of the letters. Commends to him his secretary Florian. Rome, 4 July 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. Add.: R. D. D. Cardinali Eboracen. D. meo col. Angliæ legato, &c.

4 July. 901. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].

Calig. E. III.
40.
B. M.

Has presented his letters. The King expressed himself in most favorable terms towards Wolsey. As he attended my Lady to mass the same day, she told me she was advertised "that the King . . . should desire the interview to be prolonged unto the xx . . . of this present month; whereto she thought verily t[hat] neither the] King's highness nor your grace would assent; but she looked . . . arriving of St. Marshall to have more ready and per[fect] knowledge." Shortly after, he, the Admiral, Lautree and Dorval dining together, the said Marshal arrived, and was taken aside by the Admiral and Robert Tette (Robertet). The Admiral showed him Wolsey's letter, and said his master would be highly pleased with the tidings from Henry. The King is not at Amiens, but hunting two leagues off in the forest ". . . thankfully he received and heard thes[e] . . . y recueil which he hath made to the said Master Care[we t]o be reported by him." Begs Wolsey will remember his letter [from] Fremonstier for some reward to be given to Me[ssyrs] of the King's Chamber, such as the lord of Devonshire had; "otherwise the King's highness sh[all] not have presented so many of the King's chamber here as . . . hath done of his." Morette's voyage is retarded till this "pretended" interview is over. Montdidier, 4 July. *Signed.*

Pp. 2, badly mutilated.

6 July. 902. L. LOREDANO DOGE OF VENICE to WOLSEY.

R. O. Congratulating him on the interview. Ducal Palace, 6 July 1520.
 Rym. XIII. *Leaden seal.*
 724. *Lat., vellum.*

6 July. 903. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.
177.
B. M.

Yesterday morning, at four, the Emperor left Ghent, and arrived in the evening at Odenborg, three leagues on this side Bruges. Tonight he will lie at Dunkirk, and dine tomorrow at Gravelines. The Archduchess is half

1520.

a day's journey behind, and will be tonight at Newport. No news from the Bishop of Elna since the lord Marquis left Brussels, who detained all his letters, and never wrote till his arrival at Gravelines. The governor of Bresse says they suspect the French King's tarrying at Boulogne is for some hope of being called to the meeting. Last night the Marquis sent word of his arrival at Calais, and honorable reception by the duke of Buckingham, the lord Marquis and others, and that he was to dine with Wolsey yesterday. The chief obstacle to peace is the French jealousy of the Emperor's going to Rome, on which the Emperor is determined, as also are the Electors. The lady of Vendôme and the Duchess her daughter-in-law came to Ghent with the cardinal of Bourbon, the night before we left, for what purpose we cannot tell. The commotions in Spain have ceased, and each town has sent to the cardinal of Tortosa, saying they have punished their deputies according to their demerits. Odenborg, Friday, 6 July 1520.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

8 July. 904. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba. B. vi.

89.

B. M.

Returns, according to promise, by her maître d'hotel (Hesdin), the letter of promise (*la lettre de promesse*) which she had from the King, written by the Cardinal's hand, and signed by Henry. Has such confidence in the King, that she requires no surety from him but his simple word. Is sure the King her nephew has the same. Gravelines, Sunday.*

Hol., Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: "A Mons. le Cardinal." Endd.

9 July. 905. SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote yesterday. This morning the Admiral told him he had received a letter from the seigneur de la Batye, saying that the seigneur de Schewers had arrived in Calais, with other persons from the King Catholic, containing also Wolsey's assurance that the French king should "be advertised from time to time of all that shall be entreated" between the King and the said lord Schewers. De la Batye also writes that the Queen, being with the King at supper, said that the King her nephew, immediately after the view, intended to go to Rome for his coronation; to which the King answered, "that in case the King her nephew would be advised by his loving friends, that his affairs might have the better and more prosperous success. And if he would follow the appetites of such glorious as would counsel him to pass by force to his said coronation, that he might find cause to repent him, for he should not fail in so doing to constrain his highness to do all the aid that the King his good brother would desire of him, for the resisting of his said passage by force;" which words "the King here has taken most joyously," as the King and Wolsey will see by the letters sent to them by this bearer. Asks that he may return to wait on Wolsey to Walsingham, or else that he may be partner of such news "whereof the hearing and knowledge may be pleasant and acceptable to this Prince." Chantilly, 9 July.

Hol., pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good grace.

10 July. 906. MEETING OF HENRY VIII. AND CHARLES V.

R. O.

Noblemen and others appointed to attend upon the King at Gravelines.

The Legate, with 50 horsemen and 50 on foot. Archbishop of Canter-

* This Sunday must either have been the 8th or 15th. It is certain Margaret was there on the 8th, but not certain that she was on the 15th.

1520.

MEETING OF HENRY VIII. and CHARLES V.—*cont.*

bury, 10 horse and 10 on foot; bishop of Durham, 8 horse; archbishop of Armagh, 6; bishop of Ely, 6; bishop of Exeter, 6: Total, 34 horse and 34 on foot.* Dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, 10 horse each. Marquis of Dorset, 8 horse.

Earls of Shrewsbury, Northumberland, Essex, Derby, Devonshire, Westmoreland, Stafford, Worcester, Kent, Wiltshire, and Kildare, with 6 horse each.

Barons.—Prior of St. John's, Lords Rosse, Matravers, Fitzwater, Bergeveny, Mountague, Hastings, Ferres, Laware, Willoughby, Herbert, Daubney, Cobham, Morley, John, Richard and Leonard Gray, and Curson, 2 horse each.

Knights of the Order.—Sir Edw. Ponynys, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir Wm. Sands, 2 horse each.

Councillors.—The Chief Secretary, Vice-chancellor, dean of the Chapel and Almoner, 2 horse each.

Chaplains.—Archdeacon of Richmond, Dr. Tailor, Mr. Stokesley, and Dr. Rawson, with 1 horse each.

Knights.—Nic. Vaux, Thos. Boleyn, Robt. Drury, And. Windsor, Maurice Berkeley, Thos. Nevel, David Owen, Wistan Browne, John Heron, Edw. Belknap, Ric. Weston, Wm. Fitzwilliam, John Dauncy, Hen. Guldeford, Wm. Compton, Ric. Jernyngham, Wm. Kingston, Wm. Essex, Nic. Wadham, Arthur Plantaganet, Edw. Chamberlain, Wm. Barrington, Wm. Parre, Edm. Walsingham, Peter Egecumbe, John Talbot, Wm. Morgan, John Ragland, Thos. Cornewale, Ralf Egerton, John Hungerford, Antony Poyntz, Edw. Wadham, Wm. Ascue, Wm. Huse, Christopher Willoughby, Wm. Hansard (*struck out*), Thos. Burgh, Robt. Constable, Thos. West, Fynche, Edw. Hungerford, John Semor, Henry Long, John Audeley, John Heydon, Wm. Paston, Ric. Wentworth, Ant. Wyngfeld, Arthur Hopton, Philip Tilney, John Vere, John Reynsford, John Marny, Giles Strangwish, Ric. Sacheverel, Wm. Skevington, Edm. Bray, John Gaynsford, John Nevel, Giles Capel, John Gifford, Edw. Ferres, Thos. Lucy, Gilbert Talbot, Edw. Grey, John Burdet, Wm. Smyth, Wm. Perpoint, Rowland Vielleville, Griffin Don, Griffin Rice, Ric. Tempest, Ric. Norres, John and Thos. Cheyney, Wm. Courteney, Edw. Pomerey, Ric. Cornwall, Henry Owen, Thos. Thay, Nic. Carew, John Mordant, Wm. Gascoyne, Godfrey Fulgeham, Thos. Fetiplace, John Lisle, Geo. Foster, Adrian Fortescue, Walter Stoner, Edw. Gryvile, Symon Harecourt, John Hampden, John Kirkeham, Miles Bushy, Marmaduke Constable, Ralph Chamberlain, John Shelton, Robt. Clere, Philip Calthrop, John Henyngham, Wm. Walgrave, Roger Wentworth, Thos. Trenchard, Thos. Lynde, John Villers, Matthew Brown, John Asheton, Hen. Willoughby, Ralph Verney, Wm. Rede, Robt. Jones, Fras. Brian, John Cheyny, Wm. Coffyn; each to have 2 attendants on foot, and 1 on horseback. The King's guard, 100 horse.

Lat., pp. 5.

R. O.

2. Sum of the noblemen appointed to attend upon the King to Graveling, mentioned (by name), 163; lords servants, 232; all on horseback. Footmen, named, 432. Footmen assigned to the lords, each lord having as many on foot as on horseback, but not yet set in the book; in all, 580 on foot. Total, beside 100 guard on horseback, 975.

P. 1.

* So in the original.

1520.

10 July. 907. The EMPEROR'S VISIT to CALAIS.

R. O.

Received by Sir Ric. Whethell, Myles Gerrard, Thos. Prowde, Wm. Briswood and Wm. Lelegrave, of John Shurley, cofferer, John Myklowe and Thos. Byrks, to provide for the Emperor's coming to Calais, 500*l.*; and from Sir John Heron, by Robt. Fowler, 550*l.*

Whereof the following sums were paid:—To John Deswarke, of St. Omers, for 75 carp, 8*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Fl. = 5*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* st.; 50 pikes at 8*d.* Fl.; tench, 6*d.* Fl. each; 268 doz. bread, at 4*d.* Fl. a doz. To Philip de Wyngell, 10 rasiers of oats, at 4*s.* Fl., for the counties Palentyne and Ferrant. The expense of the Emperor's footmen, 11*s.* To the duke Delve's steward, 32*s.* 6*d.* To the treasurer of Arragon's steward, 21½*d.* To the bp. of Dera, steward in Spain, 9*s.* To Henry Old Castell, 13*s.* To John Assheton, spent for Mons. De la Roche and the Audiencer, 13*s.* 6*d.* To John Snoton's wife, 101 dishes of butter at 1*d.*; 55 stoups of milk at 1*d.*; 24½ stoups of cream at 4*d.*; a calf, 4*s.* 4*d.*; 4 pigs, 3*s.* 4*d.*; 14 chickens at 3*d.* Robt. Mase, baker, 45 doz. bread for "the maires and mynshall howses," 45*s.*; a rasier of flour, 9*s.* 4*d.*; a bushel and a peck of flour, 3*s.* 4*d.*; 9 bushels barley, 6*s.* 8*d.*; a rasier of bran, 12*d.* To Thos. Chapman's wife, the expenses of the strangers at her house outside the gates, 22*s.* Roger Mydelton, expenses of the servants of the prince of Dorynge and Mons. de Indeghen, 38*s.* Wm. Matres, 4 doz. fat capons at 2*s.* 4*d.* a capon, 4 doz. at 20*d.*, and 7 doz. at 10*d.*; 3 stone of butter, 2*s.* 4*d.*; 1 doz. quails, 2*s.* 4*d.* To Catherine Deycon, for peacocks, capons, &c., 5*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* Robt. Ungle, 9 ducks, 2*s.* 3*d.* William Van Hooke, 8 pots of Morbek cream, 12*d.* To my lord of Barrowes steward, half an ox, 4½ sheep, 11 "ph's," 31*s.* 1*d.* John Van Broke, 5 doz. chickens at 2*s.* 8*d.* a doz. Giles Decole, 4,000 eggs, 16*s.* 8*d.* John Messenger, 24 lb. cherries, 12*d.* Peris Skar, 900 "crevises," 9*s.* 11½*d.* Peter Watson, 5 geese and 12 ducks, 5*s.* Philip Van Broke, 5 lots of Rhenish wine for Mons. Admyrall, at 10*d.* Fl. the lot. John Demonyer, 11 lots for the countie Van Nasso; 12½ hundred herring, 17*s.* 4*d.* The stewards of Mons. de Lygnes, 32*s.* 3*d.*; of the countie of Penoy, 6*d.*; treasurer of Arragon, 7*s.*; marquis of Brandon, 4*s.* 5½*d.*; countie of Lyde, 10*d.*; the Palsegrave, 14*s.* 4*d.*, and Mons. Admirer, 4*s.* 8*d.* 4 barrels of sturgeon, each containing two, 5*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; a barrel of Holland salmon, 11*s.* Mons. Deffynce, clerk, 4*s.* 7*d.* The expenses of Mons. Daynercourt, 3*s.* 2*d.* Mergett Malpas, 4 doz. geese, 49*s.* 6½*d.*; 2 couple of conies, 12*d.* Magaryn Warren, 9 barrels oysters at 20*d.*; 3 barrels sturgeon, 6*l.*

"Money delivered to divers persons for the provision of divers things."—To Arnold Deluke, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* John Democke, 50*l.* Wm. Amore, for "Ipacras," 26*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* The Marquis's clerk of the kitchen, for 2 hhd. Gascon wine, and one puncheon French wine, 4*l.*; 15 lb. lard, 15*d.*; ½ thousand wood, 2*s.*; 2 doz. "playes" and 6 couple "soules," 2*s.* 8*d.*; a peahen, 2*s.*; 6 pigeons, 8*d.*; 2 herons, 8*s.* 10½*d.* John Myles, pastler, wages at 20*d.* a day for 3 days. To the bastard Emery's cook, 3 days, 2*s.* 4*d.* Ric. Mower, expenses of 16 horses and 12 men belonging to Mons. Beaufiled and the countie Peroyne, for 6 days, 50*s.* 6*d.* John Cristoffer, the expenses of 5 horses belonging to Fras. Van Dist, one of Chievres' gentlemen, 6 days, 18*s.* 6*d.*; for the governor of Bethune's servants, 28*s.* Stephen Horner, 112 stoups of wine spent by Mons. de Fynes, 48*s.* 8*d.* gr. = 28*s.* 8*d.* st. For Mons. le grand Chaunceller's horses at the George, 4½*d.* each a day, and 1*d.* the over corn. Expenses of his servants, 12*s.* 2½*d.* Thos. Wodnott, expenses of the Bishop's servants for 6 days, 27*s.* 3½*d.* Expenses of De la Roche and the Audiencer at Raymonds and Arnweyes, 26*s.* 1½*d.* Edw. Malpas, expenses of Mons. de Halwyn's servants at his house, 29*s.* 6*d.* For Harman Ryng's horses and servants at Pryseley's house, 7*s.* 11½*d.* For the master of the Halberdiers at the same place, 17*s.* 8*d.* John Loker, of the Noble, for Mons. Deshevers, 16 horses and 18 servants, for 6 days, 78*s.* 2½*d.* To Wm. Ellis, of the George, for Deshevers horses and horsekeepers, 6 days, 47*s.* 6½*d.* Henry Oldecastle, for the servants of Mons. Le Grand Maitre, 7*s.* 11*d.* Richard Lymster, for the servants of the counties de Pursean and Devers. To gentlemen servants, for fresh "achais," 26*s.* 8*d.* Oldecastle. Expenses of the Grand Master's son, 4*s.* 5*d.* Wm. Amore, of Calais, 27 gallons of "ipycras" at 4*s.* 4*d.*, for the ambassadors of Flanders, from Thursday 4 July to the next Saturday. 7,350 wafers, at 3*s.* the 1,000. Fresh salmon upon St. Thomas's

1520.

The EMPEROR'S VISIT to CALAIS—*cont.*

Day, 4s. 4d. Wm. Hewis, 38 lb. bacon, at 2½d. gr. a lb. Walter Thomas, 46 lb. lard for Mons. Shevers, 8s. 5½d. Wm. Mores, wages of a waggon from Bruges to Calais, 16s. Expenses of Mons. Deffynes at Woodhouse's house, 9l. Adrian Gripe, baker, bread for Lord Fynes, 34s. 4d. Robt. Elvisshe, for four great horses of the countie de Sombrice, at 4½d. each a day. To the bailiff of Newport, for sending to Lile for provisions, 4s. 4d. 1,400 apples, 37s. 4d. gr.=22s. 11½d. st. 4 "dossars," 20d. gr.=12½d. st. Tolls at the New Shatew, Abbeville and Newnam Bridge, 5d. For a horse that died, 40s. gr.=24s. 7½d. Wm. Matres, 13 beeves, at 30s.; 220 muttons, at 3s. 4d.; 171 lambs, at 2s.; 26 veals, at 4s.; 6 marybones, 12d.; 10 neats' tongues, 2s. 6d.; 4 doz. sheep's feet, 12d.; 4 neats' feet, 8d.; 2 fillets of beef, 16d.; 1 lb. suet, 2d. John Van Oye, for wine spent at Bartilmewe Brewer's house, where Mons. Nassowe and other lords lay, 7s. 8d. Sir Edw. Guylford, money spent for the lords of Barrowe and St. Bertins, 33l. 17s. 3½d. Markus Van Here, for the horses and mules of the Chancellor and Mons. de Estelsteyne. Rob. Donnyngton, delivering spice at the great men's lodgings, 10 days, at 12d. gr.; 3 men with him, at 6d. gr. 8 laborers, bearing flesh and fish to the great men, at 6d. gr. Jas. Wyndes, 2 barrels of charcoal, 22½d.

f. 19. Payments for victuals, &c. which the Emperor's train took in Calais and the marches by the King's proclamation that no one should take any money of them.

By bills of various people in the wards of the following aldermen. Richard Chaffer, Henry Kele, Henry Plankeney, Raymond de Cuttures, Thos. Prowde, Wm. Pryseley, John Massyngberd, Henry Lacy, Christopher Conway, Wm. Snowdon, Richard Brown and Richard Johnson.

Expenses without the gates, by bills of Ric. Mower, Wm. Chydlowe, Rob. Elvisshe, Thos. Olyver and Jas. Walker.

f. 29. Wm. Ansley, serjeant of St. Peter's, 2 "weders," 6s. 8d.; 1 hhd. English beer, 5s.; 6 barrels of Calais beer, 16s.; 80 faggots, 4s.; 7 lb. of candles, 10½d.; 8 loads hay, at 3s. To Garard Lebar, for grazing 53 mares. 3 beds for 3 nights, 6d.; 2 household loaves of bread, 4d. Jaquett Founten, for 150 mares, 12s. 6d. Wm. Cotton, serjeant of Myddilweye. Grazing 200 mares with Chr. Jackson, the first night, 2d. each; 300 horses, at 3d. a night; 30 mares, at 1d. "Item, they have destroyed me as much peasen and tares as I must pay to one of my neighbors" 10s.

Loye Valentin, serjeant of Newnam Bridge. Payments to various people.

Roger Mylner, serjeant of Colloin, by his bill, 74s. 9½d.

Wm. Sprute, serjeant of the Cawsey. Payments for litter, straw, &c.

Expenses at Vale Dame: 40 horses of the prince of Basyne, 30 horses of the abbot of St. Clawdes, 30 of Mons. de Labar, 4 of Dr. Galbes, 6 of Mons. Devarre, 40 of the prince of Basagaunt, and 12 of Mons. Fredrik Grialley, 4d. each a day; 30 rasiers of oats, at 2s. 8d. For the pantry at Vale Dame, 8s. 8d. John Oldbone, for 40 of the Emperor's horses, 42s. gr.=25s. 10d. st.

Expenses at Marke, 13l. 14s. 10½d. In the parish of Oye: a wheel taken by the Emperor's company, 2s. 6d. gr.=1s. 6½d. st. John of the Veld, for horses' and men's meat, 34s. 7½d. Adrian Adams, 5 st. butter, at 16d. gr. John Ford, for 12 couple conies, at 13d. gr. the couple. To John Redsam, having charge of the poultry and other business, 18 days, at 6d. For going to Dunkirk, 16d. Total, 1,042l. 12s. 7d.

Pp. 72.

10 July. 908. HENRY VIII. and CHARLES V.

.R. O.

"Copia et exemplum ejusdam tractatus initi inter Cæsaream majestatem et serenissimum dominum nostrum regem Henricum VIII. tempore conventus utriusque regum apud Graveling et Caletum."

In consequence of the new position of Charles as Emperor elect, and the meeting of the two sovereigns, it has been resolved that there shall be

1520.

this renewal of their treaties, which is to take the place of all others. 1. All former treaties renewed, especially that of 1516, in which prince Ferdinand is to be included. The same to extend not only to the actual possessions of the king of England and to those which were then due to him, but to those which may accrue to him hereafter. 2. Both Powers to have the same enemies and the same friends. Offence or injury to the one to be repelled by the other as done to himself. 3. In case of invasion, neither party to desist until the aggrieved has recovered his rights. 4. If a captain or lieutenant of another state employed by the one do injury to the other contrahent, the one who employs him shall make satisfaction on demand within a month's time. 5. Neither party to enter into treaty with any prince without the consent of the other; and if any treaties exist or hereafter be made contrary to the effect of this, they shall be invalid without the consent of both. 6. Intercourse between the two states to be in conformity with the arrangements made on the 11th April.

Lat., pp. 8.

12 July. 909. Extract from a letter of the BISHOP OF WORCESTER to VANNES, dated Rome, 12 July.

R. O.

Benet says he has received the King's letters to urge the cardinalate for Worcester. The Pope wishes to make sure of the King's intentions, and has enjoined his nuncio to discover the King's wishes. If this be favorable, the matter will take effect next September. He is urged to do this because he has been persuaded by the Casali that the letters have been extorted from the King. They take occasion to earwig the Pope. Has advised the nuncio to communicate with Vannes.

Lat., in the handwriting of Vannes, pp. 2.

12 July. 910. FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. i. 12.

B. M.

Has, at his request, appointed La Bastie councillor and chamberlain in ordinary. By the letters sent, which Wolsey will deliver to La Bastie, he will see that Francis has given him this promotion entirely out of respect to Wolsey and the king of England. St. Germain en Laye, 12 July. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: A mons. le Cardinal, [le]gat, &c.

13 July. 911. BONNYVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wingfield is writing to him from the King, who has a high opinion of Wolsey, and puts much trust in him. St. Germain, 13 July. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. mons. le Cardinal d'Yort, legat et chancelier en Angleterre.

13 July. 912. STEPHEN [PONCHER] ARCHBISHOP OF SENS to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Have received your letters and the King's letters to the Pope, recommending me, for which I am very grateful. Saluted the King and his mother on your behalf; both of whom, as well as the duchess of Alençon, your daughter by adoption, as it is said, desired to be commended to you. The King was very unwilling to leave Henry's company and come here, and intends, now that they are so far apart, to send frequent messengers and letters. Christendom owes much to you for establishing friendship between the two Kings. Though I owe you so much, I do not hesitate to ask another favor,—that you would write in my behalf to the Cardinals,

1520.

STEPHEN [PONCHER] ARCHBISHOP OF SENS to WOLSEY—*cont.*

especially to cardinal de Medici, the Vice-chancellor, who has the greatest influence with the Pope. If you will send me the letters, I will forward them to him at Rome or Florence. St. Germain, 13 July.

Hol., Lat., pp. 2. Add.: R. patri ac D.D. Carⁱ Eboracen, sanctæ sedis ap^licæ legato, &c.

July.

913. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. VII.

238.

B. M.

Sent his last by De la Rochepott. Is now at Poissy. Visited the King at St. Germain's. He had received news from La Battye of the meeting between Henry and Charles, and of the entire amity between himself and the former, who rode at the meeting a courser Francis had given him, and "suche abillements as hys said good brother had sente him." At the said meeting he was told the visage and countenance of Henry appeared not "to be so replenysshyd with joye" as they were at the meeting with Francis. After he had heard mass and dined, the King had an interview in his gallery with the Venetian ambassador; whom he greatly commended, saying, "after Messire Andrea Grettie, he had no fellow." Desired him to express to the seignory how much they were bound to the King's highness, "in that he had taken upon him the protection of the Italies against such as might intend to [disturb] the peace or quiet thereof." He thought that the King Catholic was at present in such necessity, that great advantages might be extorted from him [for the peace of Christendom]. He also thought good "that the King his good brother, and he and your grace should handle the Pope, saying to know him to be at some season the fearfulest creature of the world, and at some other to be as brave, and said to be advertised and to know perfectly that the Pope not only suspected, but also had some doubt and fear of the great and entire amity concluded and taken by the means of your grace between him and the King's highness." They should tell his Holiness this was done chiefly at his suggestion, and that these two princes, as the chief pillars of Christendom, wished to set a good example by obeying his exhortations. If they two managed his Holiness, and proffered him assistance at all times, as obeisant children of the Church, he would not be of fear inclined to be hasty in acceding to the requests of the King Catholic, and that it would be more honorable, in reference to the Emperor's investiture at Rome, to be obliged to them than to the Pope. He wished instructions to this effect should be sent to the English ambassadors at Rome,—that their two ambassadors should consult in all things together. After a conversation of an hour and a half, he told Wingfield, "If the King Cathôlic were a Prince of like faith unto the King his good brother, and that he might perceive fro you that his coming thither might be the cause of any good conclusion between them, that he would not fail to come in post, and not to have looked for rank or place to him belonging, but would have put him into the King's chamber as one of the number of the same; which his gentle mind and heart me thought necessary to place in this my writing." Robertet told him that a post goes this day to the Cardinal, empowering him in the French King's name to give letters to La Battye "for his room of one of the Chamberlains ordinary," as a mark of his respect.

Brings to his notice that "Messyers of the Kyng's chambre here is the only one unrewarded, as he had advertised him from Fremonstier. Poissy,"

Begs that thanks may be given to Rochepott for the kindness shown by him to Wingfield. The "clokks" of which his Highness spoke, he will not fail to bring. *Signature half burnt.*

Mutilated, pp. 6.

1520.

14 July.

Vesp. C. i.
307.

B. M.

Mon. Habs.

179.

914. HENRY VIII. and CHARLES V.

Heads of a treaty between Charles V. and Henry VIII., to the effect that they will make no treaty with the king of France for any closer matrimonial alliance than exists at present; that deputies from both sides shall meet at Calais to arrange the mutual relations of the two kingdoms; and an ambassador in ordinary shall reside in both kingdoms for confidential communication. No previous treaty to be infringed by this. Calais, 14 July 1520. *Signed by Charles V.*

Lat., pp. 3.

Egerton MSS.

990, f. 322.

B. M.

2. Confirmation of the above by Henry VIII. Calais, 15 July 1520.

Copy.

R. O.

3. Confirmation by Charles. Gravelines, 15 July 1520. *Sealed. Vellum.*

R. O.

4. Oath of Charles V. to the treaty concluded with Henry, 14 July 1520. *Signed.**Lat., p. 1.*

14 July.

915. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

Encloses the requests of some of his subjects at Calais, who have come to her. Did not mention them at her departure, for fear of wearying him. Gravelinghes, 14 July a° xx. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

14 July.

916. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Asks his favor and assistance in the requests mentioned in the preceding letter. 14 July a° xx. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

14 July.

917. MARGARET OF SAVOY to PACE.

R. O.

Asks his assistance in obtaining the requests mentioned in the preceding letter. Gravelinghes, 14 July a° xx. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

15 July.

918. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Credence for the bearer, Sieur de la Roche, his councillor and chamberlain. Gravelines, 15 July. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le Card. d'York. Endd.: The Emperor's letters to my Lord's grace.

16 July.

919. EXPENSES at GUISNES for the INTERVIEW.

R. O.

Expenses of the King and Queen and their household at Calais and Guysnes, while the Emperor, the French King and Queen, the Cardinal and other noblemen were there, from Thursday 31 May to Monday 16 July 12 Hen.VIII.

Money received.—From Wolsey, by Thos. Rawlyns, for a wey of bay salt, 13s. 4d. From the bp. of Durham, for 27,000 billet, 6l. 8s. 4d.; 4 tuns beer, 4l. From the lord Steward, for 2 tuns wine, 8l.; 10 qrs. wheat, 66s. 8d.; 4 oxen, 6l.; 20 sheep, 66l. 8d. From lord Mongey, for 500 talwood, 20s. From Edw. Ap John, for a mill horse, 38s. 4d. From

1520.

EXPENSES at GUISNES for the INTERVIEW—cont.

John Guillelt, John Parkar, Wm. Blacknall, Wm. Fulgeham, Wm. Brokesley, Ric. Walys, Robt. Colley, and John Wybarne, of Guysnes, for beer, &c. From John Newton, for poultry sold at the King's departure from Calais, 20*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* From John Bryan, brewer of Calais, for 247 qrs. 2 bushels of malt, at 6*s.* 8*d.* a qr. From Thos. Cooke, for beer sold to the abbot of St. Austin's, Canterbury, and to my lord Admiral. Total, 229*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*

From John Burr, of Barkyng, for 428 oxhides, at 4*s.* 2*d.* Wm. Buckland, of London, for 213 sheep's fells used at Canterbury, at 9½*d.*, and 1975 at 12*d.*, used at Calais and Guysnes. Thos. Screvyn, for 132 wey, 7 stone tallow from the oxen and sheep above, 10*s.* 8*d.* a wey. Of Wm. Hamyng, for hides and tallow of 5 oxen and 19 sheep, dead in murrain, 53*s.* 4*d.* Allowed in the creditors at Canterbury, Calais and Guisnes, for 441 stone of white, used for bakemeats, at 6*d.* a stone. Total, 280*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*

Received from the King, by Heron and Wm. Bryswood, of Calais, 10,500*l.*

Payments.—Pistrinum.—To Stephen Cope, serjeant of the poultry, Thos. Tailor, John Raymonde, of Calais, Wm. Colff, of Cawce, John Smith, Adrian Sprete, Edw. Skele, John Case, of Pepelyng, Hen. Braybrooke, of Calais, John Goughe and Thos. Hungerford, the King's purveyors of wheat, Hugh Townley, constable of Guysnes castle, Ric. Wenebank, of Guysnes, and Valentine Harrison, serjeant of the bakehouse, for wheat, from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 11*s.* 11*d.* the qr. For carriage to Jane Whitefield, from Calais to Medelham, 2*d.* a load. From Mr. Mykelowe's house to the waterside at London, 2*d.* To John Case, Jas. Marland and Ric. Aveteryk, carriage of bread from Calais to Guisnes, 2*s.* 8*d.* a day each. To Joyce Phillip, carriage of bread from the bakehouse to the Cheker at Calais, 2½*d.* a load. To Thos. Hungerford, for going from London to Calais, to St. Omer's and to the lady Margaret, for wheat, from 11 April to 2 May, with a man to speak the language, 45*s.* Costs of John Christopher and another soldier riding with Hungerford, to speak the language, 8*s.* 14 April to 19 July, to Wm. Courtney, Robt. Kyrbye, Ric. Jakson, Thos. Gardner, and Elys Davye, bakers, at 8*d.* and 7*d.* a day. Valentine Harrison, 12*d.* Thos. Sutton, 6*d.* To Hungerford, for riding from Calais to Chichester, Henley and Reading, for wheat, 28*s.* 4*d.* To Wm. Clerk, John Heth, John Sterland, Ric. Guye, John Stokwith, Wm. Canon, Robt. Mathewe, Ric. Reynold, Thos. Garlyk, Thos. Jurdanson, Lewes ap Rice, Thos. Forman, Thos. Aston and Roger Beton, bakers, 4*d.* to 8*d.* a day. To 5 "conducts bakers," from 18 June to 19 July, 4*d.* a day. To John Ambrose, Roger Okeham, Robt. Shalford, hired for 14 days, at 6*d.* To Wm. Hall, of Calais, 115 ells of canvas at 5*d.*, for the pastry and for 3 bread carts; 4 bareshovells 8*d.*; 12 peels, 3*s.*; 4 cowls, 5*s.* 4*d.*; 2 pieces of fine reynes, 8*s.*; 3 pieces of coarse boulders, 15*s.*; 100 half-qr. sacks, 70*s.* 10*d.*; bringing the sacks from Queenhithe to Mr. Myklowe's place, 4*d.* To the clerk of the market, for making a measure for wheat, 12*d.* To the servant of the waterbailiff of Calais, riding from Calais to Morguyson, 8*d.*; 1½ hundred paving stones, 2*s.* 10*d.* To a bricklayer and his men for laying them, 8*d.* A lock and key, 6*d.* To Thos. Guynes, for measuring 80 qrs. of wheat at Calais, 20*d.* To Thos. Tayllor, cream for the King's cakes, 20*s.* 10*d.* To Cornelius Baker and Mary Thomas, for their house, hired for a bakehouse at Calais, 26*s.* 8*d.* Total:—Wheat, 811 qrs. 2 b., 381*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*; flour, 2 b., 4*s.*; carriage, 9*l.* 5*s.* 3½*d.*; wages, 40*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*; Necessaries, 11*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* = 442*l.* 10*s.* 11½*d.*

Panetria.—To John Fenne, for 2 doz. bread at Guisnes, 2*s.* To John Rogers, for 200 pippins, 5*s.* To John Bushe, serjeant of the pantry, for strawberries and junkets at Guisnes, 25*s.* Wages of John Nicolls, breadbearer, June and July, 20*s.* Hire of a wool house from Mr. Yerforde, for the pantry, 10*s.* Total, 3*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.*

Buttillaria.—To Allen King, for 2 butts Malvesey, at 4*l.* To Jas. Spence, 1 butt Romeneye, 53*s.* 4*d.*; 3 butts Muscadell, at 100*s.*; 2 butts Camplett, at 53*s.* 4*d.*; 15 fats of Rhenish wine, at 6*l.* 8*s.* To Ric. Prowe, Ric. Harton, Robt. Colyns, Edw. Burlacy, Wm. Courtman and Ric. Gittons, for Gascon wine, from 4*l.* to 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a tun; French wine, at 72*s.* 7½*d.* and 100*s.* a tun. To Thos. Knight, John Plesauins, Eliz. Harte and Robt. Flaxton, for ale, at 39*s.* 3*d.* a tun. To John Swete of Melton, for 1 tun of beer of the

1520.

King's drinking, 32s. To Adrian Bereman, of London, and Wm. Antony, for beer at 20s. a tun. To Wm. Skerne, carriage of 100 tuns empty foists to the ship at London, 23s. 8d. To Davy Miller, freight of 87 tons, empty foists and 2 loads of hoops from London to Calais, 8l. To John Mace, Thos. Lancastre, Edw. ap John, Adrian Hole and Thos. Cooke, for empty hogsheds at 6d. each, and carriage of foists from Calais and St. Peter's to Medelweye and other places. To Roger Moore, Edm. Pekham and John Bryan, malt at 6s. 8d. the qr. To John King and Wm. Coterell, oats for the brewhouse at Medlewey, 3s. 6d. a qr. To Wm. Antony and Edw. ap John, for beer hops at 9s. the hundred. To Hen. Wright and Wm. Ruge, ashen cups at 3s. 8d. the 100. To Edw. Skele, for pint and quart earthen cruses, pottlers and galloners. To Wm. Bull and Alard Braban, for carriage. To Wm. Nitryngton, for leather pots and "gyspyns." John Guillelt Cooper, 2 loads of hoops at 16s. To Roger Towker, for lading and shipping wine, at 6d. a load. To Roger Dell, for carriage of wine at Wulkey and Botall wharf, at 2d. a tun. 5 fatts Rhenish wine from Bruges to Calais, 40s. 8d. To Philip Lewis, wine drawer, his costs from London to Calais and back, 10 days, 26s. 8d. To Hen. Face and other coopers, for lading and unlading wine at Calais and Guisnes, 9l. 18s. To Adrian Buffle, carrying wine from Guisnes to the camp, 5 days at 2s. 8d. To John Bingham, John Cobyngham, and Henry Mewes, of Guisnes, for carriage of wine from Guisnes to Calais and to the camp, 2s. 8d. the load, or 2s. the day. To And. Bleke, for carrying 4 loads of Rhenish wine presented to the King by the Emperor, 4l. 7s. 8d. To the constable of Guisnes Castle, for carriage of wine from Guisnes to Calais. To Wm. Cross, for carriage from the Chekker to the Emperor's and other strangers' lodgings. To Hen. Face, for "coynning" wine, 12s. 10d. To Wm. Cotton, hire of the brewhouse at Medlewe, 13 weeks, 40s. Rent of other cellars, &c. from Humfrey Lytefote, Edw. Plankney and Mr. Lacy. To Roger Norrys, for 20 scop maunds for the brewhouse, at 10d. each. To Wm. Andrewe, for 3 mill horses, 10l. 15s. 6d. To John Van Hulke, carriage of the Pitcher House stuff from Guisnes to the camp, 2s. Wages of men lading malt, &c., 3 qt. measures, with rollers for malt, 25s. Grinding 145 qrs. wheat and oats at 3d. a qr. To Edw. ap John, chief overseer of the brewhouse, 8d. a day. Wm. Andrew, under overseer, 6d. a day; Wm. Donkerman, chief brewer, 10d.; Selas Johnson, under brewer, 8d.; other brewers, 6d. To Edw. Portalen, for his reward for making Ipcoras in the cellar, 20s. To Alen King, sent from London to Calais and Guisnes, and from Calais to Canterbury, with Rhenish wine, 64s. 8d. To Ric. Annesley and others, carrying beer from Calais to Guisnes, at 20d. a wagon. To John Charles, freight of beer from London to Calais, at 3s. 4d. a tun. Totals:—Sweet wine, 8 butts, 31l. Rhenish wine, 15 fatts, 96l. Gascon wine, 98 tuns, 406l. 3s. 4d. Ale, 48 tuns, 94l. 4s. Beer, 20 tuns, 20l. 12s. Empty foists, 34l. 6s. 1d. Malt, 162 qr. 4 b. with freight, 315l. 16s. 2½d. Oats, 100 qrs., with freight, 17l. 10s. Beer hops, 3,771 lb., 19l. 2s. Ashen cups, 8l. 5s. Earthen cruses, 7l. 18s. 8d. Leather pots, 70s. 4d. Hoops, 32s. Carriage of wine, 66l. 17s. 1d. House hired, 4l. 3s. 4d. Necessaries and labor, 24l. 12s. 4d. Wages out of court, 62l. 3s. 6d. Carriage of beer, 46l. 7s. 3d. French wine, 77 tuns 1 hogs., 307l. 18s. 10½d. Total amount, 1,568l. 1s. 11¾d.

Garderoba.—To John Thompson, Thos. Lane, Ric. Nashe, Wm. Hall, Ric. Moriff, Edw. Billing, Thos. Dercye, Alex. Nashe, Wm. Rogers and Stephen Ward, for white wax at 12d. and 14d. a lb. Polen wax provided by Belknapp and Thos. Knight at 4l. the 100; torchstaves, 16d. a doz.; wick, 2d. a lb.; links, 2d. a lb. To Windsor Herald, for "soiteilties of divers sorts," 14d. a lb. To Ric. Gressham and Ric. Blagrave, for Holland cloth at 20d. an ell. To Ric. Harton, camerik at 4s. an ell; diaper at 4s. 8d. and 1s. 6d. a yd. To John Mace, for diaper of damask work, 7s. 6d. a yard; 8 barrels of white lights, each containing 12 doz., 6l. To Thos. Longe, carriage of 2 hogsheds and 3 barrels of wax from London to Calais, 3s. 4d. To John Carter, carriage of Mr. Myklowe's and Mr. Byrk's stuff from St. Antony's to the ship, 8d. To John Smith and his fellows, carriage of wood, rushes and salt from Calais to Guisnes, from 5 June to 15 July, 25l. 1s. 4d. To Laurence Chaundler, carriage of wheat meal, &c. from the haven to the bakehouse at Bolen Gate, 20s. To Thos. Rutton, carriage of 16 loads torches from the chaundry to the storehouse in

1520.

EXPENSES at GUISNES for the INTERVIEW—*cont.*

Watergate, 10*d.* To Wm. Bitler, carriage of 8 loads of jewelhouse stuff from the chapel without Watergate to the Cheker, at 3*d.* a load. To Antony Carleton, carriage of 2 loads of the Queen's wardrobe from Guisnes to Calais, 5*s.* 4*d.* To Jas. Cope, 4 loads of the same from Guisnes to the camp, 8*s.* To John Pate, carriage of the King's Wardrobe of Beds, with 8 carts, from Guisnes to the camp, 16*s.* To Dr. Rawson, carriage of the King's closet stuff from Dover Castle to the ship, and from Calais Haven to St. Nicholas' Church, 3*s.* 8*d.* To John Penne, for the carriage of the Emperor's stuff from Calais to Gravelines, 18*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* To Thos. Betberd, carriage of 52 loads of the King's wardrobe from Calais to the ship, 13*s.* To Mr. Dosson, for a lock and key for the spicery door, 12*d.* To Robt. Lee, for a "gardevyan," 7*s.* 6*d.*; a casket for wafers, 2*s.*; 2 pr. of wafer irons, 12*s.*; 2 doz. "treen" spoons, 2*d.*; 3 casting boxes, 3*s.* 4*d.* To Windsor herald, 39 boxes for subtilties, 4*s.*; 2,200 treen platters for the torches at the banquet, 13*l.* 15*s.* To Paas Mewe, cooper, a great tankard for the Ewery, 12*d.* To John a Wray, for hemming diapers, 9*s.* 8*d.* To Thos. Morres, of the Laundry, for carriage and house hire, 34*s.* 6*d.* To Thos. Lane, the hire of 100 moulds of wax, 6 May, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Thos. Vaux and Robt. Walsingham, for writing of the creditors of Canterbury and Calais, 40*s.* To Nic. Mychell, W. Rice and Wm. Mumbre, for their house, hired for Mr. Cofferer, Mr. Myklowe, and the countinghouse at Guisnes. Rent of houses used for the Controlment, the Spicery, the Chaundry and the Wafry at Calais and Guisnes. To Thos. Hungerford and John Wulbaston, for pippins, cherries, strawberries and pears. Wages out of court to Thos. Byrks, Nic. Hurlton, Nic. Godebody and Thos. Sankyll, wax chandlers. To Thos. Warde, John Stanbank and Wm. Cresswell, "for making of herbigage;" John Hamlett, yeoman "carttaker;" John Williams, groom "carttaker;" Wm. Halder, wayfarer of London, 16*d.* a day; Sir Rauf Elderkar, Mr. Myklowe, John Shirley and others. Totals :—White wax, 4,702 lb. 1½ qr., 301*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* Yellow wax, 7,914 lb., 317*l.* 13*s.* 8½*d.* Spice and "soteilities," 344*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.* Diaper and linen, 162*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* White lights, 17*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.* Carriage and freight, 157*l.* 11*s.* 2½*d.* Necessaries, 47*l.* 11*s.* House hire, 62*s.* Fruit, 24*l.* 10*s.* 9½*d.* Wages out of court, 108*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* Torch staves, wicks and links, 30*l.* 8*s.* Total amount, 1,514*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

Coquina.—To John James, of Antwerp, for 2 fresh sturgeons, 78*s.* 8*d.* 31 May to 16 July, to Wm. Wolverston, the King's sea fisher, for five dories, 8*s.* 8*d.* 48 mullets, 31*s.* 8*d.*; 21 basses, 26*s.* 8*d.*; 30 turbot, 66*s.* 4*d.*; 9,100 plaice, 36*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*; 7,836 whiting, 71*l.* 12*s.*; 6 halibuts, 20*s.* 4*d.*; 700 conger, 49*l.* 12*s.*; 288 cod, 4*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*; 5,554 soles, 28*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; 1 dolphin, 40*s.*; 300 breams, 102*s.* 8*d.*; 1,890 mackerel, 66*s.* 7*d.*; 3 porpoises, 4*l.*; 11 haddocks, 3*s.*; 3 crabs and 1 lobster, 16*d.*; 4 trout, 10*s.*; 2,800 doz. (?) crayfish, 35*s.* 4*d.*; 1 fresh sturgeon, 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; 3 fresh salmon, 13*s.*; carriage, 53*s.* 4*d.* To John Rycroft, wages of cooks and pastlers, at 20*d.* a day. Laborers in the Larder, privy kitchen, scalding house, hall kitchen, and boiling house, at 4*d.* a day. Wages out of court to Robt. Constantine, groom of the kitchen, John Alumbye, groom of the boiling house, Peter Gold, Geo. Nelson and others, 6*d.* a day. Board wages of the henchmen, chapel and guard. House hired for the scalding house, 3 weeks, 3*s.* 4*d.* Woolhouses hired for the dry and wheat larders, &c. To the mayor of Dover, for carriage of venison from parks in England, 116*s.* 6*d.* Freight of 2 bucks powdered from Dover to Calais, 2*s.*; 17 bucks from Essex to Guisnes, 52*s.* Costs of Edm. Sampson, sent from Calais to Sussex to my lord Arundel for venison, 40*s.* Carriage of bucks from Walden Park in Essex, Hithe, Bowghton Park, Arundel, Eltham, Ledys, Donemowe and Bradfield. Carriage of 3 doz. venison pasties from Dover to Calais, 12*d.* To my Lady Tachett, for carriage of venison from Calais to Guisnes, 12*d.* To John Boylinger, carriage of 2 great leads from Calais to Guisnes, 5*s.* 2*d.*; 1 lb. blue bice, 5*s.*; 1½ lb. vermilion, 20*d.*; sponge, 8*d.*; 16 doz. thin paper, 13*s.* 4*d.*; 2 lb. "sorres," 8*d.*; ½ lb. "flerrey," 2*s.*; 3 lb. "grene arabik," 16*d.*; 4 lb. glue, 10*d.*; 4 lb. "vergresse," 2*s.* 8*d.*; 3 lb. "orpenett," 3*s.*; 2 lb. red lead, 4*d.*; 2 lb. "ossedey," 2*s.* 2*d.*; 1 lb. white lead, 2*d.*; 14 sticks of sugar candy, 9*s.* 1*d.*; 1 lb. yellow ochre, 1*d.*; ½ lb. sanguis draconis, 5*s.* 4*d.* To John Alumbye,

1520.

for mending two wagons, and for a laborer who helped the leads up into the cart which broke between Calais and Guisnes, 2s. To Robt. Whitelok, for soldering the boiling leads, 6s. 8d. To Wm. Company, for 3 flesh axes, 5s.; 6 dressing knives, 10s.; 3 mincing knives, 5s.; 10 lashing knives, 3s. 4d. To John Ricrofte, a George, 10s.; 4,000 wafers for "soteilities," 16s. 8d.; 16 "conysances" upon glasses for the King's arms, 10s. 8d.; 41 score "fany's" of the King's and others' arms, 6d. a score; 60 moulds, 6l.; 24 lamps, 2s. 8d.; 2 doz. glasses, 9s.; 1 lb. "ancomyn," 6d.; $\frac{1}{2}$ bundle brown paper, 6d.; 2 panes of copper tinned for ovens, 8s. To John Van Standley, a house hired at Guisnes for the clerk of the kitchen, 2s. 8d. To Wm. Pawne, for victuals spent at Staple Inn while the Emperor was there, 6l. 2s. 8d. Recompense for poultry dead in murrain, house hire, &c., 18l. 2s. 8d. Totals.—Sea fish, 208l. 9s. 5½d. Wages of cooks, pastlers, &c., 164l. 17s. 2d. Wages out of court, 11l. 2s. 1d. Board wages, 63l. 6s. 8½d. House hire, 28s. 4d. Carriage and freight of venison, 35l. 7s. 10d. Necessaries and freight, 49l. 7s. 2d. Fresh acates, 6l. 2s. 8d. Carriage of kitchen stuff, 19s. 7d. Total amount, 541l. 0s. 8d.

Emptoria.—To Wm. Honyng, 373 oxen, at 29s. 10½d. a-piece; 4 were sold to the lord Steward. 2,014 muttons, at 3s. 7d.; 20 sold to the lord Steward. 86 veals, from 2s. 4d. to 3s. 8d. a-piece. To Wm. Stafford and Thos. Raven, for 756 veals, from 31 May to 17 July; 18 hogs of grease, at divers prices. Lamba, bacon, &c. from Christopher Jackson, John Plomme and Stafford. Fish from Wm. Honyng and John Fenne: 2 trouts, 4s. 4d.; 1 fresh salmon, and 3 great trouts, 13s. 4d. To Hen. Berd, for 111 carp, 11l. 17s. 8d.; 223 tench, 116s. 4d.; 316 perch, 28s. 8d.; 36 bream, 37s.; 218 pike, 6l. 16s. 2d.; 3,300 roach, 66s.; 250 shallows, 23s. 8d.; 160 crabs, 6s. 4d.; 1 basse, 16d.; 600 flounders, 12s.; 1 trout, 5s. 4d. To Thos. Tylley, for 40 bream, 4l. 18s. 4d.; 6 trout, 10s. 8d.; 494 tench, 11l. 13s. 6d.; 276 pike, 11l. 12s. 4½d.; 450 perch, 73s.; 2,900 roach, 73s. 10d.; 2,600 flounders, 45s. 10d.; 217 carp, 15l. 18s. 8d.; 22 roasting eels, 16s. 2d.; 200 "pimple," 4s.; mussels, 2d.; 380 crabs and lobsters, 12s. 8d.; 116 shallows, 15s. 4d. To Wm. Honyng, freight of sheep from Hithe to Calais, 4d. a-piece; oxen, 2s. To Margett Goldsmith, for a butchery at Guisnes, 3 weeks, 13s. 4d. To Mychell Bynde, hire of a house at Newnam Bridge, for a butchery, 6 wks., 10s. To Mr. Whetell, John Cokson and Mr. Peche, for pasture hire. To Wm. Rawson and others, carrying bay-salt, 1d. a load. To Thos. Judd, waiting upon the offal, between Guisnes and Calais, 6d. a day. To Edmund Langthorn, for 140 "flaill bones," bought at Guisnes for a banquet, 26s. 8d.; carriage of 200 lings from Canterbury to Calais, 9s. 8d. To Robt. Lark and Geo. Mawkes, carrying 600 ling from the ship to the Garner. To John Alen, carriage of 9 qrs. 4 lb. bay-salt from Calais to Guisnes, in 3 wagons, 20d. a wagon. To Margett Goldsmith, carriage of 84 loads of flesh from the butchery in Guisnes to the larder, 4d. a load. Adrian Sprete, carriage of offal from Guisnes to Calais, 2s. 8d. a day. 17 July, to Wm. Honnyng, 8 muttons, 24s.; 1 qr. beef, 7s.; half a veal, 2s.; 3 lambs, 5s.

Totals: 373 oxen, 557l. 3s. 4½d. 2,014 sheep, 360l. 16s. 10d. 842 veals, 156l. 13s. 6d. 18 hogs of grease, 15l. 6s. 8d. 51 pigs, 33s. 8d. 16 lambs, 22s. 101 flitches of bacon, 117s. 10d. 880 ling, 43l. 5s. 2,306 "modefishes," 36l. 4s. 8d. 19 sturgeon, 67l. 6s. 400 stone white, 13l. 10 qu. white salt, 53s. 4d. 28 wey baysalt, 21l. 3s. 4d. Fresh water fish, 98l. 9s. 8½d. Freight of beef and mutton, 70l. 9s. 4d. Pasture and house hire, 60l. 6s. 9d. Wages, 58s. 8d. Necessaries, 8s. 6d. Fugations (drovers' wages), 28l. 4s. 2d. Carriage of store flesh, &c., 11l. 11s. 10d. Fresh acates, 38s. Total amount, 1,553l. 13s. 1d.

Pulletria.—To John Newton, for 30 doz. capons of grease, 2s. 4d.; 75 doz. and 1 capons "K," at 12d.; 6 doz. and 10 pheasants, at 2s.; 203 doz. and 9 quails, at 4s. a doz.; 42 doz. and 2 geese, at 7d.; 2 peacocks, 5s. 4d.; 16 doz. and 7 gulls, at 16d.; 7 doz. and 8 cygnets, at 5s.; 30 doz. and 9 pigeons, at 10d. a doz.; 11 doz. and 7 mews, at 10d.; 26 doz. and 1 herons, at 2s.; 5 doz. and 5 shovellers, at 2s.; 6 doz. and 4 storks, at 3s.; 7 doz. and 2 bitterns, at 2s.; 4 doz. brewes, at 20d.; 11 egrets, at 20d.; 30,700 eggs, at 12d. a 100; 214 lbs. butter, at 2d. a lb.; 1,000 pepins, 3s. 4d.; 2 qrs. oatmeal, 40s.; 36 gal. oil, 36s.; 12 prs. paniers, 40s.; from 31 May to 17 July. To John Byrling, of St. Omers, for 13 doz. and 4 quails,

1520.

EXPENSES at GUISNES for the INTERVIEW—*cont.*

at 2s. a doz. To John Rogers, hemp seed, at 10d. a bushel. To Jas. Anderpoden, 5 doz. and 5 breves, at 11s. 8d. the doz. To Stephen Cope, 7 partridges, 12d.; 17 plovers, 12d.; 7 lapwings, 4d.; 21 doz. pigeons, 18s. 10d.; 41 doz. hens, 6l. 16s. 10d.; 27 doz. and 3 pullets, 62s. 2½d.; 67,350 eggs, 24l. 9s. 8d.; onions, 18d.; gooseberries, 2d. To Julyan Palyard, for 46 doz. 6 quails, at 2s. 2d. a doz., and 2s. 2d. for a cage for them. To John White, 195 dishes butter, 30s. To Edw. Brysley, 33 doz. and 7 rabbits, 6l. 14s. 4d.; 12 kids, 12s.; 1 carp, 10s.; 5,500 oranges, 4l. 10s.; 8,300 pippins, 8l. 2s.; 200 lemons, 2s. 8d.; 2 g. olives, 2s.; 16 lb. capers, 5s.; 2 bush. peson, 20d.; 21 mawnds, 31s.; carriage of poultry from Brydges to Calais, 12l. 14s. 8d.; toll at Gravelines, 40s.; his wages, 16d. a day. To John Rogers, 432½ gal. cream, 14l. 8s. 4d.; 946 gal. "crudd," 14l. 2s. 7d.; 562 gal. milk, 7l. 0s. 7½d.; 4 gal. gooseberries, 2s. 2d.; 6 bunches onions, 12d.; 12 cheeses, 8s. 1d. To Basteau Albright, 26 doz. and 7 herons, 26l. 11s. 8d. To Thos. Wudroffe, 13 swans, 30s. 4d. To John Copland, for 9 dozen and 10 conies, 39s. 4d. To John Forde, 137 doz. rabbits, at 2s. 6d. the doz. To John Leyland, for 1365 lambs at 19d. To Julyan Loder, carriage of a load of poultry from the Haven to the Poultry in Calais, 3d. To Adrian Johnson, carriage of poultry stuff from Calais to Guisnes, 23 days, at 2s. 8d. a day. Carriage of 715 lambs from Newman Bridge to Guisnes, 44s. Wages of John Williams, Thos. Vaux, John Welche, Jas. Sutton and Thos. Bone, 6d. a day; Stephen Cope, 12d.; John Pellam, John Repyngton, Thos. Sawyer, Thos. Clydrowe, John Hunt and Wm. Antony, cutters of meat for the poultry, 6d. a day; Wm. Barton, Wm. Farnett, Roger Barowe, Alexander Story, and other feeders, 4d. a day; Jane Boneford and Adrian Story, 12d. a week; Agnes Alonbon, 2 weeks, 20d. Reward to the Emperor's clerk of the kitchen, who brought some fowls as a present to the King, 4l. 6s. 8d. To Stephen Cope, going to Chichester to provide wheat and wood there, 6l. 13s. 4d. To John Copeland, riding into Flanders for poultry, and into the Vale for rabbits, 11s. 6d. To a joiner at Calais, for a cage with joined work, 2s. 2d. To Stephen Cope, carriage of 40 doz. quails from Antwerp to Calais, 4s. To the carrier of St. Omer's, for a quarter of hempseed, 6s. To Margery Bennett, for fanning and washing 4 qr. hempseed, 14d. To Robt. Constantin, for line and cord to hang the quails' cages, 14d.; 40 ells canvas for the poultry, 5d. the ell. To Guilbert Fawkner, 18 boges of water for the poultry, 3s. To Robt. Wilkinson, carriage of water from Medelwey to the poultry at Calais, 11d. a day. Totals: Poultry, 1,258l. 15s. 10d. Carriage and freight, 17s. 2s. 3d. Wages and rewards, 46l. 7s. Necessaries and meat, 50l. 0s. 3d. House hire, 2l. 0s. 6d. Total amount, 1,374l. 5s. 10d.

Scutilleria.—To Thos. Ustwayte and Laurence Ascleyn, pewterers, for 10,654 lb. pewter vessels, at 46s. 8d. the cwt. To John Harrison, for 3 loads of quenche, with the carriage, 8s. 4d. To Wm. Rutter, for 16 glasses for "soteilties," at 3½d. To John Greenwood, for a brazen mortar weighing 56 lbs., at 3d. a lb. To Roger Norrys, for 2 great coalbaskets, 8d.; 12 white baskets, 3s.; 11 doz. and 6 great flaskets, 57s. 6d. To Nic. Pynson, for 8 skimmers, 13s. 4d.; 5 laten ladles, 8s. 4d. To Philip Fewacre for 6 green peels, 2s.; 2½ doz. great bowls, 20s.; 2 doz. ipocras bowls, 10s.; 5 doz. trays, 25s.; 3 doz. great treen pestles, 60s.; 18 cowlstaves, 3s.; 6 coal shovels, 18d.; 12 drinking bowls, 9d.; 2 great bread graters, 4s. 8d. To Robt. Thosen, for 18 cowls, 21s.; 2 close cowls, 3s. 4d.; 13 stowpes, 3s. 3d.; 12 small padlocks, 18d.; 3 jaging irons, 12d.; a pair of water bowges, 33s. 4d.; empty pipes for powdering tubs, 14s. 8d.; 6 stock locks with keys, for woolhouses, at 8d. To Sampson Bradsha, carriage of 9 loads of coals from the coalpits to Guisnes, at 7d. a load; and 12 loads quenche from one wood to the other, at 12d. To Jas. Wading, hire of a great kettle to boil beef in, for 6 weeks, 10s.; hire of pots, pans, spits, &c., from London cooks, 17l. 7s. 8d.; Wm. Lowyn, Thos. Allen, and other "brenners," colliers, and hewers, 6d. a day. To John Ap Rice, sent from Calais to London, for pewter vessels for the banquet, 10s. 8d. To John Carter, carriage of 6 barrels 1 kild. of pewter vessels from St. Anthony's to

1520.

the Tower Wharf, 8*d.* ; carriage of 7 loads of quenche, from St. Peter's to the Forest beyond Guisnes, at 2*s.* a load ; 49 loads of water from Bolengate to the Cheker, 1½*d.* a load. Totals: Pewter vessels, 248*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* Necessaries, 56*l.* 14*s.* 6½*d.* Wages, 56*l.* 3*s.* Carriage of stuff, 16*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.* Total amount, 377*l.* 11*s.*

Salaria.—To Thos. Scryven, for a hogshead of white vinegar, 23*s.* 4*d.* ; 3 hhd*s.* red vinegar, 50*s.* ; a pipe of verjuice, 20*s.* ; 4 bush. mustard seed, 10*s.* Wages of Wm. Richardson, Wm. Worall, Ric. Pittor and Jenyn Conykle. A mustard querne, 7*s.* 3*d.* Pears, apples and cherries for the Emperor, 6*s.* 1*d.* Wages of Ric. Williams, and 5 others, in the Salsery, at 4*d.* a day. Totals: Sauce, 12*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* 7 qrs. 5½ bush. flour, 4*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Herbs, 6*s.* 8*d.* Wages, 10*s.* Necessaries, 53*s.* Carriage, 10*s.* 8*d.* Labor hired, 40*s.* Total amount, 22*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*

Aula et Camera.—To Edw. Philips, of Tendredyn, 566,000 tallwood, and billets at 4*s.* 9*d.* the 1,000 with freight. To Mr. Belknapp, 109,750 billets, at 4*s.* 9*d.* the 1,000 ; rushes at 16*d.* a doz. To Matthew Page, 450 doz. sent from London to Calais, 23*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ; for mowing and gathering rushes, 14 days, 6*s.* 8*d.* Wages of workmen piling billet, 4*d.* a day ; carpenters, 8*d.* and 7*d.* To Wm. Chace, for carriage of wood to the Lord Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller in Calais, 13*s.* 8*d.* To Ric. Wales, 4 loads straw, 2*s.* 8*d.* a load. Totals: 691,400 tallwood and billet, 179*l.* 9*s.* 5½*d.* Rushes, 52*l.* 3*s.* Wages, 12*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Carriage, 105*s.* 10½*d.* Necessaries and house hire, 4*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* Total amount, 252*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.*

Stabulum.—To Wm. Cotton, 2 loads hay, at 5*s.* To Cornelius Williams, freight of hay from London to Calais, at 7*s.* 6*d.* a load, over and above 40*s.* paid by Edw. Weldon. To Laurence Townley, 1 load, 16*s.* 5*d.* To Wm. Cottill and John Candiashe, freight of oats from Greenwich to Calais, 8*d.* a qr. To John King, of Aldren, in Essex, 82 qrs. oats, 3*s.* 6*d.* a quarter with freight. To Thos. Harrison, 300 garbage, at 4*s.* a 100 ; 20,000 garbage, at divers prices. Wages of Rauffe Davenport, at 12*d.* a day. Wm. Corff, Lewes Leyton and Thos. Harrison, 6*d.* a day. To John Shirley, cofferer, board wages of the Stable, June and July, 40*l.* Totals: 238 loads hay, 204*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* 1092 qrs. oats, 194*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Garbage, 51*l.* 11*s.* 2½*d.* Litter, 11*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* Wages, 39*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Necessaries and house hire, 33*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Board wages, 40*l.* Total amount, 575*l.* 13*s.* 8½*d.*

To Mr. Carter, for the diets of the Lord Cardinal from 26 May to 17 July, at 12*l.* a day, 612*l.*

Remaining at Calais.—Sir Edw. Guylford, 12 loads hay, 4*l.* ; 33 qrs. oats, at 2*s.* 8*d.* Sir Wm. Sandes, 16 loads hay, 106*s.* 8*d.* ; 33 qrs. oats, 4*l.* 8*s.*

Total: 8,839*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

Pp. 100.

R. O.

2. An estimate for the diets of the King and Queen, with other nobles, at Calais and Guisnes, for one month, in June and July 12 Hen. VIII.

700 qrs. of wine, at 12*s.* a quarter. 150 tuns French and Gascon wine, at 110*s.* the tun. 6 butts sweet wine, 27*l.* 560 tuns of beer, at 20*s.* 340 beeves, at 40*s.* 2,200 mutt*ons*, at 5*s.* 800 veals, at 5*s.* 80 hogs of grease, at 8*s.* Salt and fresh fish, 300*l.* Spices, 440*l.* Diaper and linen cloth, 300*l.* 4,000 lb. wax, 200*l.* White lights, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* For the Poultry, 1,300*l.* Pewter vessels, 300*l.* Brazen pans, spits, &c., 200*l.* 5,600 qrs. coal, 280*l.* Tallwood and billet, 200*l.* The stable, 200*l.* Costs of purveyors, 140*l.* Hogs and crayers for conveyance of victuals, 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 4 pipes Ipocras, 80*l.* Rushes, 40*l.* 20 cooks and 12 pastelers, at 20*d.* a day. 40 laborers, at 6*d.* 12 brewers and 12 bakers, at 8*d.* Carriage of victuals from Calais to Guysnes, 130*l.* Total, 7,633*l.* Rebate for hides, fells and tallow, 223*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, leaving 7,409*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Paper roll. Endd.

15 July. 920. HESDIN to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

178b.

B. M.

Thanks for the presents of the King and Wolsey. Begs they will consider the trouble he has had to recover Mortaigne from De Ligny, which he kept for 28 days, but placed it in the hands of Belknapp. Regrets to

1520.

HESDIN to WOLSEY—*cont.*

give so much trouble; it is the last time he will write. Gravelines, 15 July 1520. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

17 July. 921. GERARD DE PLEINE, LORD DE LA ROCHE, to WOLSEY.

R. O.

On my arrival, gave the Emperor your answers to what I had said to you in his name. Found him well disposed to commute the bishopric of Badajos for an annual pension borne by the see, and he promises another pension from the first wealthy see that is vacant, instead of the pension promised by the marquis of Arschot. No one in the court here will accept the said see with a greater burden than 3,000 ducats, and I wish to know whether you will take the see, which is worth 5,000 ducats, or the said sum.

The journey to Italy which we spoke of, will end in either a war, or else great loss of money and honor to both princes. Your advice in this matter ought to be acted on; and the lord to whom I spoke at your wish, thinks the same. The Emperor will write to Don John Emmanuel to the same effect as you have determined to write to the ambassador at Rome, about the matters treated at the meeting of the kings at Calais, to gain the Pope's favor for their realms, and keep him informed of the occurrences there. What you said about the legateship will be done. Hears from a friend that Campeggio was slow in obtaining the protectorship of Germany. The Emperor will consider about the petition I presented on his behalf from you. St. Omer, 17 July 1520.

Have not mentioned the pension of 2,000 ducats from the see of Palencia. It is reserved, and the matter is quite safe.

Hol., Lat., pp. 2. Add.: Ill. [et R^{mo}] D. D. ca[r]dinali Eborac[en]s[is] s[an]c[t]ae sedis [ap[osto]licae] legato de later[an]o, in regno et dominiis ser. regis Angliae, &c. Endd.

19 July. 922. BISHOP OF BAYEUX to the CARD. S. MARIA in Porticu.

Lettere di
Principi, i. 78.

* * * Madame told him that she had heard from Montmorency, who was present at the late interview, that Chievres and the Chancellor tried to persuade the king of England to treat with her nephew against France, and that the King said he was much surprised that those who owe so much to their master could be so ungrateful as to lead him into evil by teaching him to break his faith at such a tender age; for they well knew the treaties that they had with France. For his part he was ready to declare against any one who would do France an injury, and he had said the same to her nephew, showing all favor to Montmorency in his presence, and telling him that he had not only a good understanding with France, but most cordial love for Francis, whom he praised most highly, adding that they were not only alike in mind and will, but in person, and showed a doublet and a cloak (? *ciamarra*) that he had on given him by the French King, and said so much of this friendship that the Spaniards departed ill pleased. England is now desirous that if the French be sought in friendship by the Spaniards, nothing may be done without his privity. Thinks a promise will be given to this effect. The Pope is not without suspicion that at this last interview there was some treating for a new friendship between this King and Spain. This distrust has created some dissatisfaction here, where the friendship of his Holiness is more valued than ever, and they hope to kiss his feet once more. The sending of Morette [to Rome] is deferred till the close of the interview. * * *

Poissy, 19 July 1520.

Ital.

1520.

19 July. 923. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. vii.
235.

B. M.

Yesterday, on hearing of Rochepott's arrival from England, went to St. Germain's at 8 o'clock in the evening. Found Francis newly risen from bed, for he had been "all the day, which was marvellously hot, at the chace." Francis informed him of the "high declaration" made by Henry to the king Catholic of the amity with France, and of the familiar entertainment of the said Rochepott, which have given him "all the pleasure, joy, and comfort that human creature may receive;" telling him that Henry had showed himself his perfect friend, and that he should think the time long till he had an opportunity to requite his friendship. He then went to supper. Rochepott arrived soon after, and made a similar communication to him; and after supper to my Lady the King's mother, who was no less joyous of the news than the King her son. Hopes to bring over some "clockes" for the King. The duke of Alençon has promised to send over his servant who plays the clavichords. Poissy, 19 July. *Signature burnt off.*

Mutilated, pp. 2.

23 July. 924. EARL OF SURREY to HENRY VIII.

Lamb. MS.
602. f. 52.

St. P. ii. 35.

The archbishop of Dublin and others returned from Waterford on the 10th, and have taken a truce between the earls of Desmond and Ormond. Has laid waste the country of Connolly O'More. Has taken the oath of O'Kerroyll, the most esteemed captain of the land. Gives an account of his conversation with him, and a letter he had received from the earl of Kildare. Has his son and brother in pledge. The country is now in peace, except O'Nele. In talking with O'Downyl, the latter said, "If ever the King send the earl of Kildare hither in authority again, let the King make him an assurance by indenture of this land to him and his heirs for ever." Has been constantly employed in war, and thinks the Irish will not be brought to good order except by compulsion; and that will require much men, money and time. Sicknes prevails in the English pale, and the yeomen of the King's guard are anxious to return to England to take care of their farms. Desires to raise a troop of horse. Dublin, 23 July.

27 July. 925. SIR THOS. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.
180.

B. M.

Arrived at Bruges on Saturday last. Went to the Emperor, who is four leagues hence. He said he should never forget his reception in England and at Calais, and was sorry he could not return your kindness at a better place than Gravelines. He will enter this night with great triumph, and a great assembly of nobles of the country, ambassadors and other Almaines, who have come since our being at Calais; amongst whom is duke Henry of Brunswick, with 60 horses, counts Wm. and Hans of Nassau, the counts of Sorna, Verdenberg, Fostenberg and Salma; the least of them with 20 horses. Has not yet heard of any French ambassador, but the lady of Vendôme came two days ago, with her son the Cardinal and divers French gentlemen. Does not know their object, but is sure they will have but a small audience to their overtures. It is said the Emperor will go to the coronation at Aken, after Michaelmas. There is no answer yet from the Electors, but "it may not tarry nor be contrary to his Majesty's desire." The ceremony will be at Hallantydde, and take but few days. The Emperor will then go to Nuremberg, where by ancient custom the estates will meet to order the affairs of the country, and the journey to Rome.

Asked the ambassador of Augsburg, who seems to be a wise man, what he thinks of the said journey, and what assistance the Emperor will have. He said that, considering the decline of the authority of the empire, all wished for his full coronation; and if he execute good justice in Almany,

1520.

SIR THOS. SPINELLY to WOLSEY—*cont.*

he will have 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse paid for a year. I suggested that, according to a proverb in my country, the exaltation of the lord is the oppression of the subject; that the Princes of Almain might be jealous "for their excessive liberties;" and that justice could not be administered without giving great offence to the said princes, "whose ben the keppers and fydders of all robbers." He answered, that both lords and commons have a good "imprenson" of those of the blood of Osteriche, especially of this young Emperor; and that he would no more use tyranny than his predecessors; that the lords further the journey to Rome, as they hope to share the lands which would be reduced to the Emperor's obedience; and that there are more who want justice than not. He thinks the French king cannot refuse a passage through the duchy of Milan, and if he do, he will be the breaker of the peace, and not the Emperor, who, by the prerogatives of the empire, must go with the power requisite for his surety.

Divers merchants from Nuremberg and Ulmo say the Emperor will have an aid of 400,000 guildens a month, for a year, and that the imperial towns will gladly pay it, if justice be reformed, and the robbers punished "and not accepted by the marquises of Brandenburg and certain other barons." Lately, a gentleman of the marquis Casimirus, with 100 horse, attacked the earl of Hettyng and the Chancellor of the elector of Mayence, to rob them. After fighting some time, both were sore hurt, the Earl so badly that he died in two days, and all their goods were taken. Many complaints have been made about it to the Emperor, but he answers that he can do nothing till he comes to Almain. The Pope gives fair words and promises to the Emperor "by the hands of Raphael de Medicis and conduytte of the cardinal de Medicis." The prothonotary Karaccolo, a Neapolitan, brought up by the cardinal Askanyo, has come to be resident here. He is considered a good imperial, as he showed when in Almain, at the election. Sending such a man seems to show a good mind, and that whatever the Pope says to the French king, his intention is not so clear as he makes believe; or else both will be entertained with words till he can join the stronger; but, owing to his lack of money, his assistance will be of little value. A kinsman "of his" says his Holiness "has no money, but great debts, none resolution or execution in his affairs, and that many of his conditions may be compared unto some that the Emperor Maximilian had." Was secretly told that he had put to death lord John Paulo Ballyon because he had practised in Italy in the French king's favor, so that his resistance to the coronation would be of little effect. Heard from divers deputies of Brabant, Flanders and Zealand that they will continue the great aid for three years. It will begin in six months, and amount to 600,000 fl. a year. They will also give him 500,000 ducats of gold, or their value, for his coronation. The joint answer of the estates, however, is not yet made, but will be, at Ghent. Fellyngher and Bandysius tell me that those in Ostreche, Tyroll and "other paternal succession in Almany," have agreed to a tax by which the Emperor will have 600,000 guildens clear; and he will have 200,000 ducats from Naples.

Spanish affairs are in the state you know. No lord has made any open demonstration against the commons. They say they will obey the Emperor in everything, except in allowing money to go out of the kingdom, and strangers to have offices, so that the Emperor can only reckon on the revenues of the three magistracies, which are farmed for three years at 212,000 ducats of gold a year; the farmers to answer every three months at such place as the Emperor shall be in. Other rents they will distribute for the Queen, for men-of-arms, for keeping Navarre and the towns of Barbary, and paying the pensioners there resident. 100,000 ducats

1520.

are lacking of the sum appointed at our departure for the Emperor's service ; which is to be taken out of the extraordinary aid. The subjects that the queen of Arragon had in Castile, in recompence of her dowry "contrachanged in Naples" by her husband's will, to prevent her marrying a Frenchman, have rebelled, and yielded themselves to the crown. Does not know what satisfaction will be made her. The duke of Alba thinks the insurrection will be with difficulty appeased, in the Emperor's absence ; and as to Toledo, both spiritual and temporal insist that if the Cardinal intend to enjoy his revenues and collations by virtue of the apostolic ingultu, he must reside there. The Marquis, his uncle, has diminished the great charges and household appointed for his entertaining, which seems as if he had little hope of soon reducing his see to obedience.

The said Marquis has sold to the duke of Beagger his office of contador mayor, some say for 30,000 ducats. I am told that they intend to sell certain towns and lands in Naples, "of the succession of the queens of Naples deceased," amounting to 10,000 ducats a year, and to 200,000 in vendition. The count of Benevent offers 120,000 ducats for a lordship in Castile, so that I cannot see the Emperor has any lack of money for his voyage.

I have divers times visited your ambassadors and commissioners, giving Sir John Hose and Dr. Knight the precedence when we meet. This letter was commenced on the 22nd. On the 23rd the Emperor made his entry, and on Monday next he will remove to Gant, to have the answer from the General Estates. This morning, the 27th, the Marquis had at dinner with him the cardinal of Bourbon. Bruges, 27 July 1520.

P.S.—A post has come from Almain that the Chancellor of the elector of Mayence is dead ; that the duke of Vyertenberg has had money from France, and begun to make men enter his duchy, where Sevenberg was gone to defend the country ; in which the said Elector and others of the league of Swevya will assist. The Elector wrote to the Emperor that he intended to revenge the death of his Chancellor, and that, as to the Duke, the remedy must be sought against the French king, and they must give him cause not to meddle with Almain. This morning, the 28th, the Marquis has desired me to bring to dinner with him Hose and his colleague.

Hol., pp. 11. *Add.* : To [my lord] Cardinal's grace.

27 July. 926. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. vi.

186.

B. M.

Raphael de Medici says, you told the Pope's ambassador you had heard from me that he had many practises with the Emperor on behalf of the cardinal de Medici. He has also complained, in other places, of my speaking about it. I have told him I mentioned it to you only to show his great influence with the Pope and the Cardinal, and in order to induce you to confer with him rather than with the Pope's ambassador at Calais. The Pope's nephew who spoke with you at Guisnes is here, and is in favor with the lord Marquis. I shall learn from him of the business of Rome, but everything must be kept secret. Letters have been brought from the lord Leonard to lord Fiennes. My man, Echyngham, a discreet young fellow, who was present at their delivery, says, the lord Leonard demanded a declaration upon certain words laid to his charge ; to which Fiennes replied, that he had never heard of any such, and for his kinsman's sake would send a gentleman to the King to justify himself. The lord Marquis says, that, true or false, he regretted the scandal, and thought the best remedy was to know nothing about it ; for one day, when it was reported to the late King of Arragon that certain Castilians had spoken against him, he said, laughing, that he had a covenant with them that they might say what they pleased, if they did afterwards what he pleased.

1520.

SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

Cowke and his brother, who were in great favor with the duke of Suffolk, are here, about to enter the Emperor's service, and, I am told, talk more than they should do. Such men ought rather to be provided for in England. I have told the lord Marquis it would be advisable not to receive any man without first knowing the King's mind. A young man named Aceby is come, whom the Emperor promised to receive at the duke of Suffolk's instance, and with him divers tall fellows, who cannot hold their tongues from speaking against France. I delivered your letters to the lord Marquis, saying he might be sure you would prefer their friendship to any other. He has great confidence in you. La Roche also received your letters, and will do his best in the matter of your bishopric and pension, the bulls of which have arrived. Wm. de Barre and others are anxious to have the commissions to convey them to you; but I have insisted that they be delivered to me as you direct. I enclose a letter from La Roche, showing that he has complied. My lord Marquis told me of the coming of the Master of the Rolls, of which you had informed him. If I am to continue with the Emperor, I trust my honor will be better regarded after my 12 years' service than it was at the arrival of your ambassadors in Spain. Henceforth, I shall write news of your private affairs in a letter apart. Eight bundles of cloths and some worsteds, belonging to Rauson, have been arrested at Barrow, having been sent out of England under a strange name. We have obtained letters for their delivery to Hennage's servant, and will arrange to lay good watch for Rauson. Bruges, 27 July 1520.

Hol., pp. 5.

28 July. 927. For the PRIOR and CONVENT of the BENEDICTINE MONASTERY OF ST. MARY, READING.

Congé d'élire *vice* Thos. Worcester, last abbot, deceased. Westm., 28 July.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 23.

29 July. 928. TREATIES.

R. O.

Indenture, dated 29 July 12 Hen. VIII., witnessing that Tunstal, Master of the Rolls, has delivered to Sir John Cutte, under-treasurer, the following writings:—

Confirmations of a treaty of marriage between my lady Princess and the Dauphin, dated 21 Dec. 1518; a treaty of peace between the King and Francis; a treaty for restoring Tournay; an article comprising the Scots, and a treaty of depredations; all of the same date. Obligations of Francis, for payment of 600,000 cr. on the delivery of Tournay; for payment of 23,000 l. Tournaises, the residue of the debt of Tournay, for the King's pension of 1,000,000 cr., and one made at Arde for payment of 100,000 francs yearly; and confirmations, for an interview between the two Kings, of a treaty for payment of 1,000 fr. yearly, and of the first peace. *Signed by Tunstal.*

2. By similar indenture of same date:—

R. O.

A commission under the great seal of king Lewis of France, dated 13 July 1478. A writing made by Chas. bishop of Elnen, dated London, 15 Feb. 1478. A letter of prorogation of an annual cense to 100 years, dated 14 Feb. 1478, and sealed by the said Bishop. An acceptation of the comprehension of the Venetians under lead, dated 15 April 1519. *Signed by Tunstal.*

3. Ditto.

R. O.

The confirmations of the treaties of amity and intercourse between the King and the prince of Castile, dated 13 Feb. 1515. A commission under

1520.

the Prince's great seal, dated 16 April 1516, to conclude an amity. The amity, concluded 19 April 1516, with three seals. Treaty of intercourse between England and Flanders, 11 April 1520, with four seals. Treaty of interview with the king of the Romans, 11 April 1520, with four seals. His commission to conclude the said interview and intercourse, 25 Feb. 1520. An instrument of an oath by the prince of Castile, 23 April 1516, and the oath signed by him. A treaty on paper between the King and the king of Romans, signed by the latter, and dated Calais, 14 July 1520, with his oath and confirmation dated 15 July 1520. A treaty of amity between Henry and Ferdinand king of Arragon, dated 11 Dec. 1515, with Ferdinand's oath and a notarial instrument. *Signed by Tunstal.*

4. Cutte's acknowledgment of the receipt of the documents mentioned in § 2. *Not signed.*

31 July. **929.** ERASMUS to HERMAN BUSCH.

Er. Ep. xii. 15.

Inveighs against Lee.* His chief support is a stupid abbot and one Standish, first a minorite, then a theologian, afterwards a bishop. Gives an account of a ridiculous sermon preached by Standish before the lord mayor and corporation at Paul's Cross, in which he inveighed bitterly against the new edition of the New Testament by Erasmus, and the translation, "*In principio erat Sermo.*" The same day Standish dined at the palace, when the conversation turned upon the sermon, and Standish was taken to task by two courtiers. Shortly after, in the presence of Henry and his Queen, Standish took occasion to abuse the writings of Erasmus, and raising his hands and eyes to Heaven, in a theatrical attitude, implored his Majesty to succour the Spouse of Christ, if no one else would come to the rescue. One of the courtiers, mimicking Standish's voice and manner, begged him to point out the dangerous heresies of which he complained. Describes the ridiculous controversy which ensued, betraying the gross ignorance of Standish. Louvain, pridie kal. Aug. 1520.

930. ERASMUS to PACE.

Er. Ep. xiii.
41.

Received his billet as Pace was mounting his horse; wished much to speak with him, and congratulate him on his new dignity. Complains that Lee's attacks are scarcely creditable to England. Antwerp, 1520.

31 July. **931.** The MAGLORY.

R. O.

Cost of new rigging and caulking the "*Maglorie*," from 30 April 12 Hen. VIII. to 31 July, paid by John Hopton, clerk comptroller of the ships.

Wages of 20 men, from 2*d.* to 6*d.* a day, 56*s.* 11½*d.* To Thos. Jameson, merchant of York, for victualling them for 127½ days, at 18*d.* a week. To Wm. Loppam, boatswain of the said ship, and 6 men, rigging the ship from 30 April to 7 May, for their board, 15*d.* each. To Jameson, victualling 11 mariners at 16*d.* a week or 2½ a day; 4 cwt. of ball flax, 10*s.* a cwt.; 7 lb. of thromes, for mappes, 2*d.* a lb. Conveying a mast from Erith to Deptford Strond, 4*s.* 6*d.* Wages of a boy for 3 weeks, 12*d.*; and a mariner for 2 weeks, 16*d.* Total of the new rigging of the "*Mary Glorie*," 13*l.* 18*s.* 8½*d.*

Pp. 3.

* For other letters on this subject, see xii. 12-14.

1520.

July.

R. O.

932. EXPENSES OF SIR EDWARD GULDEFORD.

. supper and horse meat at Lisle, 19s. 4d. Tuesday, dinner, when Mons. Crossell dined with you, 15s. Suppers at Tournay, 4s. and 2s. A bit there, 7s. 6d. Beans and barley for the great horse at Lisle, 12d. A mane comb, with a sponge and a horse comb, 22d. Fire and washing at Lisle, 11s. 8d. Hire of 3 hackneys at Lisle, 2s. 3d.; for painting the pattern of a bit, 8d.; for 4 bits, 6s. 8d.; 3 doz. and 2 red headstalls with reins to them, at Lisle Shoeing of horse, 12d. 2 pipes and 3 hogsheds, and striking up of them, "and nails to put in of the King's stuff," at Brussels, 7s. 6d. The cutler's servant, for packing the "stuff," 3s. John Porter's cost at Bruges, 2s. 6d. Carriage of the said stuff from Brussels to Antwerp, 26s. 8d. Customs at Antwerp, 2s. 4d. Carriage by water to Calais, 9s. 4d. Crimson velvet, 28s. a stick. $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz. silk fringe, 5s. 11d. 1 quire paper, and for money laid out by Charles from Brussels to Antwerp, 15d.

"Money laid out by Robert [Elvisshe], for the said Sir Edw. Guldeford, at his going into Holand."

Baiting at Barowe Given to my lord of Barowe's servant Shipping from Odenbusse to Rotterdam . . . 2 waggons from Rotterdam to Delft, ij . . A boat from D[elft] to the Haghe, 8d. Dinner for Hen. Woodford, the page, and Elvisshe, at Delft . . . 2 new collars at Haghe, 2s. Crimson velvet for 2 headstalls for the two hobbies given to the king of Castile and my Lady, and for making, 18s. 8d. Dinner and supper of 8 persons, 2 July, 5s. 4d. To Richmond, for a letter made by the king of Castile's clerk, 4s. 8d. Given that night to Mr. Ponymys' cook, 4s. 8d.; for your lodging at Haighe, and all your servants', 16s. 4d.; for 2 couple conies, 16d.; "for my costs from Lisle into Holland," 11s.; do. from Antwerp into Holland another time, 14s.; for a hammer, 2 butters, 2 pr. of pincers, 2 rapiers, 3 calking irons, 9s. 4d.

"Money laid out by John Caf . . . for the said Sir Edw. Guldeford."

For 3 waggons from the Haighe to Rotterdam, 10s. 2 ship shired, from Rotterdam to Oldenbusse, 15s. For supper and breakfast at Oldenbusse, 13s. Supper, breakfast, and horse meat at Stekyn, 27s. 2d. The same at Ecklow, 25s. 6d. Friday, July 20: Payments for bread, beer, turbot, and several sorts of fish (quantities not given). Sunday: 4 chickens, 11d.; 2 ribs beef, 22d.; 2 geese, 22d.; a heronshaw, 18d., &c. Total, Sunday and Monday, 103s. 6d. Dinner at Odenborow, 8s. 9d. At New[por]te, supper, breakfast and horse meat, 16s. 6d. At Dunkirk, dinner and horse meat, 12s. 2d. At Gravelines, supper, breakfast, and horse meat, 14s. 10d.

"Money laid out by Raff Broke coming after with the King's great horse to Calais."

At Odenborow, for 93 men and horses, 36s. At Newport, the same, 41s. 6d. At Dunkirk, the same, 38s. 6d. At Gravelines, the same, 38s. 4d. Toll for the waggon that carried the horses' gear, 16d.; toll of all the great horses bought in F[lan]de[rs], 6l. 7 rasours oats, 2s. the rasour. 6 cwt. straw, $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. the cwt. 5 loads hay, 11s. 9d. Hire of 4 hoys to carry the horses from Antwerp to Calais A ship for you, your servants and horses to Dover, 3l. 6s. 8d. Lodging at Sandwich, 3s. st.=4s. $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. Fl. Carrying the stuff from Sandwich to Canterbury on horseback, 3s. st.=4s. $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. Fl. Horse meat at the Cheker, the Lion, and the Swan, Canterbury, 24s. st.=33s. 7d. Fl. Medicine for one of the horses=6d. st. $7\frac{1}{4}$ d. Fl. A pair of hosen and shoes for the boy, 2s. st.=2s. $7\frac{1}{4}$ d. Fl. At the George at Richmond, for hay and oats, 20s. st.=28s. Fl. By the King's commandment, to Walter, lord Istelton's servant, who came with the horses, 6l. 13s. 4d. st.=9l. 6s. 8d. Fl. Cleaning the 746

1520.

Almain rivets, brought to Calais and now in the armoury house at Southwark, 12*d.* apiece.

Pp. 16, badly mutilated and defaced. The amounts, where only one currency is mentioned, are all in Flemish coinage.

933.

GRANTS in JULY 1520.

July.

GRANTS.

7. Hen. Vaughan. To be serjeant-at-arms, with 12*d.* a day. Calais, 3 July 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Calais, 7 July.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 18.

8. John Lavelle, of Rouen, merchant. Licence to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine. Calais, 4 July 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Calais, 8 July.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 12.

11. Justices of Assize.—*Western Circuit*: Th. Elyot with Sir Ric. Elyot and John Broke. Guysnes, 11 July. *Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6*d.*—*Home Circuit*: Simon Fitz with Sir John Fyneux and Sir John More.—*Oxford Circuit*: Rob. Brudenell, jun., and John Weste, with Sir Lewis [Pollard] and John Fitzjames. Guysnes, 11 July.—*Pat.* p. 2, m. 6*d.*

11. John Pageot, of Heybryge, Essex. Reversal of outlawry; [sued for debt in the Common Pleas, by John Twedy, and having surrendered to the Flete Prison. Westm., 11 July.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 7.

14. Wm. West, groom of the Privy Chamber. Grant of the quitrent of tenements called "le Croune," in Westchepe, parish of Saint Mary Colchurche, London, forfeited by Sir Ric. Charleton, attainted; and of the keepership of the castle or manor and of the park of Clipston *alias* Clepston, in Shirwoode forest, Notts, of Clipston Park, and the pond called "Clipston Damme." Eltham, 25 March 11 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 14 July 12 Hen. VIII.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 19.

14. Sir John Talbot and Margaret his wife. Licence to impark land and wood at their manor of Albrighton, Salop. *Del.*

Calais, 14 July 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 15.

17. Th. and Rob. Palmer. Grant of the next presentation to either of the two royal chantries called "Mortemer's Chauntries," in Chichester Cathedral. Calais, 10 July, 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Calais, 17 July.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 12.

19. Henry Redman. To be master mason of the King's works at Wyndesore Castle, *vice* Rob. Legate, with 6*d.* a day. *Del.* Calais, 19 July 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 23.

27. Roger Cholmeley, usher of the Chamber. To be walking and riding forester of Galtras, York, during pleasure, with 4*d.* a day; also release of all sums received by him for exercising the office from 19 Aug. 1 Hen. VIII. under an invalid patent. *Del.* Westm., 27 July 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 15.

29. Wm. Fuller, of Stanyng, *alias* of Horsham, Sussex. Pardon. *Del.* Westm., 29 July 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19.

30. Th. Alford and John Catcote, yeomen of the guard. To be keepers of the common gaols of Ilchester and Dorchester, in survivorship. Greenwich, 23 July 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 30 July.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19.

30. Boston. Assent to the election of Sir Rob. Dymmok as mayor, and Roger Meres and Rob. Tomlynson as constables, of the staple of wools, hides, fleeces and lead at Boston. Westm., 30 July.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 23.

934. LOUISE OF FRANCE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Mons. de Wimphilde (Wingfield) is returning, leaving all here satisfied with his good offices. He has conducted everything to the honor and exaltation of the King, and to Wolsey's reputation. Thinks there is none more worthy of having important affairs committed to him. He will be able to tell Wolsey everything at length. St. Germain en Laye.

Fr., hol., p. 1. Add.: Mons. le Cardinal d'Iort, mon bon fils.

935. FRANCIS I. to [HENRY VIII.]

Testimonial in behalf of the sieur de Doyngefyl, Henry's ambassador, on his return to England.

Hol., Fr., mutilated, p. 1.

[Calig. E.
1. 11. ?]
1. 202.
B. M.

1520.

R. O.

936. INSTRUCTIONS to SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD and JERNINGHAM, ambassadors to the French King.

Jernyngham, on arriving in France, is to advertise Wingfield, and arrange with him about communicating their message to Francis. After delivering their letters of credence, they are to thank the King for sending letters and ambassadors so frequently since their interview, and to say that Jernyngham will take Wingfield's place as resident, as the latter has leave to return home on private affairs. The following account of overtures made by the councillors of the elect king of Romans must be discovered to none but the King, his mother and the Admiral, with a request that they be kept secret. Henry thinks that Francis will have been informed of the manner of the interview, "as well by his ambassador here resident as by Memoranceye;" but Wingfield and Jernyngham are to tell him the chief matters there treated on.

Soon after Henry's arrival at Calais, Chievres came, asking him to meet the king of the Romans at Bruges; but this was refused, not being consonant to the conventions made at Canterbury for a second interview, and being likely to hinder the amity between France and England. Henry offered, instead, to meet him at a place halfway between Calais and Gravelines, according to appointment. As the king of the Romans had visited England without any promise, Henry could do no less than visit him at Gravelines, where the King stayed one night, returning to Calais. Charles, the lady Margaret, and their trains remained from Wednesday night till Saturday morning; and during this time Chievres and the Chancellor proposed to break off the marriage between Charles and the French princess, making an offer for Henry's daughter, and undertaking to commence war against France four ways by land and sea, and not to desist until Henry had recovered his title and interest in the same, provided that he would break off the marriage between his daughter and the Dauphin, and would assist the King to pass by force through Italy and Milan to attain his crown. To this Henry answered, that as Chievres had bound his master by "an oath upon the Evangelies, and other many bands, forfeitures and penalties," to fulfil this marriage, he thought such a proposal strange, and that, if they wished to be trusted by him, they must observe their oaths to others; exhorting him to regard his master's conscience and honor, and desist from such practices. As they dissembled this marriage with France, and now wish to break it, he supposed they would similarly dissemble with him for their own interests, and then disappoint him. He dissuaded them from commencing a war with France, saying that if they did so he should assist France, and showing them how disadvantageous it would be, considering the rebellious state of Spain, and the King's minority and want of treasure. As Henry values the observance of his promise above all other earthly things, he could never listen to such proposals, but exhorted Chievres to study the ways of honor and peace, and not to proceed to the recovering of the crown imperial by force, although the princes of the empire desired it, because they were poor, and wished to benefit themselves by war; but, if they lacked entertainment, their love would soon be turned to enmity. It would be better to recover the crown by politic means, with the advice of his friends; for marching an army through Milan must be considered as an invasion, and Henry was bound to assist Francis against invasion, just as he is bound to assist Charles; whereby the old amity between England and Burgundy would be "empeached, and percase dissolved." After long debate, the King, by the advice of the lady Margaret and others, agreed to follow Henry's counsel; so that none of these overtures were concluded. Charles, however, caused all the former treaties between England and Burgundy to be examined by the council; and one was found, concluded between the Pope, Henry, the late Emperor

1520.

and Charles, for mutual assistance "*supra possessis et possidendis*." Chievres tried to prove that this bound England to assist his master to recover his crown, but it was determined that the treaty was void by the death of Maximilian; so all their hopes of aid from the King were frustrated. All the other treaties for mutual assistance against invasion were approved without any innovation, except the appointment of a diet, to be held at Calais within eighteen months by commissioners, to settle the tolls and customs which are to be demanded according to the treaties of intercourse and merchandize.

Here follows a paragraph, crossed out, commissioning Jerningham to disclose the other practices and overtures of Chievres, according to a writing which the King has given him. He is first to obtain from Francis a promise of secrecy, and is on no account to part with the writing.

Francis will have perceived by this account the entire love and affection that Henry bears towards him; and the King looks for no recompense but correspondence of semblable love, plainness and constant dealing, feeling sure that, according to his last courteous letter, he will take no new steps, either about the marriage of Charles with his daughter, or in arranging with him for the attaining of the imperial crown, without Henry's express knowledge and consent. The ambassadors must endeavor to obtain some writing promising to do nothing in these matters without Henry's consent, unless they hear from the King that it is already obtained. The King has heard from Wingfield that Francis wishes his ambassador resident at Rome to associate in open places with the English ambassador, that the friendship between their masters may outwardly appear. Henry is quite agreeable to this; but as a similar request has been made by the king of the Romans, it would be better for the three to associate together openly. He is desirous, however, that there should be other secret intelligence between the English and French ambassadors, that the Pope may evidently perceive the mutual love of their masters. He will not take any steps in the matter till he hears Francis's pleasure.

Draft, corrected by Ruthal, pp. 16.

937. BONNYVET to [WOLSEY].

Calig. E.
1. 27.

B. M.

Francis sends the bailly [of Caen] to Henry to hear news of him. On the arrival of Jerningham, he and Wy[ngfield] made a proposition to Francis touching the fortifications of Ardre, which the French king found very strange. Rom[orantin], *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

2 Aug.
R. O.

938. CHRISTOPHER ROSSE, of London, merchant.

Petition concerning an action which Thos. Hurdson, skinner, has commenced against him in the Sheriff's Court, London. Hurdson had given him 40*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.* to spend in skins in Spain, engaging to pay all customs and other expenses on condition that the first expense should not exceed a certain sum. Rosse spent 31*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in white and black "bugge," the packing and customs of which amount to 14*l.* 13*s.* 9½*d.* Hurdson not only refuses to allow him this difference, but denies having received 300 white "bugge" and 100 black "bugge," which Rosse can prove to have been delivered by him.

P. 1. On the dorse: A statement that Nic. Tewe, of London, grocer, owes to Edmond Clayson, of Antwerp, 105*l.* st., or 157*l.* Flemish, by a bill of exchange, which money was delivered to Tewe on 14 July and 2 Aug. "M^{cc}, in the 12th year of the King that now is."

1520.

- 2 Aug. 939. LAUR. DE GORRE[VOD] to [WOLSEY].
 Vit. B. III. Thos. Spinely will testify to the interest he has taken in the union
 63. of the two crowns. Begs [Wolsey's] favor in behalf of his brother, the
 B. M. bishop of Maurienne, at the ensuing creation of cardinals. Ghent, 2 Aug.
 '20. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

- 3 Aug. 940. SURREY to WOLSEY.

R. O. Ireland is in peace, except O'Nele. There is marvellous death in all
 St. P. II. 38. this country, "which is so sore that all the people be fled out of their
 houses into the fields and woods, where they in like wise die wonderfully;
 so that the bodies lie dead, like swine, unburied." Wishes to have leave to
 send his wife and children into Wales or Lancashire, to remain near the sea-
 side till this death cease. Begs letters of thanks may be sent to Ormond,
 and to Sir William Darcy, who has been very useful to him. Anxiously
 desires a letter, "for never sith my departure from London I had letter
 from the King's grace nor you; and also to continue my good lord; and
 during my life, to the uttermost of my little power, I shall endeavour my-
 self to serve and please the King's grace and you." Dublin, 3 Aug.

Hol. Add.

- 3 Aug. 941. SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. IV. Had informed him by Silvester [Darius] of the news. The Pope
 67. has delayed the creation of the cardinals till the coming of Morette. Four
 B. M. days ago the list was settled, and the writer was among the number, when the
 Pope took the fever. There is no danger, but he is very corpulent and full
 of ill humors, which cause apprehension. Begs Wolsey will continue his
 exertions and write letters in his favor according to the tenor sent by Sil-
 vester. Rome, 3 [Aug.* 1520.] *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated. "Tho. card. Ebor. Angl. Mag., cancellario ac sedis
 apostolicæ legato."

- 4 Aug. 942. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O. As the King has heard that the great sickness is still prevalent at
 Abingdon and other villages towards Woodstock, he has changed his
 "gystes," as you will perceive by the enclosed bill. Encloses also, by the
 King's order, a supplication concerning the loan of 1,000*l.*, and its repay-
 ment. The King hunts from morning till evening, unless prevented by the
 rain, of which we have had more than enough today. Windsor, 4 Aug.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

- 6 Aug. 943. HIPPOLITUS CARDINAL [OF FERRARA] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. IV. He and his brother the Duke have learned the interest shown by
 64. Wolsey in their affairs at the late congress. Ferra[ra], 6 Aug. 1520.
 B. M. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add.

- 7 Aug. 944. ERASMUS to WOLSEY.

Er. Ep. XIV. Had gone a long journey to Calais, and stayed several days in hopes
 10. of an interview with Wolsey, who was so much occupied, that after the
 first salutation Erasmus did not like to break in upon him. Is anxious to
 dedicate some book to Wolsey. Lee has greatly irritated the German

* September, according to marginal note written before the fire.

1520.

nation. Recommends a monk of Mt. Sinai,* who is desirous of collecting subscriptions for the relief of his monastery, which has been plundered by the Saracens. In the Low Countries he has met with little success, either because they are poor and grasping, or the whole trade of indulgences is in bad repute. He hopes to be more successful in England. Antwerp, 7 id. August. 1520.

8 Aug. 945. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote last on the 15th ult., since which no letters have arrived either from the King or Wolsey, though it was expected, particularly by the Pope, that they would inform him of what was concluded at the interviews, or at least at that with the Emperor, and that now Wolsey had returned to London he would send an answer to what Worcester had written to him in the Pope's name. Is afraid the Pope will be angry at this, especially at the neglect of the matters mentioned in the letters from England, and which Worcester had charged Silvester Darius to explain to Wolsey.

The French ambassador came to him lately, saying that he had been ordered to give every assistance, both in public and private, in matters concerning the King or Wolsey. Thanked him, and made him similar offers, and repeated them in visiting him subsequently.

On the 14th Captain Morett arrived, who made similar offers to those of the said ambassador, praising the King and Wolsey in the Pope's presence and elsewhere. To this the Pope listened kindly, and they had a long conversation about the interview. Among other things he asked for the promotion of the archbishops of Toulouse and Sens to the cardinalate, and that this dignity might be refused to the bishop of Liege, for whom the Emperor desires it. The Pope would grant the Emperor's request if he was sure it would not displease the king of England, and is in great perplexity, the more so as the French demand the prorogation of their legateship to the unusual term of two years. As he has no hope of protection from England, he will be obliged to comply with these and other unlawful requests. Will daily send word of the progress of these affairs. "*Rex Gallorum significavit in Italiam venire velle jamque suis capitaneis reindixit ut sibi adstant. Pontifex cum non intelligat et regiam et vestra reverendissimæ dominationis mentem, nescit quo suum iter tendere debeat.*"

Thanks him for the triple letters for his promotion obtained by Wolsey's influence. Rome, 8 Aug. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2, part cipher. Add. Endd.

8 Aug. 946. PACE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Sends, by the King's order, the letters from his lieutenant in Ireland, "the contents whereof, in all parts, doth not mislike me." The messenger who brought them will deliver these with other Irish letters for you. My lady Princess will be sent to Richmond again, on account of the reports of the sickness at Woodstock. "My lord Marquis is this day come to the court, with legs not so meet for the hunting, as is his Kendal coat, quia laborat podagra." Windsor, 8 Aug.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

9 Aug. 947. DE MORETTE to WOLSEY.

Nero, B. vi.

26.

B. M.

Has reported to the Pope Wolsey's exertions in bringing about the meeting and alliance between the kings of England and France. Has written to Henry. Rome, 9 Aug. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: "A monseigneur, mgr. reverendissime le Cardinal d'Yorek."

* Probably it is to this period that the letter mentioned in vol. i. no. 5,728. should be referred.

-520.

11 Aug. 948. OLIVIER DE LA VERNADE [SIEUR DE LA BASTIE] to
[Calig. E. 258.] [WOLSEY].

B. M. Complains that Jerningham (who with himself had received directions, by a messenger sent from Calais by Wolsey, to remonstrate with Francis against the fortification of Arde by Mons. de Chastillon, as a deed much suspected in England,) had exceeded his commission. Calls to Wolsey's remembrance that he had never promised that the King would abandon the fortifications on his departure from Arde;—that upon his interview with Wolsey, in reply to Vernade's observation that these fortifications were necessary for the security of the King's person and the Queen's, Wolsey had said, he thought when the King had left Arde there would be no further occasion for them. Begs Wolsey to write in his justification. Rouen, 11 Aug. *Signed*.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

12 Aug. 949. CARDINAL CORTONA to ALBANY.
Adv. MS. 68.

Has received his letters dated Paris, 6 July. Regrets to give Albany so much trouble. Is very thankful that the arrangement is as much to his own advantage as to that of Gawin Dunbar; and although he had not intended to give up the priory without a sufficient recompense in Italy, or at least a pension, to the value of the fruits exceeding 1,000 ducats, being paid by Alexander, and security (*bancaria cautio*) given in Rome, Albany's kindness has compelled him to acquiesce in a pension of 250 ducats, on surety being given in the Apostolic Chamber by the said Gawin and four prelates, and certain other conditions, which Albany's servant Thomas [Hayes] carries in a schedule. Trusts that Albany will some day procure him, by his influence with the French king, benefices in Lombardy of a much greater value than this priory. Rome, 12 Aug. 1210 [1520].

Lat., copy, pp. 2.

12 Aug. 950. PACE to WOLSEY.
R. O.

The King leaves tomorrow, intending "to keep such gists" as I mentioned in my last letters. He is advised not to go to Woodstock, as the way is so foul and tedious. While writing, asked the King if he had anything to send. He said he had no news to send, but his most hearty recommendations. The King rises daily, except on holy days, at 4 or 5 o'clock, and hunts till 9 or 10 at night. He spares no pains to convert the sport of hunting into a martyrdom. Has nothing better to write about. Windsor, 12 Aug.

Hol., p. 1. The latter half Latin. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

13 Aug. 951. TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.
R. O.

This afternoon Marygnye the French ambassador arrived here. Has told him that Wolsey wishes to see him before he waits on the King, the better to arrange matters between Henry and Francis. He will visit Wolsey on Friday next, but cannot leave earlier, as his horses have not come, and he must buy more. Meautys will conduct him, and they will arrive on Sunday, unless Wolsey is further advanced on his journey than they anticipate. Received yesterday his letters dated Ipswich, mentioning the coming of the bishop of Helna and Mons. de la Roche. Will "hearken of their coming," and do as Wolsey bids. London, 13 Aug.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: My lord card. of York, [le]gate de latere, primate [and] chancellor of [Engla]nd.

1520.

14 Aug.

952. TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.

R. O.

This hour Meautys is come from the French ambassador, stating that this afternoon a post has come to him from France, announcing the arrival of the "baly off Cane" at "Bolein on Sunday last, intending in haste to come to the King's grace." Meautys desires to know Wolsey's pleasure as to the proceedings. "If your grace write to the Ambassador, he is lodged at *The Falcon* in Gracious Street. I advertise your grace thereof, forasmuch as on Sunday afternoon I ride out of the town for three or four days. If your grace direct your letter to Mr. Meautys, he tarrieth in London within the Friars Austins." London, 14th day.†

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: My lord card. of York, legate de latere, primate and chancellor, &c.

953.**MONTMORENCY to [SIR RIC.] WINGFIELD.**

R. O.

Is sending to Mons. de Marigny the box and the prescription for the powder for the Cardinal, of which he has before spoken. Asks to be recommended to him. Has heard nothing of the proposition they talked about at Oynceor (Windsor). Desires him to tell the King that the reason he did not receive Montmorency's small present immediately, was because the baillie of Rouen is very ill and likely to die. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. *Add.*: A Mons. Doinfil en Angleterre. *Endd.*

15 Aug.

954. ROBERT LORDE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote in his last letter that the customer of Sandwich said he was unable to pay Wolsey's warrant. Fearing Wolsey's displeasure, he has now written to say he will make shift to do so, if Lorde will send for the money. Will go himself for it tomorrow, and pay those who have done service. 28*l.* will be still owing to masters and owners of ships, for transporting Wolsey's retinues. Asks leave to go home when he has done this. His "unthrifty servant" is still in sanctuary. Calais, this day of the blessed Assumption of Our Lady.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Legate his good grace.

16 Aug.
Vit. B. iv. 64*.**955. GERARD DE PLEINE, SIEUR DE LA ROCHE, to THOS. [LARKE].**

B. M.

Gives an account of his proceedings in a suit for the recovery of certain damages done by one Raussen. Sends his respects to Wolsey. Begg that Wolsey will give his commands (*demandet*) to him and the bishop of Helna, as most agreeable to the Emperor. London, 16 Aug. 1520.

Hol., *Lat.*, p. 1. "Nobili [et] spectabili viro, meo amico c[arissi]mo . . . Thomæ . . . neg . . . can . . . illustrissimi . . . Ebor."

16 Aug.

956.* For JOHN VEER EARL OF OXFORD.

S. B.

Livery of lands, as heir of John the late Earl, being son of Sir Geo. Veer, deceased, brother to the late Earl. *Del.* Norwich, 16 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 25.

† No month given.

1520.

18 Aug.

R. O.

957. T. RUTHAL BISHOP OF DURHAM to WOLSEY.

Was settled at the More, intending to wait there till Wolsey's return, but Sir Wm. Compton sent him word to attend on the King, as there were but few councillors with him. Came to Newbury on Friday 17th, the King being at Yatondene, Mr. Norrys's place, and received a message about midnight by a yeoman of the guard to attend on the King at seven next morning. On coming into his presence, he told Ruthal the matters comprised in his other letter, bidding him write to Wolsey for his advice. The King is not contented with the difficulty made by the French king in forbearing the fortifying of Arde, and wishes to know Wolsey's opinion. He has disclosed that matter to no one but Ruthal. Tonight the King is at Mr. Darell's place, and intends to proceed on his progress. There is no other news here, but goodly pastimes and continual hunting. Is lodged with my lord of Sarum. Will write from time to time when there is news, as there is no other remedy but to attend continually in this voyage. Ramysbury, Saturday, 18 August.

After the other letter was sent, the King told him to inquire particularly after Wolsey's health and good success in his journey.

Hol., p. l. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

22 Aug.

Vit. B. iv. 65.

B. M.

958. CAMPEGGIO to [WOLSEY].

Had sent him [no] letters so long as Florian was with him. Has received from Florianus an exact narrative of all the magnificent doings between the two Kings. His letters have been read with great avidity by the Cardinals. Has also heard of Wolsey's promotion to the bishopric of Badajos. He and Worcester obtained leave of the Pope for the remission of the annates (?). Thanks Wolsey for having used his influence with the Emperor and De Croy to secure for him the protectorate of the German nation. Is much interested in the result. Had received it from the emperor Maximilian, and it is not considered transferable. There is a report that Campeggio will be sent by the Pope to Germany. Has heard nothing of it from the Pope, but knows that he would send a legate if the Emperor would ask for one, as others have done before him. Thinks that Wolsey should suggest to him that it would be for his honor to have a legate at his coronation, for which the writer would be a very suitable person, as having had much experience of Germany in the time of Maximilian. As the coronation takes place at Aix in October, no time must be lost.

Morette has been sent from France to the Pope to give an account of the meeting of the two Kings. He says the union between the two sovereigns is so great that nothing can break it, and urges the Pope to make the archbishop of Toulouse, lord of Longueville, a cardinal. Supposes Wolsey knows of the tumults in Spain, where the Emperor will return immediately after his coronation. Some think it is a rumor to frighten the rebels, and diminish the expectation of his coming to Italy. Francis, his wife and mother, are coming to Milan. The summer has been so hot that he has often wished for the temperature of England. The Pope will go to some place in the neighbourhood to hunt. Rome, 22 Aug. 1520.

Hol., Lat., pp. 4.

23 Aug.

Er. Ep. xiv. 4.

959. ERASMUS to LUPSET.

Was delighted to find that the news of Lupset's illness was exaggerated. Has written a brief sketch of Colet's biography in a letter; if it be not so graphically expressed as it ought to be, Lupset must partly bear the blame for not giving Erasmus more complete information of the characteristics of the man; a task no one could better execute than he.

1520.

Approves of his taking Colet for an example, provided he uses due judgment: "nec enim omnibus omnia congruunt;"—especially Colet's practice of preaching the gospel gratuitously. But Erasmus does not approve of Lupset's resolution to follow Colet's rigid abstinence, which may lay the foundation of such complaints in his youth as will render old age a burthen. Begs to be remembered to his father and mother, and the two Williams, Gonell, Dancaster, and Gerard, Colet's steward. Bruges, 10 kal. Sep. 1520.

23 . . 960. BONNIVET to [WOLSEY].

[Calig. E.
. II. IV.
253.
B. M.]

Has received his letter by the bailly of Caen, and understood his communication touching the fortification of Arde, and his reasons for desiring that it should not proceed. The King and Madame are greatly astonished at his request, and are dissatisfied with the pertinacity of England in this respect. They have done everything to satisfy Wolsey's scruples. Has used every effort with Madame to settle this matter amicably, and has at last prevailed upon the King, who will send a gentleman to England to explain his intentions, which he trusts will be agreeable. Hopes England will offer some acknowledgment. Madame will not write to you, but commend this affair to you by the abovesaid gentleman. St. Germain en Laye, 23 Signed.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 4.

25 Aug. 961. SURREY and the COUNCIL OF IRELAND to HEN. VIII.

R. O. Have invaded the country of O'Nele, as Sir John Wallop will report. Have received no letters from the King or the Cardinal. Require money. Dublin, 25 Aug. Signed: T. Surrey; Will. Dublin; J. Rawson, prior of Kyllman; John Stile; Patrik Bermynghem, judge.

Add.

27 Aug. 962. SURREY to WOLSEY.

R. O. Sir John Wallop is sent to the King. Intends to assemble the council to devise for causes concerning the King's profit, and for acts of parliament. Dublin, 27 Aug.

The bishop of Cork is dead. The see is said to be worth 200 marks a year. Recommends it be given to some Englishman. The bishop of Leyghlyn (Halsey) might do good service. "I beseech your grace that none of this country have it, nor none other but such as will dwell thereupon, and such as dare and will speak and ruffle when need shall be."

Hol. Add.

27 Aug. 963. JOHN STILE to WOLSEY.

R. O. Has received no news since his last, except that "the great O'Neill brake his promise and appointment before made with my lord Admiral, the King's lieutenant," for which his territory has been invaded. Has great trust in Wolsey. Wants money. The King's retinue is paid a month beforehand. If the money be not forthcoming, sees not how they can live, "for here they cannot borrow." The courts could not be held on account of the sickness. Dublin, 27 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII. Signed.

Pp. 2. Add.: My lord Cardinal, &c.

1520.

29 Aug. 964. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

R. O. St. Pap. vi. 62. Wrote on the 17th and 18th. On Saturday after St. Bartholomew's day, the Emperor returned to Brussels, and the lord marquis (Arschot) yesternight. The three dukes of Almain returned to their country, promising to be at Acon (Aix) again, little satisfied with their reception by the Marquis, who is not popular with the Almain. The Elector of Mayence is not coming to Brussels. The meeting at Acon will be about Michaelmas, but the preparations are slow from want of money. In consequence of the insurrection in Spain, everything depends upon the Almain, who are not easily moved. The Emperor resolves to be at Acon, notwithstanding the timidity of the Marquis. He will not be able to go into Italy until the latter end of next summer.

The cardinal of Tortosa urges the Emperor to return to Spain, as nothing else can preserve it. Toledo and Madryll sent such assistance to Sogovia that the Alkalde was obliged to retire, at which the Emperor is not pleased. The popular cause is secretly supported by the marquis de Villayne, duke Delymphantase and the count Doronia. It is thought the estates will assemble at Avilla. Some think they will "swear the Queen again," and take her out of the place where she now is; but her indisposition is such, Spinelly thinks she can do neither good nor evil. By the news out of France, it seems that the French king is preparing another expedition against Italy. The Viceroy of Naples writes that this will lose the Emperor all his friends, and endanger the realm if the Emperor tarry in Almain. On Spinelly's complaining that the provost of Utrecht had been sent ambassador to France, they answered it was against their will.

Francis is fortifying Ardres. Peter Navarre demands 100,000 ducats for a lordship of which he is deprived by the king of Arragon. This is supposed to be done by France to provoke a quarrel. The cardinal of Sion is expected every day. Complaints of English cloth being sold at Antwerp by the merchants of the Steelyard, who are in bad odour with the Emperor and the king of Denmark in consequence of their extortions. A Scotch ship has arrived at Camfere in Selond, which left Edinburgh on the 21st, with two servants on board belonging to the archbishops of St. Andrew and Glasgow. They are going to the French king to procure the return of Albany. Will advertise Sir Richard Jerningham, the ambassador to France, of it tomorrow. Lord Bwren has broken his leg. Count Porcen marries this week the prince of Semay's (C. de Croy) daughter. Brussels, 29 August. *Signed.*

965. ERASMUS to MORE.

Er. Ep. xvi. 1.

Narrates a dispute he had with Nicholas of Egmont, who had publicly abused him in a sermon;—his absurdities, impatience and ignorance. Condemns his coarse abuse, and that of similar theologians, who would listen to no reason or justification. Account of Standishe's attack upon him before the court. Louvain, 1520.

966. HECTOR DE VICQUEMARE to ———.

Cott. App.
xxix. (59.)

B. M.

The Scotch ambassador has returned to Scotland to prepare for the reception of Daubigny, who is supplied with four gallions built by Albany at Honfleur, well furnished with artillery. Eight more are building for the same purpose. They profess it is to put an end to the disputes of the nobles there, but it really is to employ England, as the King Catholic is enterprising against France. Lautrec and the Grand Ecuyer are [beyond] the mountains. The duke of Lorraine has gone to his [own] country; his brother to the Almain; the son of Rob. De la Marche for Swiss and lanzknechts. The King has seven of the cantons. Bourbon has gone to

1520.

put his affairs in order. The King is going to Lyons. De la P is at the palace. The marquis of Saluces and Boucal have set off. Posts continually go and come from the Pope.

Cott. App.
xxix. (60.)

The King has hopes of being made Emperor before a year is over. Many of his household will not shave their beards till then. The cost of life and money will be great. Rouen is to be fortified. A great ship is building at Harfleur. Begs him not to communicate his letters to any except those who know nothing of matters hereabouts. Many have got into trouble through members of the King's household. He may communicate them, however, to the Deputy and others at Calais. One has been withdrawn (*retiré*) who was in the service of Count, and who has but one leg. He is now at Paris, and has been well paid by the king of France, like many others. Writes this out of love to the King. Many of the officers at Calais tell him he ought not to fail "de vous"

Cott. App.
xxix. (61.)

B. M.

It is now seven years since he served the King in Picardy against Lewis XII. Has endured many perils, and three times been made prisoner. Did many services to Suffolk and Wingfield when ambassadors at Paris; informed them of the preparations made in Brittany to be sent into Scotland; warned them against the priest who intended to betray the King's army at the war in Picardy; and despatched messengers to Calais several times to warn them of the preparations that were making. Had been promised a pension of 10 gold crowns a month, and a reward besides by Wingfield the deputy. "Au moyen desquelles prom[esses?]," the King had given him at Calais 20 angels, and told him he would take him into his service. Has received no money from June last, the Cardinal having ordered his pension to be stopped. The priest who bears this letter, like himself, is reduced to extremities. Begs he may be employed, "car sans estre entretenu [en] gaiges je ne scaueroye suyvir la co[ur n]y entretenir et aler dela les Mons. . . . ou le tout sen va." St. Germain en Laye, xx. . . Aug. Signed.

P.S.—Begs him not to give up his name.

Hol., mutilated, pp. 8.

967.

GRANTS in AUGUST 1520.

Aug.

GRANTS.

4. Sir John Raynesford, Humph. Wyngefeld, John Strangman, Wm. Wyott, John Crystemas, jun., John Coksale, John Clere, John Heron, Th. Batecok, John Stonard, and John Maykyn. Licence to alienate the manor of Southall, and lands in Raynham, Wennyngton, Alveley, Upmynstre, and Okyngton, to Ric. bishop of Norwich, Sir Ric. Broke, justice of Common Pleas, Wm. Styllington, clk., Ric. Redemayn, clk., Wm. Neuton, clk., Rob. Broun, Th. Godsalve, Ric. Belamy, and their heirs. Westm., 4 Aug.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 10.*

8. Sir Edw. Donne and Sir John Daunce. To be parkers of the park of Risburgh Principis, Bucks, in survivorship, with 2*d.* a day, and herbage and pannage; rent, 26*s.* 8*d.* Also pardon for receiving the profits of the herbage from the first day of the reign. Del. Ipswich, 8 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 14.*

10. Rob. Park, of Great Horkyslegh, Essex. Pardon for killing Hugh Cuttyng, in self-defence, at Boxford, Suffolk. Westm., 10 Aug.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19.*

12. Barnard Grete, late clerk of the "cheekk" at Tournay. Licence to export 400 broad cloths before Michaelmas 1522, free of duty. Windsor Castle, 12 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII. (*No date of delivery.*)—P.S. *Fr. m. 2 (date not given).*

17. Sir John Leigh. Licence to found a chantry of one chaplain at St. Stephen's altar in Goddishill Church, Isle of Wight, to pray for the King and Queen, and for Leigh and Agnes his wife. Also to alienate possessions of the annual value of 10*l.* to the chaplain. Del. Westm., 17 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 15.*

21. Rob. Bayard, of Launde Abbey, Leic., drover. Protection for five years; going in the retinue of Sir John Peechie, deputy of Calais. Monastery of Reading, 14 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII. Del. Bishop's Lynn, 21 Aug.—P.S. *Fr. m. 2.*

21. John Southall, yeoman of the Guard. To have the fee of the crown, being 6*d.* a day, *vice* Oliver Torner, deceased. Westm., 21 Aug.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.*

1520.

1 Sept.

Er. Ep. XVI. 3.

968. ERASMUS to WM. BURBANK.

Remembers with gratitude Burbank's kindness, which commenced at Rome, and has never ceased since then. Burbank caught some of Montjoy's spirit. Speaks of his friends, Thomas Lovell, LL.D., Robert Toney, Franc. Phillips, Francis the physician, Sampson, Gonell, Clement, Pace, Cuthbert Tunstal. "O vere splendidum Cardinalem qui tales viros habet in consiliis, ejus mensa talibus luminibus cingitur!" Louvain, kal. Sep. 1520.

1 Sept.

Galba, B. vi.

200.

B. M.

969. For CUTHBERT TUNSTALL, Master of the Rolls.

Commission as ambassador to Charles V., in accordance with the treaty of the 14th July. London, 1st Sept. 1520, 12 Hen.VIII.

Copy, Lat., pp. 2.

1 Sept.

R. O.

970. PRINCESS MARY.

Wages of the Princess's Household from 1 Oct. 11 Hen.VIII. to 1 Sept. 12 Hen.VIII.

Gentlemen.—John Morgan, Ant. Coton, Hen. Dylcok, Wm. Haryet, Hugh Penyngton, and Thos. Morton, $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day.

Valets.—Roger Lee, John Kene, Ric. Baker, Thos. Donstall, Wm. Blakney, John Spokysman, John Buttes, John Parker, and John Rokes, $3d.$ a day.

Grooms of the Chamber.—Ric. Woode, John Bell, David a Pierce, and Thos. Bedale, 40s. a year.

Grooms of the Household.—Wm. Wakerell, John Parre, Martin Aldewyn, Oliver Hunt, Thos. Ynglysh, Robt. Harryngton, Wm. Sponar, John Warde, Wm. Spone, Ric. Maston, Michael Wales, and Ric. Yonge, at 40s. a year. Total, 124*l.* 19*s.* $4\frac{1}{2}d.$

(*Rewards to servants and others.*) A^o 11. To Colyson, of Eltham, for keeping 2 cygnets, 4*s.* To the Queen's waferman, 3*s.* 4*d.* To Lambarde servant, bringing chickens and a pig, 8*d.* To the prior of Christ Church, London, bringing a present, 3*s.* 4*d.* To Lady Darcy's servants, 16*d.* To the abbot of Westminster's servants, bringing puddings and bread twice, 3*s.* 4*d.* To the gardeners of Greenwich, Hanworth, Richmond and Windsor, for strawberries and cherries, 6*s.* 8*d.* To my lady of Syon's servant, for quails and rabbits, 3*s.* 4*d.* To my lady of Oxford's servant, for conveying the Princess by water from Richmond to Syon and back, 2*s.* To the keeper of Hampton Court, for cherries and strawberries, 20*d.* Total, 29*s.* 8*d.*

Spent on persons from France sent by the King to the Princess at Richmond: Ypocras, 4 gals., 10*s.* 8*d.*; cherries, 7*s.* 4*d.*; old apples, 2*s.*; wafers, 5*s.* 3*d.*; strawberries, 10*s.* Total, 35*s.* 3*d.*

Pp. 5.

6 Sept.

R. O.

971. SURREY and the COUNCIL OF IRELAND to WOLSEY.

The bishop of Cork and Clone has deceased. Many of great alliance in the land have made suit for the bishopric, "which we have forborne, having respect to their abilities, learning and virtuous conversation, which we by examination perceived in them slender and feeble." Recommend Waltier Wesley, prior of Conal, "a famous clerk, noted the best in this land,—a man of gravity and virtuous conversation, and a singular mind having to English order." When they proposed that he should take the bishopric, he excused himself, "as not apt therefor, as well because he was situate among his friends and kinsmen, and in the other parts but a stranger." At their solicitation he consented to take the bishopric, which is under a hundred marks, provided he might hold his priory *in commendam*. Dublin,

1520.

6 Sept. *Signed*: T. Surrey, Will. Dublin, H. Midensis, J. Rawson, prior of Kylmayn.

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

6 Sept. **972.** SURREY to WOLSEY.

Lamb. 602,
f. 63.
St. P. II. 42.

Eighteen soldiers have conspired to steal a fisherboat of sixteen tons, go to sea, get a better ship, and turn rovers. Wishes he had the same authority as Dorset had in Spain, or as he has upon the sea; otherwise he cannot keep order. Victuals are so dear, the soldiers cannot live on 4*d.* a day. Wheat is sold for 16*s.* a quarter, and malt for a mark. The Irish are at peace. The death continues in the English pale. Has had no answer to his letters, and wants money. Sends the confession of O'Karoyll's brother, who was present when abbot Heke delivered to his brother a letter from Kildare. Thinks if Wolsey would put William Delahide "into the Tower, and to be pained to confess the truth, that no man can disclose more of the Earl's counsel than he." It is reported that the Earl shall marry the King's kinswoman, and return to his place; of which the Irish are much afraid. Dublin, 6 Sept. *Signed.*

Add.

ii. Confession of Donogh O'Karroll; *sc.*, that in Easter week last O'Karoyll received by Heke, abbot of Monaster Evyn, a letter from Kildare in England, containing these words in Irish:—

"Life and health to O'Carrol from the earl of Kildare. There is no Irishman in Ireland that I am better content with than with you, and whenever I come into Ireland I will do you good for anything ye shall do for me. And any displeasure that I have done to you, I shall make you amends therefor; desiring you to keep good peace to Englishmen, till an English deputy come there; and when any English deputy shall come thither, do your best to make war upon Englishmen there, except such as be towards me, whom you know well yourself."

8 Sept. **973.** CUTHBERT TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.

R O.

On his arrival in London sent to master Cutte's for the keys of the treasury, to search for the treaty concluded with France after the siege of Bolaine.* Neither he nor his clerks were in town. "If your grace at your coming to the court do demand of my lord of Durham of the article of Arde which I showed your grace of, I think he can inform your grace." On Monday will set forward, according to his appointment with Wolsey. London, 8 Sept.

Hol., p. 1. "My lord Card. of York, legate de latere and chancellor of England."

Sept. **974.** [KNIGHT and OTHERS] to WOLSEY.

R O.

On the 5th inst. Knight, Sampson, Sir John Wiltshire and John Hewster, governor of the merchants adventurers, arrived at Bruges, thinking, as the day appointed by the King for the diet was arrived, the commissioners would be ready. That day one of the clerks of the Steelyard in London saluted them in the name of the fellowship, bringing them wine, &c. He told them the orators of Coleyne were not come, but would be there in two days. On the 8th the orators of Lubyk and Ham-borough met them at the White Friars, Bruges, and told them the "good mind and service" the whole fellowship owed to the King. They excused the delay, and said that last summer, in a general council at Lubyk, it was agreed that the orators of Coleyn should be present, but that they had received letters from Coleyn, saying that the orators were hindered, but

* The peace of Estaples, 1492.

1520.

[KNIGHT and OTHERS] to WOLSEY—*cont.*

would be there in three days, promising if they did not arrive they would send to Antwerp for the remainder of their company, who are ready at Antwerp, [and will be] at Bruges the 10 or 11th inst. at furthest. Wish to know Wolsey's pleasure if such excuses continue to be made. Bruges. 8 Sept. *Signatures torn off.*

P. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Legate's grace. *Endd.*

9 Sept.

975. ——— to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 68.

B. M.

In behalf of some relative of the Pope's chamberlain, who wishes Wolsey to intercede with the lady Margaret that he may obtain possession of a certain monastery within her jurisdiction. The writer's secretary, Roberto, will give him particulars. London, 9 Sept. 1[520].* *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., p. 1. Th. card. Ebor. apost. sedis de latere legato.

12 Sept.

976. SPAIN.

Vesp. C. i. 311.

B. M.

"News out of Spain by letter dated at Valdolytte the 12th day of September."

The cardinal of Tortosa is at Valladolid; the people had promised "they will see him lack nothing if he do not mell with their business." The treasurer Bargas has left Portillo; the "Shereman capitayne" of Medina del Campo carries a naked sword, swearing he will not sheathe it till he has killed Fonseca. The mischief done in the town exceeds 500,000 ducats. The Cardinal, to appease the people, has commanded the men of war not to follow Fonseca, and pretends that he and the council disapproved of the enterprise. John de Padilla was at Torra de Sillas in constant communication with the estates at Avilla, and with the Queen, who either will not speak, or not to any purpose. The estates demand an account of the 5,600,000 ducats of gold found by them, and of the money received by the Emperor since the decease of the king of Arragon; that the farm of the crown revenues be given to the towns, and not to marrayns; that appointments be given to subjects, not to strangers. When the Emperor is away his revenues are to be locked up at the places where they are received. The troops of the commons to be paid out of them. John de Padilla has compelled the farmers of "the three magistrates" to pay the farms to receivers appointed by the commons. The towns are executing strict justice. The inhabitants of Najara were prevented from joining the insurrection by the wise conduct of the Duke. The commons of Seville have broken open the prisons of the inquisition, and delivered the prisoners. The Emperor's portion of the gold of the Indies had been seized by the commons for the use of the towns. The tithes of the Archbishop have been refused. There is no other remedy except the immediate return of the Emperor to Spain.

In the hand of Spinelly's clerk, pp. 3.

14 Sept.

977. ERASMUS to HENRY VIII.

Er. Ep. xiii. 1.

Wishes other sovereigns would follow the example of Henry VIII. in their patronage of learning. Sends the King his answer to Lee, who is suborned by others, as Erasmus thinks, who dare not come forward and attack him openly. Antwerp, festo Exalt. Crucis, 1520.

15 Sept.

978. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

206.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 12th. Yesterday Rodorego Nino, a Spanish gentleman, arrived here from the cardinal of Tortosa, having left Valladolid on the 3d. He brings word "how they brente and lost of Medina del

* Supplied from marginal note written before the fire.

1520.

Campo is greater then it was written," the town being almost entirely destroyed. Fonseca, perceiving that the people had assembled to besiege him, and being unable to resist, dissolved his army, and retired to a place in the mountains of Biscay, belonging to his brother the bishop of Burgos. On hearing of it, "the commons proceeded not so hasty," and with 10,000 men went and took two towns of Fonseca's near Medina del Campo. The chief captain in Valladolid is the Infant of Granada. Digo de Quygnones commands the foot. The cardinal, licenciato Sapata, licenciato Aquyrrí and Quintana remain there of the Privy Council. The archbishop of Granada, comendador major of Castile, and the rest, are fled. Every man respects the Cardinal; and though he is not obeyed, he has done good. The estates of Castile assembled at Avilla had not yet determined anything concerning the government, owing to the absence of some deputies of the towns. The Cardinal, the Constable and others urge the King's immediate going, or all other arrangements will be useless, and it is thought the Constable and Admiral will not accept the charge lately given them without the consent of the estates. You may be sure nothing can be more objectionable to the governors than the King's going to Spain. Some say he must go for the security of all his crowns; which were a wise opinion if it could be followed up, and if the estates of Almain would take the enterprise upon themselves. The King leaves in 10 days for Acon, whither the Archduchess and queen of Arragon will also go. Don Fernando remains here. When I ask about our further proceeding, the lord Marquis says we shall know at Acon. The governor of Bresse and Chancellor speak confusedly. I see they cannot tell themselves, and that all depends upon how they find the Germans disposed. Berghes told me the Stiliards claim to have bought their privileges in England with their money and blood, and are determined to maintain them. They trust if the King increase his amity with the king of the Romans, some article will be made touching them. Brussels, 15 Sept. 1520. *Signed.*

Pp. 3, mutilated. Add.

15 Sept. 1520. KNIGHT, MORE, WILSHER and SAMPSON to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vii.

118.

B. M.

The ambassadors of the Hanse deputed for this diet assembled at Bruges on the 12th. Next day we met at the place accustomed, and showed them the King's benevolent mind as contained in our instructions, and our commissions, which they found sufficient. Told them there were great complaints of depredations upon the English, which we aggravated by estimation of great sums, and by exhibiting certain books and bills of complaint. On our proposing to deliberate for redress, they asked a day's delay for each to think of the best way. On the 14th we returned and brought them to this point, that they would treat upon generals and particulars together, agreeably to your instructions. We then required the ambassadors of the Hanse to state in writing the number and names of the towns that made the body of the Hanse at the first grant of their privileges. They said such a thing had never been doubted before, but they would do their best to give us knowledge. We said this was very necessary, and wondered they could not show what members made up the body they represented; and though we consented for the time to talk of other matters, we would certainly insist upon this point. We are at great expense here, and the days of our diets are passed. Bruges, 15 Sept. *Signed:* William Knighte, Thomas More, John Wilsher k. Richard S[ampson].

P. 1, mutilated. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace. *Endd. in modern hand:* 15 Sept., Bruges. Knight, More, Wilsher, Sampson, Hannibal, Howst (Hewster?)

1520.

15 Sept. 980. CAMPEGGIO to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. iv. 68*.

B. M.

Has heard that Wolsey had crossed the sea, and after making a pilgrimage to St. Mary of Walsingham, had returned safe to London. Has often regretted that he could not be present at the conference. The Pope has put off the French legation for a year. Francis is very anxious for the promotion of the archbishop of Toulouse, lord of Longueville, to the cardinalate, and opposes the exaltation of the bishop of Liege. Rome, 15 Sept. 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated.

15 Sept. 981. SURREY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Requests a speedy settlement of a suit between the towns of Waterford and Ross, in which letters of Privy Seal have been delivered to the burgesses of Ross to appear before the King's council. Both the parties are poor, especially Ross. Dublin, 15 Sept. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace. Endd.

17 Sept. 982. For SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM and MABEL his wife.

S. B.

Grant, in survivorship, of the reversion of the manors of Roughton, Norf., and Bedon, Berks, with remainder to their eldest son. Roughton, lately held by Richard Miot, is part of "Beamontes landes," and leased to John Buttes, of Middelton, Norf., for 21 years. Bedon was leased for a similar term to Robert Sewey, by patent 10 Hen. VIII. This grant made in lieu of patent 3 May 11 Hen. VIII., granting the said Wm. and Mabel the said manors (inter alia). *Del.* Woodstock, 17 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 16.

17 Sept. 983. For the SUB-PRIOR and CONVENT of ST. ANDREW, OSELVIESTON, Linc. dioc.

P. S.

Congé d'élire on the resignation of John Belton, late abbot. Woodstock, 15 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Woodstock, 17 Sept.

ii. The petition of the Subprior and Convent for the above. 6 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII.

20 Sept. 984. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote yesterday. This morning the King's ambassador, the Master of the Rolls, arrived. He brought no orders or letters for Spinelly. Supposes, therefore, he is not to follow the Emperor. Will remain here till he hears Wolsey's pleasure. Hopes he may be allowed to return and live upon the patent he obtained by Wolsey's intercession. This town intends to buy of the Emperor the "tole de ont" for 400,000 florins. Antwerp, 20 Sept. 1520.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: T[o my l]ord Cardinal's grace.

20 Sept. 985. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

208b.

B. M.

In favor of Michael Sandrum (Sandernensis), dean of Wratislaw sent by the cardinal of Sion into England on his affairs. Mechlin, 20 Sept. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add. and endd.

20 Sept. 986. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

73b.

B. M.

To the same purport. Malines, 20 Sept. '20. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

1520.

21 Sept. 1520. 987. SIR RICHARD JERNINGHAM to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

The bearer, Mons. de Rochepott, has been sent by Francis with some secret charge for you. He is more trusted than any other of the Privy Chamber, and is as glad to do anything to your honor as if he were your subject. Since coming here I have found the King so good to me, that I come into his privy chamber early or late, while the other ambassadors are standing outside. The gentlemen of his privy chamber are all kind, especially Rochepott. I am much bound to the Admiral for giving me the news which I send you from time to time. I send also a letter by my clerk, more at length. Paris, 21 Sept. *Signed.*

P. l. *Add.*

23 Sept. 1520. 988. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]

Galba, B. vi.

212.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 20th. The Emperor's entry into Antwerp has been deferred for two reasons: (1) for an advance he requires of them upon the ordinary aid of Brabant, "howbeit the vendition of the toll the loynt as yet is not concluded;" and (2) to have the consent of the abbots of the country that the bishop of Luke should enjoy the abbey of St. Michael, on the Emperor's nomination, obtained from the Pope. To this none of them will agree, and if he insist upon it, they refuse the benevolence, saying that in times past no abbey has been given in *commendam*, "and that the beginning of the cardinal de Toledo with Affligyn hath caused the evil consequence to divers other monasteries." The abbots are supported by their kinsmen in the towns, and the Emperor will have great difficulty in carrying it, especially as another abbey, lately void in Hennego by the decease of the Emperor's father, has been given to the said Cardinal. The Estates of these countries have assembled at Antwerp, to know how they are to be ruled. Those of Flanders, of which Ghent is the chief, say their prince has received more money than any other in times past, and that he has but little, so they will know where it is gone. They blame the Marquis and Montayny.

The state of affairs in Spain has had a bad effect upon the commons here. I heard at my coming from Brussels that the Archduchess and Montayny are to remain here. Two posts have arrived at Mechlin since I have been here with the Master of the Rolls. The first was from the constable of Castile, saying that he and the count de Salines had left Burgos, finding the people ill disposed, and that Seville and Cordova are beginning also to be unquiet. The Constable had raised men about Burgos. John de Padilla was at Tordesillas with the Queen, and the Estates at Avilla. The news of the second post are not yet published, and as all private letters are stopped by the Master of the Posts I suppose things are not mending. If the Emperor care for those realms, he must return without delay. Castile is more inclined to the alliance with Portugal than any other, "persuading the same for to have a Queen of their tongue and custom;" these countries and Naples desire yours [and that of] Almain and Hungary.

The French are not likely to do much harm in Navarre, considering the enmity against them. Yesterday, the Chancellor told me they were anxious for a good answer from the King on the charge of Mons. de la Roche, as the French king was sending men of war into Italy; but I fancy they only wish, in case they make no conclusion with you, to seek some other shift with France, though I think they will gain nothing but an alliance *per verba de præsenti* with the lady Renée, whom, I think, considering her indisposition, the Emperor will not take. I think there is no man here who can make such overtures on the part of France, unless it be the commander of St. Anthony, a Frenchman born, who is ambassador to the duke of Lorraine, and in great favor with Chievres. I beg

1520.

SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

you to conceal the words spoken to me by the Chancellor. If you doubt their truth, cause the Master of the Rolls to inquire of himself.

Cardinal Sion is here, and has no answer yet about his affairs. The duke of Barri has secretly arrived. By letters from Frankfort, those of Saxony had come, with a goodly company in white harness. Michaelmas Day was appointed for the princes of the empire to be at Acon, but the Diet cannot be kept till the conclusion be taken with the Estates here, although it is said the Emperor will depart on Friday or Saturday. The elector of Mayence is come to Cologne, and will meet the Emperor at Maestricht. Has shown the premises to the Master of the Rolls. Antwerp, 23 Sept. *Signed.*

Pp. 5.

25 Sept. 989. SURREY and the COUNCIL OF IRELAND to [HENRY VIII.]

Tit. B. xi. 415.

B. M.

St. P. II. 46.

A message is come from the earl of Ormond, that on Friday last the earl of Desmond was defeated by Cormock Oge. It is no great hurt that he is punished, for he has leaned much of late to the counsel of Irishmen, and broken the arrangements lately made at Waterford by my lord of Dublin. As it is feared the earl of Desmond will confederate with the Irish to obtain revenge, Surrey has written to him a letter, of which he sends the copy, and will go towards Munster tomorrow. Dublin, 25 Sept. *Signed.*

25 Sept. 990. The SAME to WOLSEY.

R. O.

St. P. II. 47.

Since writing to the King have heard divers ill reports of Desmond attacking the King's subjects. Instead of going "thitherwards on Monday come a seven-night" to pacify Desmond and Ormond, have resolved to set off in six days. The 100 horse of Sir John Bulmer are not so good personages as were here before; many are ill horsed, and there are not more than thirty spears. Wish Northumberland spears and Welsh spears, "and not with bows on horseback." Think if they had liberty to retain or discharge whom they please, they could manage better for the King. Dublin, 25 Sept. *Signed.*

Add.

25 Sept. 991. TUNSTAL to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. III.

413.

App. XLVII.

B. M.

* * * Has delivered the letters to my Lady, to [Chie]vers and the Chancellor, with Wolsey's recommendation; and, among other things of which he has touched, are the King's letters. He asked Chievres where the diet should be held after the coronation; who answered, at Augsburg. But the Chancellor told him that could not be settled until the Electors had been spoken with. * * * Great pageants on the 23rd. * * * "As yesterday was the anniversary day and year's mind of Philip father to the Emperor," his grace sent a gentleman to Tunstal, desiring to excuse his audience that day. "This morrow" was admitted to his presence. * * * [Will] attend at the town of Acon to be present. . . . of the Electors and other princes * * * The Archduchess will advertise him of anything that is likely to occur to disturb the amity of the two realms.—Has had constant interviews and advice from Chievres.

In a long interview had with Chievres, the latter said, that though these commotions had been stirred up in Spain by the French, if there was any business with the latter they would go entirely against it. Antwerp, 25 Sept. *Signed.*

Pp. 11, very much mutilated.

1520.

26 Sept.

R. O.

992. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

According to former letters, is waiting here to know Wolsey's further pleasure. Considering the good estimation in which the Master of the Rolls, the ambassador here, is held, and his great wisdom, thinks it superfluous for him to remain longer with the Emperor. Asks to be allowed to come to England. Antwerp, 26 Sept. 1520.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: T[o my Lor]d Cardynall's grace.

2. P.S.—Has obtained an extract of news from Spain to the duke of Alba, which he has translated and encloses. The dean of the Emperor's chapel has showed him that "the journey of Acon" is prorogued 12 days. The lord Marquis told the Dean so, with whom he is in great favor, and he has the rule about the Cardinal his nephew.

He says that the lord Marquis is in communication with Berghes to marry his niece to "the lord Grymberge second son" in consequence of the indisposition of the lord Wallon. Berghes seems to have no great mind to it, desiring first to see how the world shall go. However, a great dower might conclude the matter.

The Emperor and council are determined "to make their ground in your amity, leaving apart all other," unless compelled to the contrary.

Lord Sevenberge has come out of Almain, where he has the rule of the duchy of Wertimbarge, and says that both great and small have a marvellous good mind to the Emperor. The despatch of the post was deferred till the Master of the Rolls had spoken with the Emperor and his council. Antwerp, 26 Sept. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*: T[o the lor]d Cardinal's grace.

26 Sept.

R. O.

993. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

Wrote lately that the deliberation on the promotion of cardinals was postponed to another consistory, on account of the many differences of opinion, and that it was thought the Pope would accede to the King's request for the bishop of Worcester. In order to please the Emperor and king of France, he wished to promote the bishops of Liege (Leodium) and Worcester, and the archbishop of Toulouse, but several cardinals opposed, wishing the election to be put off, as the office was losing dignity owing to the number of cardinals and the frequency of their creation. Worcester was particularly objected to, as it was not thought desirable to increase the number of resident cardinals, and after much discussion the other two were elected. Did all he could to assist Worcester's cause, and found that the Pope was still as anxious to please Henry as either of the other princes. Would be much pleased by a letter. Rome, 26 Sept. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. *Add.*: R. D., &c. Car^{di} Eboracen. ap^{am} se. Angliæ legato.

26 Sept.

Vit. B. IV. 69.

B. M.

994. SILVESTER BISHOP OF WORCESTER to [WOLSEY].

Writes to the King. Will not repeat his misfortunes, which he attributes to the part he took in the deprivation of cardinal Hadrian. The apostolic Nuncio in England (*istic*) has written frequently of his munificent entertainment from the time when he crossed the sea.

Præterea quæ novi hic sunt prope adnectam; Galli miro gaud[io exul]tant atque jubilant et adeo insolent[er] . . . ut sibi ipsi totius terrarum orbis imperium in manibus habere videantur; et præcipue ob tumultus, aut ut verius loquar, ob defectionem et quasi meram rebellionem Hispaniarum accusare, et propter id maxime rerum ipsius debilitatem, quæ non tantæ apparent quante in principio existimabantur; et ideo quo debiliores sunt, eo alacriores ac superbiore Gallos efficiunt adeo ut quæcunque sibi polliceri posse existiment." Rome, 26 Sept. 1520. *Signature burnt away.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. Part cipher, undeciphered. *Add.* in modern hand.

1520.

29 Sept. 995. PACE to WOLSEY.

Calig. B. vi.
221.

B. M.

Ellis, 3 Ser.
i. 324.

A king's messenger, William Gentilman, has just arrived from Lincolnshire, with a bill for the King, which he could not deliver, as the King was taking his rest. Sends a copy to Wolsey. Does not believe it is true. It was had from Hull, of the cellarer of Thorneton abbey, who had it from one Munford, who pretends to be a King's messenger. The King intends to be at Windsor on Monday. Reading, Michaelmas Day.

Hol., pp. 2.

f. 222.

ii. "The copy of the bill corruptly written in some places:"

That the duke of Albany, Richard de la Pole, Albany's brother and Sir Mowncery Imowe, are come with a great company into Scotland, and are now at Dunbar. "Whatt there menyng is we can not tell, for there docowtis fast in Dunbarre." Great multitudes have joined them. They will make one of them king. Sir Christopher Dacre has made proclamation at Carlisle that every man look to himself. He has brought away his cattle to Engylswodde, 2 miles from Perith. Lord Dacre has made the same proclamation at Wark. 6 Aug.

In Pace's hand, p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

29 Sept. 996. For SIR THOS. BOLEYN and ELIZABETH his wife, MARGARET BOLEYN, widow, a daughter and heir of Thos. late Earl of Ormond, and JOHN TREVETHEN, THOS. BARRETT, WM. TUSSEY and NICH. FYNCH.

Pardon for the alienation of the manor of Fritwell, Oxon. Westm., 29 Sept.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.

29 Sept. 997. SIR JOHN WILTSHIRE, Sheriff of Kent.

R. O.

Declaration, as sheriff, of receipts of divers sums of green wax, and payments of annuities to my lord of Kent, 20*l.*; lord Darcy, 30*l.*; Henry Skilman, 6*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; Anne Bokmere, 10*l.*; Sir Wm. Tyler, 20*l.*; Sir Wm. Compton, 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

P. 1. Endd.: Declaration of Sir John Wiltshire, knt., treasurer of Calais.

29 Sept. 998. SIR THOMAS LUCY.

R. O.

Sums received by him as late sheriff of Northt., from Nich. Odell, out of the issues of his forfeitures, before the justices of the King's Bench, in Mich. Term 10 Hen. VIII., and in Trinity and Mich. 11 Hen. VIII.

29 Sept. 999. ANNUITIES.

R. O.

Receipt of Exchequer for the year ending Mich. 12 Hen. VIII.

Granted by Hen. VII. to Sir Edw. Darell, 20*l.*; to Sir Hen. Wyatt, clerk of the Jewels, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Thos. Nevell, 20*l.* To John de Pounde, armourer, 20*l.* To Wm. Gurre, brigadier, 10*l.*

Granted by Hen. VIII. to Henry Courtenay, earl of Devon, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Lord John Gray, brother of the Marquis of Dorset, 20*l.* Lady Marg. Bryan, 50*l.* Mary Redyng, 50*l.* Alianore Verney, 20*l.* Dorothy Verney, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Anne Luke, the King's nurse, 20*l.* Eleanor Knyvett, 10*l.* Eliz. Burton, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Eliz. Audeley, 10*l.* Sir Chr. Garnesshe, 30*l.* Sir John Baker, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Sir Ralph Ellerker, jun., 20*l.* Sir Ralph Verney, sen., 50*l.* Sir Ric. Nevell, 20*l.* Sir John Nevill, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Thos. More, councillor, 100*l.* Wm. Cophyn, 20*l.* Robt. Knollys, 24*l.* Ant. Knevett, 20*l.* John Mewtais, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Nic. Hide, 10*l.* Ric. Gibson, 10*l.* Sir Ralph Chamberlain, squire of the Body, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

1520.

Fras Poyntz, squire of the Body, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Sir Ric. Jernyngham, in place of one of the squires of the Body, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Sir Thos. Nevell, councillor, 100*l*. Sir Hen. Wyatt, master of the jewels, 20*l*. Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam and Sir John Carre, 40*l*. Sir Wm. Syddeney, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Thos. Cheney, squire of the Body, 20*l*. Fras. Brian, cipherer, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Arthur Pole, squire of the Body, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. John Gilmyn, marshal of the minstrels, and his fellows, 53*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Grooms and pages of the Chamber, 100*l*. Wm. Cornyshe, master of the children in the chapel, 26*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Marcellus de la More, chief surgeon, 26*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Asmer Kyrkener, 10*l*. Peter de Bresia, 40*l*. Ric. Pynson, printer, 4*l*. Copins de Watte, 20*l*. Thos. Sperte, 20*l*. Stephen Tosso, footman, 12*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. Ant. Cabo, surgeon, 20*l*. Thos. Harte, 50*l*. Edm. Traiforde, 13*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Ric. Babham, apothecary, 10*l*. By ancient grants: John Clerk, dean of the Chapel, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Warden and convent of the Friars Minors, Oxford, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. The Friars Minors, Cambridge, 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. Provincial chapter of Friars Preachers, 20*l*. The Friars Preachers in London, 20*l*. Brethren and Sisters of St. Katherine's, near the Tower, 73*s*. 4*d*. To the lepers at St. Giles "extra Londinum," 60*s*. Monastery of St. Mary, Stratford Langthorn, Essex, 100*l*. Milo Welles, rector of the Chapel Royal in the Tower, 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Total, 1,735*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Pp. 3. Endd.: A remembrance of such annuities as been paid out of the Exchequer.

29 Sept.

R. O.

1000. ANNUITIES.

Paid by customers and others responsible to the Exchequer, for the year ending Mich. 12 Hen.VIII.

Beds and Bucks.—Wm. Altoft, of Atherston, principal surgeon of Henry VII., 40 mks.

Camb. and Hunts.—Walter Luke, and Anne his wife, nurse to the King, 20*l*. John Crokker, squire of the Body to Henry VII., 20 mks.

Devon.—The Friars Preachers at Oxford, 50 mks. Sir Wm. Tyler, 20 mks.

Essex and Herts.—John Crokker, squire of the Body to Henry VII., 20*l*.

Heref.—Wm. West, page of the Chamber, 40 mks.

Kent.—Anne Bokengham, 10*l*. Sir Wm. Tyler, 20*l*.

Norf. and Suff.—Sir Ric. Jernyngham, 20*l*.

Hants.—Robt. Fayrfax, gentleman of the Chapel, and Robt. Bythesse, 9*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Dorset.—Edw. Chamber and Eliz. his wife, 20*l*.

Shropsh.—Sir Ralph Egerton, 24*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. John . . . Pole, 6*l*., granted by Hen.VII.

Wilts.—Rowland Velevyle, 40 mks., granted by Hen. VII. Sir Wm. Tylor, 100*s*.

Plymouth and Fowey.—Sir John Style, 40 mks. Reginald Wolvedon and Eliz. his wife, 10*l*.

Newcastle upon Tyne.—Sir Ric. Cholmeley, 20*l*. Mayor and burgesses of Newcastle, for repair of the bridges and walls, 20*l*. Herman Rynk, Almain merchant, 50*l*., granted by Hen. VII. John Whytyng, 20 mks., granted by Hen.VII.

London.—Sir John Wiltshire, 100*l*. Sir Robt. Wingfield, 100 mks. Peter Dowse, cook, 20*l*. Sir Wm. Tyler, 100*l*.

Exeter and Dartmouth.—Wm. Studdon, yeoman of the guard, 10*l*. Thos. Dawson, 10*l*.

Port of Southampton.—Thos. earl of Arundel, 100*l*., granted by Hen.VII. Harvy Hayward, master of the *Sovereign*, granted by Hen.VII.

1520.

ANNUITIES—*cont.*

Bristol.—John Lawrence, jun., 66s. 8d., granted by Henry VII. Wm. Legh, 20l.

Lat., pp. 6. *Endd. in the King's hand*: A remembrance off shuche annuytes as bene payde owght of custumes a other fermes accontyd for in the xcekker.

1001. LORD DARCY'S HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS.

R. O.

1. Inventory of the goods and chattels of Thomas lord Darcy, made 10 Hen. VIII.

A feather bed of down, with a fine "brissell tikke," bought at London, anno 11 (*sic*); 2 beds of down; 8 great feather beds; 16 lesser (one for a horse litter); 3 bolsters of down, and 16 others; 21 pillows; a great "palyet bed," bought at the going of my Lord into Spain; a flocked bed; 17 matrasses bought at London, anno 11, for yeomen's beds; 2 matrasses in the wardrobe at Hirst; 12 cases of canvas "ready made to the stopping for matrasses;" a counterpoint of crimson velvet and russet satin in panes, 3½ yds. square; an old one of yellow silk, embroidered, and lined with green buckram; another of tapestry work of the story of St. George, lined with canvas; another of "green verdours work;" another of tapestry work, "with 3 naked children in a chariot;" another of the "story of lords and ladies;" another of the story of vines and grapes; another of counterfeit arras, with St. George in the midst, and others; a covering of a bed of blue, with buckheads upon it; another of tapestry work, with organs in the middle; a counterpoint with a lion upon it; coverings for yeomen's beds; 5 trussing beds—2 "caised" and 3 not caised; 12 pairs of fustians; an old "sperver" of green velvet and black satin, with curtains of green sarcenet, "and the teest of the same bed is cut;" 8 other "sparvers;"* a cilour and teestour of yellow and red sarcenet, and curtains of the same colours; a celour for a trussing bed; a celour and a teestour for a "stonde bed;" others of tawny velvet and tinsel satin in panes, "embroidered with my Lord's whole arms, and letters of cloth of gold of my Lord's name and my Lady's, and the curtains of crane and orange coloured sarcenet;" "9 pieces of hangings, having the story of the new funnd iland;" hangings of the "story of men and women, and a conduit in the midst;" counterfeit arras of the birth of Christ; hangings of the story of "Gosdroe;" tapestry of the "story of kings;" hangings of the "story of the cutting and hewing of vines;" hangings, "much after the same story of kings and queens;" tapestry of the story of Susayn; tapestry of St. Christopher; hangings of white and green sarcenet; arras bought of my lord of Kent at Stepney, of the story of king David, Abigall, and Achilles; quilts—one bought in London "when my lord (Darcy) went over sea in June, anno 5," and another bought anno 12; 6 "sompterclothes, with buckheads upon all, lined with canvas;" green say—one piece "in my lord[s] study at Hirst;" a remnant of green say for a window; red say; "2 new carpets bought when my Lord came forth of Spain, very large, for two long tables, anno 3rd;" carpets for cupboards; Kentish carpets; cushions of cloth of gold, velvet, satin, damask, verdours, of "pelleycaynes," of imagery, &c.

Chapel stuff.—"A vestment of changeable sarcenet, with a cross of blue sarcenet, and an albe, and all other appurtenances;" other vestments; a cope of tinsel satin, embroidered; "corporax caises" of cloth of gold and velvet; a little cushion of silk to lay the massbook on; 2 little cushions of cloth of gold and damask to stand on the altars; 8 altar-cloths "of linen cloth hallowed;" hangings and curtains; chalices; candlesticks and cruets of silver; "a holywater fatt with the trynkell, both of silver, parcel gilt;" another of lead, "with a strinkill of wood and birstils;" another of stone; 3 sacring bells of latten; 4 "super altars," one broken; mass books—"3 of York's use, and 3 of Sarum, whereof two of them in parchment;" pair of latten censers; "a paxe board of

* One of them was had by "my master Sir George."

1520.

black geet, set in wood ;" another of tin ; 2 "corporalles" of linen cloth ; towels ; "lamp of glass, hanging."

Doublets, jackets, a frock, a scarlet cloak, hose, gowns. Robes for the Garter:—a kirtle of crimson velvet, lined with white sarcenet ; a mantle of blue velvet, lined ; a hood and tippet of crimson velvet. Two Parliament robes of scarlet, furred with white minever, a hood to the same, and a coif of needlework ; stained cloths with pictures upon them, wrought in metal and colors ; standards "beaten in oil and fine gold, with a tiger upon and word of the garter, fringed with silk ;" banners bearing my Lord's arms ; two coats of arms, wrought in oil and fine gold, and fringed with silk ; streamers ; "50 logyng escutcheons, made in metal upon paper, with the garter [and] St. George upon them ;" 80 others, "made in colors upon paper ; 22 carriage banners of buckram, beaten in oil and metal ;" 10,000 buckheads of stainer's work, for bags ; 6 pensilles of sarcenet, wrought in oil and metal ; 6 tents and pavilions ; 8 complete harnesss, wanting one placard and 3 rests ; 100 "saylettes" and one "scull" ; a pair of "curettes" for my Lord ; "one shap, one baver, one pair of leg harness, one pair , one codpew of steel, two battleaxes, parcel gilt, one mace, new, and , two pair of gauntlets, one gorget of mail, one fold of mail, , all for my lord, new ;" a complete harness with "vawmbrass" and legs, partly gilt, [which] was Sir Francis Pynnell's ; one pair of cuirass ; one of vawmbrace ; leg harness "for foot" ; a codpiece and breche of steel for foot ; a pair of "greves from the knee ;" 111 backs and breasts, 108 pair of splints, 63 gorgetts, 57 bayvers, 38 pair of gauntlets, 7 pair of "brigandirons," 7 halberts, 5 bills, 2 jacks ; one pair of Scottish leg harness ; one sword for a tourney ; a "likorne" and 2 hammers ; pair of pynsons (pincers) ; 40 shooting bows

The armory at Templehirst:— * * 27 foldes ; 31 pair of guss[ets?] ; 69 sailettes ; 54 pair of sp[lints] ; pair of old cuirass.

Ewery at Hirst:—"7 box candlesticks of pewder (powder) slate ;" 15 little candlesticks of latten ; "a little mawnde for to take candles in ;" 2 little trestles ; 3 narrow boards ; 2 troughs to carry torches and serges in.

Pantry at Hirst:—5 chipping knives ; two stocks of carving knives,—in one stock 3 knives, in the other 20 knives ; a mawnde of wickers, and a locker joined to the wall ; a little form ; 2 chipping boards ; 3 "kymlyns" joined with partitions, all in one, for bread.

Buttry at Hirst:—8 gallipots, 28 wood cans, a leather can, an old "awmbry," 3 pair of "gawntrees," a little board, 3 forms and 2 trestles.

Kitchen stuff at Hirst:—3 square spits, 3 round ones, 1 "lampron spit," 6 great chargers, 94 platters, 97 dishes, 50 saucers ; a great pan in a furnace ; a great pot for boiling ; another, often used with stills ; three lesser pots, 2 "poanettes," pans, a kettle bound with iron, a brasen mortar without pestle, latten ladles, chafing dish, fryingpan, a "flesh po'er," a grater, dresser knives, mincing knives, chipping knives, candlesticks with pikes of iron, cutting boards, and a pair of iron racks.

Larder at Hirst:—Tubs for salting beef, a close counter, wooden racks, boards ; 3 firkins without heads, a barrel for oil ; 2 pair of weyskailles (weigh-scales) of latten and wood ; an old awmbury, wooden bowls, a basket of "wandes," a stone "mortell," 88 fle . . . wool ; a pair of hampers of . . . eldes to carry conies in, a pair of bedstocks, yeast and mustard barrels.

Bakehouse at Hirst:—A "bulting tub," a hogshead, an old pan ; "one soo and 2 muldyng boards, and one pair of trestles ;" 15 sacks ; a "trike" measure, a peck measure, "and di' of wickers ;" a new "leede, set in furnace."

Paper roll, mutilated.

R. O.

2. "Md. of certain apparel of my Lady's (lady Darcy) brought to the parsonage of Repynghos, of (on) St. Wolfran[us] day, the bishop and confessor, by the wain, John Oxman and Robert Wardes going with the said wain from Sleaford, my Lady being at Lynwod."

A covering for a bed of state "party per pane," 6 panes crimson velvet, and 7 panes of powdered ermines (sent to London). Gown of crimson velvet. 2 great panes of crimson

1520.

LORD DARCY'S HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS—*cont.*

satin, embroidered with cloth of gold, "like as it were for a quere (choir) coope;" a goodly "orfary" for the same. A pane of tawny velvet furred with "letyse." 3 panes of crimson and black satin, with 8 white hinds set upon silver. A tablet of satin, with 16 hinds, and a shield of my master's arms in gold and green silk. A travers of crimson sarcenet with 37 curtain rings on it. Furs of powdered ermines for a gown, "and what more I know not to I speak with your ladyship." A stained cloth of Our Lady and Three Kings of Colon. Piece of say bearing Roman letters of gold and flowers. Valance of crimson and black silk, "lapped together upon a trouchour." Certain parulles (?) of old black velvet, with stars of gold for "albes and stocks and fanons." $1\frac{1}{2}$ yd. of "black fustian. Holmes." A little coffer locked. An arming doublet of white fustian, lined with canvas, for my master. A psalter book of parchment, written, with clasps silver and gilded. Five other books, and two new books enprinted. A primer, "covered with black velvet and lined with red leather, and 4 knops (?) of gold," with black silk, and claws silver and gilded.

"In the coffer by the parlour door these parcels following:—a piece of fine diaper for boardcloths; a fine boardcloth of damask work; a towel of the same; 4 pillow beeres of flaxen cloth, garnished with gold in the seams; 6 napkins of diaper work; 6 pair of sheets.—"Alice taketh with her to London a pair of fine flaxen sheets, by my Lady's commandment."—2 trussing beds; 4 feather beds, 4 bolsters and 2 pillows; a carpet and 3 coverings; a fustian blanket of 4 "webbys," and a blanket of Walche "fres"; a bed of say green and crimson, "partye per pane," with the valance of the same colour.

Pp. 2, mutilated.

R. O.

3. i. "A book of wages paying of my lord Darcy's household servants for one year ended" at Mich. 11 Hen. VIII.

Master Bolton, chaplain, at *3l. 6s. 8d.* a year; payments to him by "Mr. Steward," 10 July, anno 12, and at other times. Sir Robert Arthington, chaplain, Wm. Dynelay, Wm. Hothum, Th. Wentworth and Chr. Hopton, each at *3l. 6s. 8d.* 14 at 40s. Three "at fee." Ric. Pierson, *5l.* Four at *26s. 8d.*

Signed at the end by Rob. Daltan and John Halile.

ii. "Prest money paid this year, anno 12," to Th. Garthynner, Rob. Fawconer, Petty John, Ric. Barbour, Hen. Lawynde, David Foteman and John Halile.

iii. "Prest money delivered by my Lord" to Halile and Mr. Steward, Oct., Nov. and Dec. 11 Hen. VIII., "to pay in prest of wages to my Lord's household servants for the year ended at Mich. anno 11."

iv. Payments to servants.

Part of the account is crossed through.

Pp. 11.

29 Sept.

R. O.

1002. THOS. SPURWAY.

Account as receiver-general of the lands of Edw. Courtenay, late earl of Devon, from Mic. 11 to Mic. 12 Hen. VIII.

Received from lands, &c. in *Devon*, 38*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* *Somerset*, 46*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* *Dorset*, 23*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *Berks*, 21*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* *Cornwall*, 294*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Total, 509*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*

Fees and other expenses, 215*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* Delivered to the Earl, 206*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*; and other items.

Pp. 6, Lat.

30 Sept.

R. O.

1003. RIC. PACE to WOLSEY.

Sends by the King's order the original of the bill he sent yesterday. The King esteems it, as it is worthy to be esteemed, "rem vanam ac frivolam," but wishes Munforde in Lincolnshire, whom Pace mentioned in

1520.

his last letter, to be examined on its contents, and why and how he was author of such seditious bruits. The King is contented with the new abbot here, "and all we courtiers have cause to praise him for his kind and loving cheer." Reading, 30 Sept.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

Sept.

1004. [HENRY VIII. to SURREY, in IRELAND.]

Lamb. 602.

f. 71.

St. P. II. 51.

Has received his reports by Sir John Wallop, and letters in August and 23-25 September. Is highly satisfied with his conduct. As O'Nele has come in, thinks that by policy the rest will be brought to obedience, but it must be by sober ways and persuasions, founded in law and reason, and not by violence. Thinks it expedient that when any assemblies are made, the council should point out to what decay the land is brought through disorder and wilfulness; that though the King is above the laws he will not take anything from them, and that they should pay his dues. It is requisite that every reasonable creature should be governed by law. If they complain that the laws are rigorous, Surrey is to enquire by what laws they will be governed. Had sent 3,300*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* for the first half year's payment. Has now sent 4,000*l.* Surrey is to look carefully to the King's revenue. Gives him authority to discharge such of the retinue of Sir John Bulmer as are unsuitable, and empowers him to confer knighthood and pass sentence of death. Sends a collar of gold for O'Nele. Would be glad if Surrey could induce him to visit England. The King has liberated Kildare under surety not to leave England. Desires that Surrey will continue in office there. He is to ascertain whether the earl of Ormond is minded to marry his son to the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn. The King will advance the matter with Sir Thomas.

Minute, corrected by Ruthal.

1005.

GRANTS in SEPTEMBER 1520.

Sept.

GRANTS.

1. Albert Newchurche, of London, pewterer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 24 July 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 1 Sept.—P. S.

12. John Lake, of London, grocer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Woodstock, 10 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 12 Sept.—P. S.

17. Th. Lesonne, clk. Grant of the prebend in the collegiate church of St. Mary, Warwick, *viz.* Ric. Skepewithe, deceased. *Del.* Woodstock, 17 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 12.

26. John Wylliams, chaplain. Presentation to the church of Laver Parva, Linc. dioc., void by death. Westm., 26 Sept.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 15.

27. Bristol. Assent to the election of Roger Dawes as mayor, and John Rowland and John Jay as constables, of the staple of wools, hides, fleeces and lead at Bristol. Westm., 27 Sept.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 23.

28. Sir Edw. Cobham. Grant of the manor of Raskall, York, with appurtenances, and with the offices of steward, bailiff, parker and paler there, at the annual rent of 10*l.* payable to the receiver of the lordship of Sherithoton. Thruxston, 25 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 28 Sept.—P. S.

1006. [CARDINAL MEDICI to the AUDITOR OF THE CHAMBER.]

R. O.

The Pope is much pleased at your reports of Wolsey's promptitude in his affairs, and of the labors he undertakes for the good of Christendom. He thanks God, and blesses the day on which he created him a cardinal. As to the mandate and instruction which Wolsey asks for, the Pope does not see that there is any occasion for it. If they are sought only for ordinary purposes, the King and Wolsey have so much power in these con-

1520.

[CARDINAL MEDICI to the AUDITOR OF THE CHAMBER]—*cont.*

ventions (*in his conventibus*) that they can protect the interests of the Holy See, as they have always done. If, however, they are wanted for extraordinary matters, the Pope says the Emperor and himself are on friendly terms, and there is at present no necessity for any treaty (*devenire ad aliquam capitulationem*), unless anything should arise to require it. For these reasons he cannot send it. As the Pope knows you take great concern in his affairs, he wishes you to explain this to Wolsey, and say there is no necessity for him to endeavor to show his devotion to the Pope, which has been proved in so many ways, and that the Pope's confidence in Wolsey is so great, that he will make no treaty or composition with any prince without consulting him, trusting not only in his affection, but his great influence with all princes, which has lately been shown by his dexterity in bringing about a conference between so many princes of influence. This is a thing so rare that it is reputed almost impossible, as it would have been, but for Wolsey. The king of England has gained from this meeting greater fame than any of his predecessors, and the Pope from affection to his majesty is not without a share in it.

Lat., pp. 2.

1 Oct. 1007. MARIE DE LUXEMBERG to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.
217*.

B. M.

Has come hither "pour mes . . . es du quartier," especially to recover her goods, which have been arrested by Madame de Savoy. Wolsey's recommendation has been of much use to her, and her treatment from Madame has been all she could wish. Will return home, and tell her children, that they may do the same. Malines, 1 Oct. *Signature pasted on the back of the opposite leaf.*

Fr., p. 1, mutilated. Add.: Mons. le Legat.

2 Oct. 1008. JOHN CLERK, priest, to WOLSEY.

Tit. B. i.
307.

B. M.

The dean of Sarum and himself were present at the confirmation of the abbot of Reading on Wednesday last. On Friday the King came there, and was presented with a great present of fish. Windsor, Tuesday morning.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: My lord Cardinal's good grace.

2 Oct. 1009. SHIPPING.

R. O.

Expenses of the *Grette Barke*, the *Lesse Barke*, the new bark called the *Kateryn Plesaunce*, the *Mary and John*, and the two row-barges, prepared for carrying the King and Queen to Calais and back, from 12 March 11 Hen. VIII.

To John Burdon, steward of the *Grett Barke*, for victualling 30 mariners and gunners, 15*d.* a week each; for lanterns, 6*s.* 8*d.* To Thos. Armereur, servant to Sir Wm. Fytezwilliam, then vice-admiral, for victualling 24 carpenters and caulkers, at 2½*d.* a day. To Wm. Bishop, steward, John Kempe, master, and Wm. Gonson, then captain of the *Lesser Barke*, to Ric. Gothe, purser, Rob. Longmed, master, and Sir Wm. Purton, captain of the *Mary and John*, for victualling, &c., wages of 121 carpenters, caulkers, joiners, and others, 2*d.* to 8*d.* a day. Bought by John Hopton, clerk comptroller of the ships, 10 May 12 Hen. VIII., 140 doz. bread, 7*l.*; for the carpenters from 28 March to 4 May. To Peter Swynbanke, at the sign of the "Rammes" in Petywales, London, 26 pipes 1 hhd. beer, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the pipe; an ox and a half, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the qr.; 5 oxen, at 22*s.* each; 200 lings, at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the 100. To Barth. Woralle, ship-master, wages from 16 March to 4 May, 20*s.* To 6 gunners, for trimming and hauling on board the ordnance, 15*s.*; 7 pair of new wheels for the ordnance, 18*s.* 8*d.*;

1520.

beds, 3d. a week; tallow, at 11s. the cwt.; oakum, at 4d. and 5d. a stone; flax, at 10s. the cwt. To Rob. Pynnore, servant to Thos. Sperte, for 60 tons of ballast for the *Mary and John* at her coming out of dock at Deptford, 16s. 8d. Stephen Rowley, 100 spikes, 20d.; 300 clinche and roffe, at 16d. the 100; 800 sixpenny nails, 4s.; 1,200 fourpenny nails, 4s.; 1,300 threepenny nails, 3s. 3d.; 800 tenpenny nails, 6s. 8d.; 600 brodes for the joiners, 4d. a 100. Timber, at 2s. the load, from Mr. Molton's wood, and carriage to the water side, 2 miles, at 2d. a mile; a load of timber for the boat of the *Lesse Barke*, 5s. 8d.; a piece of timber for an anchor stock for the *Sweepstake*, 5d.; 50 trenails, 8d.; 56 tons of ballast for the *Kateryn Plesaunce*, 13s. 4d. From Panerace Jonson, "corniser," for the *Mary and John*, 8 scobures, 4s. 8d.; 5 hose for the pump, 2s. 6d.; 4 clappers for the pump, 12d.; 3 hose for the *Littull Barke*, 18d.; 3 clappes for his pump, 9d.; "a scobure for the plumpe," 7d.; 9 scobures for the new bark, 5s. 3d.; a "plumpe hose" for the *Marye George*, 5d. To John Deverex, scrivener, Lombard Street, for a warrant to Mr. Erneley, the King's attorney, 12d.; a letter to rig the ship, 8d.; a warrant to have the ships out of Barking Creek, 8d.; two commissions to provide things for them, 2s.; other copies, 16d.; and for obligations with conditions for the *Anne Gulland*, five times, which ship was lost at Mongey in Galesia, 10s.; copying the bill of the grosse averes of the same, and the ward of the arbiters, 2s. To Wm. Gurra, armorer, for new buckling, leathering, and mending of 400 pair of Almain rivets, 4d. a pair; 200 lb. of rosen, 7s. 4d.; 3,000 sixpenny nails, at 30d. the 1,000. To the smith in Blanke Chapelton (Whitechapel?), London, for hinges, locks, and staples for the doors of the King's chamber in the New Bark, 5s. 6d.; 46 lbs. of thromes, at 2d. a lb., for making mappes for pitching and tallowing the ships; 100 "seyle nylds," 16d.; 28 lbs. of marline, at 3d.; small rope, at 1½d. the lb.; 6 lines of 21 threads, 7s.; 2 lines of 18 threads, 20d.; 2½ lasts of pitch, 7l. 10s.; inch boards, at 2s. the 100; 12 leathern bags for gunpowder, 7s.; 100 great nogges and trenails for knees, 3s. 4d.; 550 short trenails for the ship's boats, 4s.; 1 qr. of clove boards, 8s. To John Wolffe, for painting and gilding the "collere" of the "*Katerine Plesaunce*," 10s.; 4 gallon tankards, 2s.; 1 doz. ashen drinking cups, 6d.; a bowl for a funnel, 4d.; 1 doz. taps, 2d.; 2 pails, 6d.; 1 doz. platters, 10d.; 2 lades, 1d.; 100 great "tampence," 16d.; 200 small "tampons," 16d.; 3 doz. dishes, 9d.; a "main parell," 2s. 8d.; a "fore parell," 12d.; 8 water "stopes," 16d.; a mainyard for the King's rowbarge, the *Sweepstake*, and a "aperett" yard for the *Katerine Plesaunce*, 16s. Timber, 6s. a load. 11 loads of timber from the wood of the prior of Shene, 14s. 8d. To Godefrey, searcher in London, 100 wainscots for making cabins and chambers for the King and Queen in the said new bark, 5l. 6s. 8d. To John Dynam, 112 ft. of glass for glazing the cabins, 4½d. a foot; for 2 panes of the King's and Queen's arms, 5s. 8d.; 18 bars, 1½d. each; 1 doz. joined stools for the Queen's cabin, 10d. each; a foremast and a mainyard for the new bark, 3l. At Calais, 1 cwt. 1 qr. 14 lb. of ropes, 16s. 8d. Fl. = 15s. 4d. st.; a topsail yard for the new bark, 3s. 4d. Repairing "the great dock head of the pound at Deptford," 6s. 8d. To Edmund Cicill, for 3 compasses and 4 "rynnynge glasses," 6s. 8d. A mainmast for the King's lesser rowbarge, 30s. A main yard for the *Lesser Bark*, 5l. 30 iron chains for the shrouds of the *Katerine Plesaunce*, at 6d. each; 13 iron bolts for brasen poles, 1½d. each; a garland of iron for the topmast, 2s.; boathook, 6d.; 246 lb. of iron bolts for the knees of the ships, 1½d. a lb.; a bolt for the collar of the main stay, 9 lb.; 30 lb. of spikes, 1½d. a lb.; 100 lead nails, 6d.; 2 staples for the "owt lyggere," 2 lb., 3d.; 30 forelocks, for great serpentines, 2s. 6d.; 2 kattehooks and the ramehed, 2s.; a kattehoke weighing 15 lb., at 2d. a lb.; pair of garnets for the gunports, 20 lb., 2d. a lb.; iron hoop for the main capstain, 30 lb., 1½d. a lb. For mending the shank of a bower of the *Sualoure*, rowbarge, 7s. 8 bolts weighing 15 lb. for the trestle trees of the main and fore masts of the *Mary and John*, a bolt and swivel for the boat, 18d. Locks for the storehouses at Deptford and Erith; a stock lock for the gate of the latter next the water side, 12d.; a platt lock for the middle door at Deptford, 20d.; a portall lock for the hall door, 2s.; 3 hanging locks with their keys for the gates at Erith, 3s. 6d. Wages of 20 mariners, at 4d. a day, for unrigging the *Mary and John* and *Lesser Bark* on their return home. 2 loads of coal at 5d. a qr.; oil at 8½d., 10d. and 11d. a gallon; 1 cwt.

1520.

SHIPPING—*cont.*

of tallow, 8s., used for "warnesching" the ordnance. For making 2 new sheds in the yard, on the north side of the storehouse at Deptford, for the King's iron and brass guns; 4 loads of elm timber, at 2s. 8d. To Geoffrey ap Fluellyn, house carpenter, for making the sheds, 6d. a day, for 5 days. 2 hoses for the *Grette Barbara* and *John Baptist*, lying in the creek at Woolwich, 20d. A hose for the *Mary George*, in dock at the Isle of Dogs, 10d. One hose and a skoper for the *Kateryn Fortylea*, 18d. 2 Oct. 12 Hen.VIII., wages of caulkers caulking the *Mary Rose* in the pound at Deptford, 6d. a day. To 7 men who helped to "plumpe" the *Mary Rose* for a day and a night, 2s. 8d. Total, 219l. 2s.

Pp. 28.

4 Oct. 1010. PAGE to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Ellis, 3 Ser.
I. 199.

Sends two letters to Wolsey, which he found in a packet sent to him from Italy. "The King hath now good pastime by the new player upon the clavicords," whom Mr. Rochpotte brought, and also by the Almain gentleman who was at Woodstock, and who has brought with him a new instrument, on which he plays right well. Windsor, 4 Oct.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Legate's grace.

6 Oct. 1011. SURREY and the COUNCIL OF IRELAND to WOLSEY.

R. O.
St. P. II. 50.

On the 2nd arrived at Clonmel; and yesterday came the earl of Desmond. Tomorrow they go to Waterford. Sent for the kinsmen and adherents to reconcile the two Earls. Desmond and Ormond are both conformable. Hope that the variance between the towns of Waterford and Ross will be brought to an end. Think it would be advantageous if a marriage were solemnised between the earl of Ormond's son, now in England, and Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter. Clonmel, 6 Oct. *Signed*.

Add.

6 Oct. 1012. CHARLES V. to WOLSEY.

Vit. B.xx.
163*.
B. M.

Understands by letters of [the bishop of Helna] and [Ger]ard de Pleine, his ambassadors, that Wolsey did not think fit to accept [the bishopric of Badajoz], and desired to obtain from Charles an annual pension of 2,500 [crowns], the bishopric being given to the said bishop of Helna (*eidem Elnensi*). Will be glad to do so. Louvain, 6 Oct. 1520. *Signed*. *Countersigned*: T. Argillensi[s].

Lat., p. 1. *Add.*: "RR." &c. "cardinali Eboracensi," &c.

6 Oct. 1013. SIR WM. SANDYS to WOLSEY.

R. O.

On Friday, the 29th* Sept., Rochepott sent him a letter, advertising him "that he had commandment of the King his master to come to Arde, and there to discharge clearly all manner of pioneers and workmen, so that the building and fortifying there should surcease." Sandys took his horse and rode after him, and learnt that he had thoroughly fulfilled his charge. The next work day, which was Monday, the 1st day of this month, caused the King's secretary of this town, John Cookson, the water bailiff, and John Stubble to ride to Arde, and from their relation finds that no workmen are there. Was with Mr. Vaux at Guysnes on Wednesday the 3rd, and heard a rumor that there is a new commission to take up more new pioneers. Does not believe that the French King would send Rochepott over to England to report one thing, "which should afterward prove contrary." Calais, 6 Oct. *Signed*.

Pp. 3. *Add.*: My lord Legate, &c.

* An error for 28th.

1520.

8 Oct. **1014.** FRANCIS I. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

I have already written to you on behalf of Jehan du Moustier, merchant of Paris, whose ship, the "Françoise," was driven on to the Isle of Surlingne and there plundered by an English pirate named Robin, of goods to the value of 3,000 livres and more. He has obtained an award of the sum of 1040 l. Tourn., which is 1,500 livres less than his loss; but the English council will not put it into execution, and have taken from him the original of the attestation of the value of his goods, so that the sentence is illusory. I write to you now that you may see justice done to him. Paris, 8 Oct. *Signed.* *Countersigned:* De Neufville.

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A notre trescher et grant amy le card. d'Yort, legat en Angleterre. *Endd.*

8 Oct. **1015.** SILVESTER [GIGLIS] BISHOP OF WORCESTER to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

A few days ago explained to his grace his misfortunes, and the causes of them. Has since spoken to the Pope, and reminded him of certain circumstances. He says one way remains of granting Henry's wishes, and satisfying Worcester; viz., that Henry should write to some of the old cardinals, as Worcester states in his letter to Wolsey. Begs him to do this. Rome, 8 Oct. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

10 Oct. **1016.** CARD. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wrote on the 26th Sept. about the promotion of the Bishop of Liege and the archbishop of Toulouse to the cardinalate. The French king now openly opposes the election of the bishop of Liege, and the Pope is not inclined to proceed against his will. The Archbishop's promotion will not be delayed, as he is related to the King, and no enemy to the Emperor. The Bishop is in no way connected with the Emperor, and is hostile to Francis.

It is the usual fate of the College for the funeral of one cardinal to be followed by the death of another. Since the death of the cardinal of Ferrara, the cardinal St. Peter ad Vincula, bishop of Agen, is deceased. He was chief penitentiary, and nephew to Julius II., a man everywhere praised for religion and holiness. His revenue was 22,000 ducats. The penitentiaryship, worth 6,000 ducats, has been obtained by cardinal SS. Quatuor. The monastery of S. Sabba in Rome, worth 4,000 d., is given to cardinal Cibo, nephew of the Pope, charged with a pension of 1,000 d. to cardinal Ægidius, and one of 500 d. to cardinal de Cesis. His bishopric and another monastery, each worth 6,000 d., he resigned to his nephew and brother. None of these came to the writer; "I suppose, because the Pope thinks I shall soon be enriched with an English bishopric." He gave me, however, without my asking, the office of *signatura justitie*, also held by the said Cardinal; and though this has no revenue, it is the hinge of the whole court, and the right hand of the Pope, and is usually given to a cardinal of known faith and learning.

The Pope has left Rome with some of the cardinals, on account of ill health, and it is uncertain when he will return.

After writing thus far, received Wolsey's letters, dated the More, 21 Sept., about the German legation. Will act on his advice. There was no necessity for thanks for the trouble taken by Campeggio about the see of Badajoz. Will convey Wolsey's thanks to the Cardinal. The news grows strong of the French king's coming to spend Christmas in Italy. Has heard nothing of the Emperor's coronation at Aix. Rome, 10 Oct. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. Add.

1520.

11 Oct.

1017. L. LOREDANO DOGE OF VENICE to WOLSEY.

R. O.

In favor of Jerome Molini. Ducal Palace, 11 Oct. 1520.

Rym.xiii.726.

Latin. Vellum; leaden seal. Add.

12 Oct.

1018. TUNSTAL to [HENRY VIII.]

Vit. B. xx.

163.

B. M.

The coronation of the [Emperor, which was announced] for the 7th inst. in his last letters, has been deferred "h the Electors which be comen to Coleyn were [unwilling] to come to Acon because of the fame of the gret [sickness] supposed to be there; for whose tarrying the E[mperor] sent one of his council, called Maister Nic[holas] Syegler," with a credence to Cologne to know their further mind, and the cause of th[eir] delay, and when they would come to Acon f[or] the coronation. They sent to ask that it might be celebrated at Cologne, to avoid the sickness "reynnyng" at Acon, informing him that the emperor Robert duke of Bavaria was crowned at Cologne for like cause. The messenger of the archbishop of Cologne, who was to anoint the Emperor, after the others had spoken, showed the Emperor apart a privilege, dispensing with the Archbishop's attendance at Acon, and giving him power to appoint another place, and informed him that the Archbishop would not consent to its being at Cologne. Mons. de Isilsteyn, lord marshal, who had been living some time at Acon, informed the Emperor that these three weeks past not three persons have died there altogether, and it was not certain that they had died of the sickness; that only one street had been infected, and that the danger was not so great as had been "noised." The Emperor then, by the advice of his council, sent Mons. de Sevenberg to the Electors, to move them to come to Acon, and to declare that he intends to be crowned there, but will stay only a short time. Chievres and the Chancellor think it will be on the 21st inst. It is not known whether the Emperor's request will be assented to, [or] some new message sent; for Sevenberg [being] returned, the archbishop of Cologne is . . . to come to Acon. If the other Electors can [be] induced thereto, the day will stand. One thing moves [the] Emperor and council greatly to go to Acon, and that is, all kings of the Romans, except the said emperor Robert, have been anointed there; and he, after his anointing at Cologne, went to Acon to receive his crown, and all usual ceremonies, except the unction, which was not repeated.

The Emperor entered "this city of Luke" yesterday triumphantly. The lady Margaret is here, and goes with him to his coronation. Tomorrow [she de]parts hence to Mastryk to wait till a "[resol]ucion" come from the Electors, for the town of Acon is only four leagues from thence. No French ambassador is come yet. After his last letters had gone from Antwerp, Don Ferdinand returned from Barowe. He went to him, and delivered the King's recommendation, and told him in Latin that Henry would do anything he desired within the realm of England. He returned thanks in Latin, regretting he had not seen the King when he was this side the sea. "Surely he is a propre and wise prince, and redy of aunswere to anything that a man can devise with him, and speketh Latyne very well." Met at Antwerp with [Nicholas Craczer], an Almayn, deviser of the King's horologes, who said the King had given him leave to be absent for a time. Asked him to stay till he had ascertained if the King would allow him to remain with Tunstal till the coronation and the assem[bly] of the Electors be over. Being born in High Almayn, and having acquaintance of many of the princes, he might be able to find out the mind of the Electors touching the affairs of the empire. Need not say anything of Spanish affairs, as Spinelly will write. Luke, 12 Oct. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 6.

1520.

12 Oct. 1019. TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Ellis, 3 Ser.
1. 231.

Met with Nicholas Craczer, an Almain, deviser of the King's horologes, who has leave to be absent for a time, but is now ready to return. Asks that he may remain with him till after the assembly of the Electors, as he knows many noblemen about them. Thinks he might do good service in finding out the minds of the Electors concerning the empire, and it will be no expense to the King, for he shall have meat and drink with Tunstal. Wishes to know the King's pleasure, as he will not keep him without orders. Has just written to the King, so there is no more news. Luke, 12 Oct.

Signed.

Pp. 2. *Add.* : To, &c. cardinal of York, legate de [la]tere and chancellor [of E]ngland. *Endd.*

12 Oct. 1020. For the MONASTERY OF OSELVESTON, Linc. dioc.

Assent to the election of John Slawston as abbot, *vice* John Belton, resigned. Westm., 12 Oct.

Pat. 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 2, m. 8.

P. S. b. 2. Petition of John Pyckwell, subprior, and the convent for the above.
4 Oct. 12 *Hen. VIII.*

14 Oct. 1021. SIR RICHARD GRESHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Ellis, 3 Ser.
1. 232.

Has taken the measures of eighteen chambers at Hampton Court. As the mart is nearly ended, could not wait, but has taken ship, and on his arrival will give order for the hangings. They will amount to 1,000 marks; and as the workmen are poor, they must have the money beforehand. Begs Wolsey "will deliver to Master Gowstewyck my bill for the privy seal for Sir John Cutte." London, 14 Oct. 1520.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.* : To my lord Cardinal's good grace.

15 Oct. 1022. JAMES V.

R. MS.
15 B. ii. 306.
B. M.

Protection for the inhabitants of the city of Colbergh, their goods and ships, with liberty to trade in England. Edinburgh, 15 Oct. 1520.

Copy, Lat.

15 Oct. 1023. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Recommends to him Peter Corso, a Florentine merchant trading at London. He is connected with the Pope's family. Rome, 15 Oct. 1520, 8 pont. *Signed* : Ja. Sadoletus.

Lat., vellum. *Add.* *Endd.*

17 Oct. 1024. QUEEN MARGARET to DACRE.

Calig. B. 1.
275.
Green's Royal
Ladies, i. 232.

Thanks him for sending his servant, the bearer, to whom she has shown her mind. Is in a sore case, if she be not helped by the King and Wolsey. Is obliged to pawn the jewels given her by the King when she left. Has put away all her servants, because she had nothing to give them; and but for Robin Barton, her comptroller, who laid out 500*l.* Scots of his own purse, would have been compelled to live like a poor gentlewoman. Is not answered of any part of her living, except Stirling and Lyteo (Linthgow); "and ze kna[w], my lord, vhat that is." Can get nothing from the forest of Ettrick, the earldom of March or the lands of Me . . . Since her last coming to Scotland, has not got 500*l.* Scots of all her lands. The lords themselves confess she is ill treated, but they do not mend. Her chief reason for coming hither was for her son's sake; and she is kept from him like a stranger. Wishes to be allowed to return to England, and she

1520.

QUEEN MARGARET to DACRE—*cont.*

will make over her living to Henry. "He may get reason of Scotland, and so may not I." If he writes to the lords in her favor, they only give him fair words. Had liefer be dead than live among them; yet she has always conducted herself well towards them. Hopes the peace between the two kingdoms will not be renewed without some good way being taken that she may live at ease; for Henry promised her at her departure that Scotland should never have peace otherwise. Her only hope is in him. Scotland was never like to be so evil ruled. "Every lord prieth who may be the greatest party and monyest friends." They hope to rule by getting the King, her son, in their hands. The Chancellor has many enemies, and she is most bound to him of any here. Beseeches Wolsey to remember the promises he made her in his house at her departure. Must put away two cups of gold given her by the King at her departure. Would rather Dacre had them than another. Stirling, 17 Oct.

Hol., pp. 3, slightly mutilated. Add.: To my lord Dakars.

18 Oct. 1025. PRIZE GOODS.

R. O.

The goods of Deryk Molener, merchant of A[ntwerp?], in the Scotch ship of Dumbarton, 50 tons, Collyn Porterfeld, of Dumbarton, master, xvi[i]. Oct. 1520, shipped out of a ship lost in Brittany.

4 great stone guns and 8 chambers. 4 serpentes with 5 chambers. 3 iron hakeguns. 1 brass gun. 150 lb. of gunpowder. A copper kettle. A brass pot. A gridiron. A great block with 2 brass pulleys. A great new cable, 110 fathom long; other cables, 100 and 90 fathom; and 6 small ones, 80 fathom. 3 new trusses of ropes of 80 fathom. 5 trusses of tarred rope. 8 iron chains for shrouds. 3 iron hooks for a rudder. 2 iron bolts and a shear. 2 great iron bolts with rings. An iron bolt with a flat head. 3 iron plates for a rudder. 2 baskets of broken iron, and 4 cwt. of clenchwork. 2 small feather beds. 3 head pillows. An English coverlet. A great bearskin. A canvas bag. A great flat chest, locked with 2 keys, marked with his mark, containing a russet gown furred with white lamb; 2 pair of white hose; 3 caps, red, white and black; a black cap furred with marters; 4 sheets; 6 linen pelowbers; 3 headkerchers; 4 towels; 4 shirts; a pair of new shoes; 5 pr. new gloves in 5 walnuts; 3 leather purses for spicery; a great bell of metal, 10 lb. wt.; an altar stone, with 5 red crosses; 30 lb. lead; a stone bottle with 6 qts. of oil; 4 bottles, 3 tin, 1 glass; a bag containing coins, 6 silver knobs and other broken silver, a jacinth, a sapphire, 2 turquoises, an amethyst and 6 great pearls; a handgun "with his forme," and a bottle of powder. 3 small lead lines. A hewing axe. A piercer. A cutting knife. A "dysell." A caulking iron. 3 compasses. 2 night running glasses. 3 small piercers. 8 lb. sail thread. 8 lb. saltpetre rocs and brimstone rocs. A quart-pot of tin and a maser. Total value, 128*l.* 5*s.*

Shipped "by Bordeaux, at a place called Liborn," the following goods bought of Wm. de la Fone and John Sake.—30 tuns 3 hhd. red wine, marked with his mark. 6 barrels of tar. 430 lb. of rosell. 3 rolls of poldavy. A chest full of drinking glasses. A pipe full of "chosteyns" (chestnuts). Was licensed by Sir Rowland Velavyle, constable of Bew Marice, to sell 2 tuns of wine, but sold only 7 hogsheds.

When he has received these goods, or the value thereof, as is granted by the Cardinal in the Star Chamber, upon pain of 500 marks to whoever has the goods, he will pay as his portion of the freight to Thos. Calcote, 34 mks., of which he has already paid to Colen the master 49*s.* 4*d.*

Pp. 2.

ii. Goods belonging to the Scots.—A ship called *The Mary*, of Donbreton, with all her apparel; viz: Complete sails. 3 anchors. 4 cables. 2 hawsers, and other cordage. 3 standards. A silk standard. A great cadurn. 3 pr. of harness. An image of St. Barbara. 4 doz. pulleys, "with part of brasen schevers." A bell of a stone weight. An

1520.

iron spit. A brandiron. A gridiron. A pr. of bolts to set in prisoners. 12 st. of iron-work in broken bands. 2 doz. fire spears. 1 doz. long spears. 2 iron crays. An iron malle. 64 iron "faconstones." 80 lead pellets. 500 "ocom" (oakum). 2½ barrels of tar. A lead and a line, with other small necessaries. "A certen" of new ropes. 9 tuns 3 hhd. wine, or the value. For the freight of Dyryk's wine, 15s. a tun. If he receive all his wine he must pay 22*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ; if not, at the above rate.

P. 1, parchment.

18 Oct. 1026. PRIORY OF CHESHUNT.

R. O.

Attested copy of citation by Martin Spinosa, LL.D., auditor of the Papal Court, for the appearance within 60 days of Nic. Cooper, vicar of Cheshunt, and the Prioress of the monastery there, parties in a suit concerning tithes, in which an appeal has been made against the sentence pronounced by Thos. Wodyngton, of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Rome, 1520, Indict. 8, 18 Oct., 8 pont. Leonis.

Lat., copy. *At the foot is a note in Clerk's hand:—*We send this copy of a citation and inhibition, with a proxy under the seal of the above monastery, with other information, by the letters of Thomas Cromwell, from which your lordship will understand the merits of the case, and what you ought to do in it. The citation was executed personally against the Convent, but against the Prioress *viis et modis*. The execution took place about the beginning of Dec. 1520.

Lat. Endd.: Inhibitio a curia Romana.

19 Oct. 1027. For SIR MAURICE BERKELEY.

S. B.

To be lieutenant of Calais castle, with 2*s.* a day and 20*l.* a year, and with the nomination of 49 foot soldiers, one of whom to be constable of the castle; 29 to be men-at-arms, with 8*d.* a day, and 20 to be archers, with 6*d.* a day. Also to have the meadows, pastures, &c. pertaining to the said office, in the same manner as Sir John Donne or Sir Anthony Browne: on surrender of patent 7 May 7 Hen. VIII., granting the same, in survivorship, to Sir Richard Carewe, knt. of the Body, and Nicholas his son. *Del.* Westm., 19 Oct. 12 Hen VIII.

Fr., m. 1.

20 Oct. 1028. [SPINELLY to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. xx.

178.

B. M.

Wrote his last from Luke. "The Emperor came to this town of Mastrycke. Sy Roedoufflor and divers other messengers have been s Electors being at Coloyne, desiring them to come to [the Emperor's] coronation. Notwithstanding that before for the sickness that color on this side they had been by the Emperor insta[ntly required] to keep it at the said Coloyne; the which alterations is p[er]ilous], doubting many wise men the innovation of the place ag[a]inst the ancient constitutions, ordinances, and prerogatives had caused hereafter some sisma and dissension in themp[re] Whereupon the said Electors been condescended; and the Emperor is [fully] determined to depart tomorrow, and Monday to make his e[n]try, and] on Tuesday to be crowned, and Wednesday to go to Coloyne in esche[wing] the danger of the infection, that is more than it is spoken, and perilous for the great multitude of the people."

Great dissatisfaction expressed at the thought of the Emperor's being crowned at Cologne. *Berges accused Felinger* of being the chief inventor of it. Considering the frequent changing of the time and place first appointed, the Electors are very compliant. Hears from *the duke of Alba* that the Constable, to please the Emperor, "hath accept[ed the] gubernation" for the preservation of his own and other lords' lands He thinks

1520.

SPINELLY to WOLSEY—*cont.*

that the Emperor's return must be at the beginning of summer. He and the Constable would rather it were shorter, but it is necessary to preserve the imperial dignity in Almayne, and to satisfy the people there. The diet shall be convoked at Worms by the feast of the Epiphany. *The marquis d'Arscot has recommended to the Emperor, for his confessor, the warden of St. Francis de Observantia at Bruges, a Norman born, a great preacher; in appearance, of much charity and sanctimony. When the Emperor was elected this man visited him in Catalonia, urging the alliance with France and the restitution of Navarre. Thinks it strange that he should have such a charge with the Emperor. He will not forget his ancient love for his country. Thinks that the Marquis has been moved to this rather to have a friend at court than from love to France. If he studied his master's welfare as Wolsey does his master's, matters would succeed better. If the Spaniards obtain the answer they expect, all things shall be safely reformed to the satisfaction of England; otherwise d'Arscot, in his pusillanimity, will not cease to negotiate some new treaty with France to his master's prejudice. The lord Berges thinks the delay cannot be long, and in default of the desired answer will write secretly to Wolsey. Some knight will come on an embassy from France, and not the bishop of Italy.*

The Pope's nuncio cannot accomplish the object of his Holiness, but as he is convinced of the good intentions of the Emperor he has given him spiritual assistance against the bishop of Samora and other religious men, rebels in Spain. The Emperor has given the cardinal of Sion the bishopric of Cattanea, worth 3,000 ducats per annum.

A letter has been received, dated the 10th, from the Constable, then at Byerbesca. Burgos had not yet come to terms. Sevenbarg brings news from the Electors that they will meet the Emperor tomorrow two . . . out of Acon.

Pp. 4, badly mutilated. The cr. by Spinelly, and deciphered by Tuke.

20 Oct. 1029. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Is informed that the ambassador of Hungary makes incessant instance for the accomplishment of the marriage, almost menacing. Answer is deferred till after the coronation. The count de Genevra, brother to the duke of Savoy, has arrived to be present at the coronation. Encloses a bill obtained from lord Ysylstein, containing the names of such princes who were at Cologne, intending to be present at the ceremony. Masticke, Saturday night, 20 Oct. 1520.

Tuesday is the feast of St. Severin, archbishop of Cologne. Has showed this letter to the English ambassador. *Signed.*

P. 1. The end of a letter, probably the preceding. The last two sentences only are in Spinelly's hand. Add.: T[o my l]ord Cardinal's grace.

Vit. B. xx.
177.

B. M.

2. "A memory of diverse princes and therabowte for to con as the lord of Ysylstein sayethe."

The cardinal of Brandenburgh, elector of Mayence, with the Marquis his nephew, [horse].

Two bishops and six earls, with

The elector of Trevery, with three bishops, four earls, and divers knights, with 200.

The elector of Cologne, with one bishop, 12 earls, and many knights, with 800.

The Elector Palatine, with the dukes, Frederic his brother, and Otto Heinrich his nephew, the bishops of Freisingen, Ratisbon and Spire, his brothers, the dukes of Mekelberg and Pombre, and the marquis Philip of Batha, his brothers-in-law, and the earl Hanse, of Nassau, with six others;—having in all 11,000.

1520.

The elector of Saxony, with divers noblemen, and . . .

The bishop of Brandenburg, ambassador of the marquis Joakyn, elector, with . . .

[The] duke of Julers, with all the nobles [of his] country, and 800 horse.

[The] cardinal Gursensis is in this town [of] Mastricke, and has with him 100.

The bishop of Luke and Sir Robt. de la Marche, with 100.

The duke Herike, of Brunswick, with 70. Total, 1,060.

Added in Spinelly's hand: "At my arrival to Cologne I shall advertysse your grace more dixtently and perfectly, God willing, of ever thyng."

Mutilated, pp. 2.

20 Oct. 1030. NIC. [WEST] BISHOP OF ELY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Thanks him for his "goodness and loving entertainment" at Wolsey's "late honorable journey in these parts." Is pleased to hear that Wolsey visited his house at Hatfield. Will never forget his kind words at his departure. Asks his favor for his nephew touching the benefice of East Dereham, according to Wolsey's words when he saw him in the Queen's College. If his nephew obtain this benefice, the Bishop will send him over sea for five or six years to improve his language, and he will then be fit to serve Wolsey. Will give Mr. Larke the advowson of another benefice, with a vicarage of more value than Dereham. As to Underhill, will do as Wolsey orders; but Underhill had sold the advowson before to Dr. Potkyn, and had received the money for it. The convent seal of the same was stolen in vacation time. Mr. Myne, the bearer, will give him fuller information on all these points. Downham, beside Ely, 20 Oct. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace, cardinal of York and chancellor of England.

21 Oct. 1031. SIR THOMAS ILBERTON.

R. O.

Acknowledgment to Thomas lord Darcy of the receipt of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, in part payment of 110 marks, for the marriage of Dame Ann, sister to Sir Wm. Sandys. 21 Oct. 10 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*

ii. Acknowledgment by the same, as knight constable of Bawmborthe Castle, of his readiness to take the profits and expences of the courts for 12*l.*, &c. 20 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*

26 Oct. 1032. STANLEY ABBEY.

Insipeximus to the abbot and convent of—

i. A charter of 1 Ric. I., confirming various grants of Henry II. and his mother the Empress Maud.

ii. A charter 11 Hen. III., confirming the above (i.) and other grants.

iii. A charter 4 Edw. II., confirming the preceding.

iv. Pat. 25 Hen. VI., inspecting transcripts of charters of Hen. [II.], Hen. III., Ric. I.

v. A pat. 26 Hen. VI., granting to the abbey the manor of Waddeley, Berks.

Westm., 26 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, ms. 33—36.

1520.

26 Oct. 1033. WALSALL, Staff.

S. B.

Licence to Roger Pemmerton, mayor, Roger Brasier, Ric. Hurst, Wm. Hopkys, Ric. Hopkys, and Wm. Tyrle, and the inhabitants, to found a guild in the chapels of St. Mary and St. John Baptist, in the church of All Saints, Walsall, with seven chaplains; two wardens to be elected yearly. *Del. Westm.*, 26 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.

Endd.: The guild of Walshale, at Mr. Lovel his desire.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 12.

28 Oct.
R. O.

1034. Will of JOHN FULLWODE, citizen and merchant tailor of London.

He desires to be buried in the Grey Friars, in the wall, by St. Michael's altar, and leaves 20*d.* to the high altar of St. John the Evangelist, in Watling Street, 100 marks towards the rebuilding of the said church, and other sums to the friars for a yearly mass. The remainder is left to Thos. Cole and Mawde Palmer, his executors, to be expended in charity. 28 Oct. 1520, 12 Hen. VIII. The will was proved, 24 July 1521, before Dr. Thos. Wodyngton, dean of S. Maria de Arcubus.

Copy, pp. 2.

Oct.
S. B.

1035. HENRY NORRES, squire of the Body.

Grant, in fee, of the manors of Stokebardolf, Shelford and Gedling, Notts, Lincoln and Derby, with the patronage of the abbey of Rufford, and of the priory of Shelford, Notts, and the advowson of Gedling Church, and all benefices, fairs, markets, knights' fees, court leets, &c. pertaining to the said manors; also the manors of Thowresway, Beaumont, Baions and Tevelby, Linc., with the advowson of Thowresway Church; which manors lately belonged to William viscount Beaumont, and on his death to king Henry VII. by attainder of lord Lovell. This grant made in consideration that patent 18 Feb. 10 Hen. VIII. is surrendered. *Del. Westm.*, — Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 8.

1036.

GRANTS in OCTOBER 1520.

Oct.
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GRANTS.

1. Henry Somerset lord Herbert. Licence to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19.

1. Wm. Simondes, the King's sewer. Licence to import 300 tuns of Guyon or Gascoign wine. Windsor Castle, 13 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Oct.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19.

1. Wm. Forde, stockfishmonger of London. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

3. Commission of the Peace. *Hunts.*—Thomas cardinal of York, Nicholas bp. of Ely, Sir Rob. Brudenell, Sir Ric. Broke, Wm. Tanfeld, Anth. Malory, John Wynde, John Castell, Th. Hall, Wm. Grace and John Taylard. *Westm.*, 3 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—*Pat.* p. 1, m. 1*d.*

14. Gaol delivery. *Warwick County Gaol.*—Sir Edw. Ferrers, Sir Edw. Grevile,

Ralph Swillyngton, Wm. Broune, Th. Slade, Rob. Fulwoode, Wm. Boughton and John Arden. *Westm.*, 14 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14*d.*

16. John Vyall, of Asshehamstede, Berks. Reversal of outlawry, sued for debt by Sir Henry Long. *Westm.*, 16 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

19. John Baker and Wm. his son. Office of chief mason at Calais, in survivorship, as held by Th. Ferroux; on surrender of patent 26 Dec. 1 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 2 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 19 Oct.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 6.

19. Alex. Haryson, chaplain, native of Scotland. Denization. *Del. Westm.*, 19 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.

Note: "The fyne is iijij^{or} marc."—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 19; and p. 2, ms. 18 and 19.

19. Margaret widow of Ric. Gery. Wardship of Robert, s. and h. of the said Richard. *Del. Westm.*, 19 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

1520.

Oct.

GRANTS.

20. Wm. Wetenhale and Reginald Peham. Licence to alienate the manors of Walbury, Hussyngbroke and Fanges, Essex, and the advowsons of the churches of Stanford in the Hoopes and Fanges, to Geo. Nevell lord Bergevenny, Sir Th. Nevell, Sir Edw. Nevell, Edw. Nevell, Sir Edw. Ferrers, Sir Wm. Crowmer, Geo. Crowmer, Hen. Ferrers, John Crowmer, Jas. Crowmer, Wm. Waller, Th. Roydon, Th. Crowmer, Jas. Blachenden and Th. Hedde, to hold to the use of Anne, Wetenhale's wife, for term of her life, and then to the use of Wetenhale and his heirs. Westm., 20 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.

20. John Appylby. Wardship of Alex. s. and h. of Ric. Appulby. *Signed*: Th. Lovell, Ri. Weyston. *Del.* Westm., 20 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 13.

20. Nich. Bone. Wardship of Anne, d. and h. of Edward, s. and h. of John Wroth. *Signed*: Th. Lovell, Ri. Weyston. *Del.* Westm., 20 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, ms. 12 and 14.

22. Ric. Gerard, clk. Presentation to the church of Gropnall, Cov. and Lich. dioc., *vice* Simon Byron, clk., deceased, in the King's gift by the minority of Henry s. and h. of John Byron. *Del.* Westm., 22 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 11.

23. Th. Magnus, archdeacon of the East Riding, the King's councillor. To be general surveyor and receiver general of lands in the King's hands by the minority of heirs, during pleasure; on surrender of patent 1 Feb. 9 Hen. VIII. granting the latter office to Roger Wigston. *Del.* Westm., 23 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 14.

23. Hugh Edwardis. Wardship of Wm., s. of Rob. s. of Wm., brother of Th. Breten, clk., rector of Nawnby, Linc., deceased. *Del.* Westm., 23 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 19.

23. Gaol delivery. *Battle Abbey, in the town of Wye*.—John Roper, steward of the liberty, Sir Wm. Scott, Sir Th. Kempe, John Fyneux and John Betman. Westm., 23 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14d.

24. Gaol delivery. *Buckingham County Gaol*.—Sir Andrew Wyndesore, Wm. Bulstrode, John Cheyne, John Baldwyn, Th. Jefford, Roger Jefford, Th. Laughton and Rob. Lee. Westm., 24 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14d.

25. Philip Connor, *alias* Conway, of London, brewer. Protection for two months; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. *Signed*: John Pecche. *Sealed.* *Del.* Westm., 25 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

25. Th. Yarde, of St. Clement's Danes, without Temple Bar, London, *alias* of High-

wike, Devon, and John Warley, also of St. Clement's, *alias* of Holcombe, Devon. Pardon for the murder of Gilbert Atherton. Windsor Castle, 10 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 25 Oct.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 8.

26. Simon Callesse, of Barton-in-the-Benes, Notts, husbandman. Pardon for killing Wm. Chamberleyn, of Barton, in self-defence. Westm., 26 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19.

27. Humph. Watson, of Acon, bailiff of the liberty of Langbarghe, York. Pardon for killing, in self-defence, Wm. Thorneton, who attacked him for distraining an ox belonging to John Clifton at Ingleby, York. Westm., 27 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19.

28. Sir John Mordaunt, Th. Gifford and John Bassett. Mermain licence to alienate the manors of Peteshoo and Ekenney, Bucks, and lands in Peteshoo, Ekeney, Emberton, Chechelowe, Crowley and Harmede, Bucks, (of the annual value of 18*l.*), to John Cottisford, the guardian or rector, and the scholars of the college of St. Mary and All Saints, Lincoln, in the University of Oxford; to hold to the annual value of 19*l.*, in part satisfaction of the 50*l.* for which the college had a licence from Edward IV. Westm., 28 Oct.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 15.

28. Recognizances cancelled: made by Geo. Holford, of Holford, Chesh., Ralph Ravenscroft, of Bretton, Chesh., John Hopwood, of Hopwood, Lanc., and Th. Leverage, of Whelok, Chesh., 24 Hen. VII. Greenwich, 28 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

29. George Celi, of Havering-at-Bowre, Essex. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Eltham, 20 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 29 Oct.—P.S.

29. Th. Marshe, of Suthampton, merchant. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. Eltham, 23 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 29 Oct.—P.S.

29. John Jurden, of Frome Selwode, Somers., butcher. Pardon for stealing an ox, price 26*s.* 8*d.*, from the close of Hen. Clement at Evercriche, Somers. Greenwich, 26 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 29 Oct.—P.S. *Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 8.

31. Th. Rouse. Lease of the site of the manor of Oveston, Northt., parcel of "Richemoundes landes," and the agistment of Oveston Park, and the underwoods of Sywell Woode, near the lands of Sir Th. Grene, for 21 years; rent 6*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* *Del.* [Westm.,] 31 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 20.

1520.

3 Nov. 1037. SURREY to WOLSEY.

Lamb. M.S.

616, f. 43.

St. P. II. 57.

Desmond and Ormond have been reconciled. Has discharged fifty of the horsemen that came with Sir John Bulmer, "which were no worse in appearance than they be in deed." Horse meat is scanty, and it is better to keep good horsemen in this country than such rascal as the others were. Begs that thanks may be sent to Ormond, as he is a wise man and hath a true English heart. Has licensed Sir John Bulmer to depart, on account of his sickness. Wants money. Surrey, the treasurer and all the captains in the King's retinue have not 20*l.* among all. Dublin, 3 Nov. *Signed.*

Add.

3 Nov. 1038. The VICE-DEAN and CHAPTER of OUR LADY'S CHURCH,
K. O. ANTWERP, to QUEEN KATHERINE.

Have already written to the King in behalf of Alfred Rawson, merchant of England, who has fled to their church for safety, being unable to pay his debts, either to the crown, Thos. Hannayge his master, or any other of his creditors. Asks her to persuade the King to allow him to return and endeavor to mend his fortunes. Antwerp, 3 Nov. 1520.

Lat., p. 1. Add. and endd.

5 Nov. 1039. ABBEY OF OSOLVESTON, Linc. dioc.

Leicestershire.—Restitution of the temporalities on election of John Slaweston as abbot. Westm., 5 Nov.

ii. Similar writs for *Lincolnshire* and *Rutland*.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 8.

5 Nov. 1040. ABBEY OF MIDDELTON.

Inspeximus and confirmation to the abbot, prior and convent, of pat. 2 Hen. VII., inspecting for Wm. abbot, and the prior and convent of Middleton, the following documents; viz.,

i. Pat. 19 Hen. VI., inspecting other documents confirming grants to the abbey.

ii. Pat. 2 Hen. VII., exemplifying, at the request of Wm., then abbot, the enrolment of pat. 22 May 25 Hen. VI., being also a grant to the abbey.

Westm., 5 Nov.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 16, 17.

6 Nov. 1041. SIR RICHARD JERNINGHAM to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

The French king came to Blaysse, 26 Oct. On "Halomes Evyn" a gentlewoman of his mother's died of the great sickness, and he removed the same night to Amboys, where he will remain till 1 Dec., and then go to Lyons and Milan. Francis is much pleased with the news brought from Henry by Mons. de Rochepott. He has also heard that the Great Turk is dead of the great sickness in the town where he slew his father. Although Henry hears the Spanish news from the ambassador of the king of the Romans, thinks it as well to send the news current here. The Admiral tells him that the mutiny in Spain is not yet appeased, and that the king of the Romans had sent pardons to the offenders, and wished to appoint two new governors, the constable of Castile and the admiral of Spain. The commonalty refused them, and said they would govern themselves till the King came thither. Amboise, 6 Nov.

Hol., pp. 2. Add.

1520.

6 Nov.

S. B.

1042. SHERIFF ROLL.

Cumberland:—Hugh Hutton, Wm. Bewlewe, *Thomas Fayrefax.
Northumb.:—Sir Wm. Hylton, Edward Ratclyf, *Sir Chr. Dakers.
York:—Wm. Elyson, Ralph Rokesby, *Sir Th. Strangwyshe.
Notts. and Derby:—*Sir Th. Cokeyn, Anth. Babyngton, Th. Meryng.
Linc.:—Sir And. Byllesby, *Sir William Ascugh, Francis Broune.
Warw. and Leic.:—Wm. Boughton, Wm. Broune, *Everard Dygby.
Salop:—Th. Vernon, *John Salter, Rich. Hoorde.
Staff.:—Th. Partriche, Th. Kynnersley, *Sir Lewis Bagot.
Heref.:—Wm. Ryddall, James Baskerville, *Sir John Lyngeyn.
Worc.:—*Sir Wm. Compton.
Glouc.:—*Sir Edward Tame, Robt. Wye, Th. Poyntz.
Oxon. and Berks:—*Henry Brigys, Wm. Fermor, John Osbaldeston.
Northt.:—Anth. Catesby, *John Mulsho, John Tresham.
Camb. and Hunts:—Robt. Frevell, Hen. Colvile, *Fr. Hasylden.
Beds. and Bucks:—*John Cheyne, Th. Langeston, John Baldewyn.
Norf. and Suff.:—*Humph. Wyngefeld, John Spylman, Wm. Wotton.
Essex and Herts:—*Th. Boneham, Th. Knyghton, Humph. Broune.
Kent:—*John Roper, John Hales, Wm. Draper.
Surrey and Sussex:—*John Scotte, John Goryng, Ric. Covert.
Hants:—*Wm. Frost, Nich. Tycheburne, John More.
Wilts:—*John Skyllyng, Anth. Styleman, Wm. Ludlowe.
Somers. and Dorset:—*Wm. Wadham, John Porteman, John Morton.
Devon:—Baldwin Malet, And. Hillarsdon, *Th. Stukeley.
Cornw.:—John Chamond, *John Skuse, Wm. Lowthe.
Westm.:—*Henry Lord Clyfford.
Rutland:—John Caldecote, *John Haryngton, jun., Geo. Makeworthe.
Del. Westm., 6 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.
Signed by Henry VIII. at the beginning and end.
Those marked with an asterisk are pricked by the King.

6 Nov.

1043. TUNSTAL to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx.

166.

B. M.

The . . . of last month the Emperor enter[ed Cologne, and was] solemnly received with a great number of h[or]semen and] footmen of this city armed, accompanied by the same which brought him to Acon, and in the same The duke of Saxony being laid up with gout an was not there. The day after the entry the E[m]peror] and Electors held a council, and determined to keep a diet at Worms, to begin after Christmas on Tw[elfth]day next, for the establishing and reformation of the empire. Letters monitory have been already sent out to all the estates usually called to such a diet. The Emperor and his council wished to have it begin sooner; but the Electors, considering the distance of the uttermost parts of the empire, would not consent. Meanwhile th[e] Emperor will go "to the contrey bes[ide] as ferre as Haggenno, and peradventure sborough," there to settle the state of the adjoining [duchy] of Wertynberg by reason of his presence to deter the Duke who is in Switzerland . . . from making any invasion into the duchy. The Duke lately got two cantons over to his side. They would have accompanied him on the enterprise, but for a threat of invasion from the remaining cantons if they did.

The Emperor cannot yet discover who are the "great friends" who have helped the Duke. It is believed the aid comes from France. Hears from the Chancellor that the Card. of Tortosa, left governor by the Emperor in Castile, whom the commons now rebelling in Spain had ordered at his peril not to pass Valladolid, had escaped [from that] city in disguise, [and sent word] "hither to the said Chancellor that the heads and

1520.

TUNSTAL to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

chief stirrers of th to the rebellion aforesaid now manifest that the queen of Spain, mother to t[he Emperor], hath not such use of reason as they had [been told], so that by her they might have colored an[d] supported their said rebellion as they intend[ed], now begin to repent their said folly."

News has come from Rome and Switzerland that the Pope wants 6,000 Swiss to come to him shortly. A diet is held all this week in Switzerland. No one knows why the Pope wants them. His ambassador here has told the council that the Pope is reliably informed, that within a month the French king will cross the mountains into I[taly], and if he do not get the men before his [coming, he can] not have them after, "for the maintenance [of his] estate." The Emperor's council here do not know if it be for fear of the duke of Urbino, or of the faction of Peruse, of which he has lately put one to death, or of the French, or under colour of his own protection for the use of the French. The lord Chievres and the Chancellor do not fear the French will cross the mountains this winter, seeing the Emperor goes no further into Almayn. It will be a great charge to the Pope to maintain them all the winter. Their passage [through the] duchy of Milan will show [the intention of] the Pope, for if they go without [impeachment] through that duchy, some secret understanding be[tween the] Pope and the French [will be] suspected here. If they [meet with] impeachment of their passage, it will be certain no such agreement exists. It is thought the Pope is much more fearful than need be. Is informed by card. Sion that the ambassador of Hungary here has plainly told the Emperor the kingdom will have an answer, the Princess and Don Ferdinand being now of full age; for great offers are made to them to prevent it, if they will join France, which they will not do unless compelled by a breach of covenant. No ambassador has yet come here from France. Chievres told him one would shortly come "which and that in tymes past he hath belonged [to the] duke of Burbone." The Emperor [depar]teth hence to Mayence within four [day]s. Begs to know if he shall stay or return. Cologne, 6 Nov. *Signed.*

Pp. 6, mutilated.

7 Nov.

1044. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx.
171.
B. M.

Wrote last from Acon (Aix) On the "penultime" the Emperor made his entry with all the Electors and almost all the horsemen ; was met half a league from the gates by 5,000 foot, conducted into the city by the burgomasters, &c. He alighted at the cathedral, "and from the high altar went to the chapel of the Three [Kings];" thence to his lodging. Next day he returned to the cathedral with all the Electors. High mass was sung by a suffragan bishop, and the oath taken on both sides to observe the peace tendered to the Emperor by the cardinal of Mayence. The ratifications were made at the hotel de ville on the 3rd. Last night the Emperor gave a great banquet, where the Bishop of the city danced. The Bishop is at variance with the inhabitants, who refuse his temporal jurisdiction. The King and the Electors staid here to settle the difference, but on Monday he will remove to Mayence. The 3,000 foot are discharged. The 200 spears, the lord Berges, the lord Lyne, Demery, all the nobles of Brabant, Flanders, Henego, &c., went back, some with the Archduchess from Acon, and some from hence. There remain with the King cardinal Croy, the bishop of Luke, the Marquis d'Arescotte, the lord Nasso, the Governor of Bresse, the lord Rous (Roeux) great master, the count Porcyn, the princes of Orange and Bisinyan, the lord Sevenbarg, the master of the Horse, the lord Wassenar, and the duke of Alba with all

1520.

his sons, the cardinals of Salsburg and Sion, the marquis of Brandenburg that hath married the queen of Arragon, one from Bada, brother [of] Savoy, the captain Francis Sekyn, [the ambassadors] of Austria and Tyrol, &c.

Encloses the manner of the King's entry into Acon, and the form of his coronation. The Latin paper is a verbatim copy of one sent him by a chaplain of the archbishop of Cologne. The Germans, who remember the emperor Maximilian's advancement, marvel at the King's great triumph. Thinks Charles may become very powerful, the people being well trained in war; "and at all ty[mes] that an Emperor might putte to work the b he should rule them in and out. Howbe[it for the] present I see no way whatsoever, many lightly wol say, of a further progress in t[his bus]inese of Spany as for lacke of monney." [A diet] is to be held at Worms on the feast of the Epiphany. The elector of Saxony stands high in general esteem. If he were appointed to rule the empire in the King's absence it is thought all should be well. He will probably, however, decline the charge, having already refused to be Emperor, in which case duke George of Saxony would be the most popular governor. The matter is of moment, for the imperial towns threaten to join the Swiss rather than submit to the tyranny of the lords.

The duke of Bari, divers exiles from Milan and Padua, the secretary of the Adornes, enemy to the Fregoses that kept Genoa for the French king, divers of the house of Colonna, and other Ghibellines, are here attempting to persuade the Emperor to invade Italy. The cardinal of Sion seconds their advice, and Chievres thinks it much better than returning into Spain, which he particularly dislikes. Transmits an extract of such news as the duke of Alva "and a gentleman of the count de Benevent here resident declared to me to have out of Spain, and beside that how the [Con]stable continually writeth to the King [for] his short going thither, dem[anding to know the] danger wherein the affairs standeth, and that [his m]agestye should not take much hope in some dissension that appeareth to be amongst the commons, saying it might be hereafter reckoned to his greater prejudice than it hath been heretofore. The vice-chancellor of Arragon, and other wise men that speaketh indifferently, saith the matter hangeth now upon two points. The one is, that if the commons join together fast again that they shall be and wold destroy all the lords; and if they do sever, that one with another must go together by the ears; in which case the lords will agree jointly, and the one occupy a town, and the other another, as was in the time that the queen Elizabeth and don Ferdinand came to the succession of the crown, giving some free and exemption to the people upon the King's costs, concluding finally he must go at the beginning of the summer at the furthest.

"The lord Chievres showed me six days past they had news from their ambassadors residents with the King's [grace] how he is in good hope of the conclusion by desired whereupon hand the besinesse of and this your grace may surely believe." The ambassador from France has not arrived. Has heard from Raphael de Medicis that Albany was arrested "in words;" is now at liberty, but not allowed to go to Scotland. The lord Dubigny (D'Aubingni) goes in his stead. The Duke of Lunenberg, father-in-law to the duke of Gelders, is here to speak for him. "Armstorff told me that the King privily wold come to see the King's highness before his going to Spain; in whom and your grace b he hath all his trust; and the sem[blable] I understand of the lord of Alba." Cologne, 7 Nov. 1520. Signature mutilated.

The cipher in Spinelly's hand, deciphered by Tuke. Badly mutilated, and destroyed in many parts. Pp. 8.

1520.

1045. COMMOTIONS IN SPAIN.

Vesp. C. XIII.

I. "Double de l'article de l'advertissement qui vient d'Espagne."

329.

B. M.

The commons of Burgos are incensed at the constable of Castile, who has obtained possession of the castle by a bribe of 10,000 ducats and the office of councillor to the keeper. Don Francisco de Beaumont has taken the castle of Daupadras, and a town belonging to the count Talbaticos, who has married a daughter of Saluce. Don Juan de Padilla has started for Valladolid to attack Beaumont, who has abandoned the castle and the town. Padilla has taken Marmanton in half a day. The whole country has submitted. Has retaken Daupadras, and placed it in the hands of the count de Salpatrierra. The bishop of Samora has reduced the greatest part of Pallencia; has formed a union with Padilla and John de Burgos. The count de Salbatierra has arrived, and is expecting the coming of Garzia Darze, who brings with him 2,000 men; 3,000 have been raised at Segovia, Salamanca and Medina del Campo, which ought to be within three days at Valladolid. An ambassador from the Pope, and another from the king of Portugal, have attempted to satisfy the commons. They say the King Catholic cannot keep the towns, and they wish Padilla had them.

II. "Double de l'article qui fait mention de nostre Saint Pere" (Francis I. to his ambassadors in England).

Is to inform the King and the Cardinal of the news from Rome; *sc.*, that a number of discontented Spaniards are marching, with hostile intentions, towards the states of the Church. The Pope has sent to the viceroy of Naples to protest against it, and has offered a good sum of money to have them disembarked in Spain; he can only obtain mere promises from Don John Manuel, the Spanish ambassador. Francis has consented to lend him 500 men, and has ordered Lautrec, his lieutenant in Italy, to send his brother Lescun with them.

Fr., pp. 4.

1046. I. FRANCIS I. to the ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

Calig. B. vi.

147.

B. M.

Accrediting the sieur d'Aubigny and John de Planis, whom he sends, according to the promise in his late letters by Flamigny, for the purpose of composing the discords. As to the duke of Albany, he thinks, things being as they are, he had better remain in France.

Duplicate. Lat., pp. 2. *Endd.*: Double de lettres envoyees par Mons. Daubigny au conseil, estatz et parlement d'Escoce.

1047. II. The SAME to the SAME.

Calig. B. vi.

148.

B. M.

Flamigny has returned to him the letters of the king of Scotland, and executed his commission, setting forth that Scotland was lacerated with civil war. Francis urges them to compose their quarrels, and remember their allegiance. Will send ambassadors shortly, as Flamigny will explain to them, "*qui apud nos ducem Albanie consanguineum nostrum minime comperit.*" He had been called to Rome by the Pope, and had already left when Francis was at Angoulême, even on the verge of winter, and will soon return, when Francis will consult with him as to pacifying these disputes. When they are agreed, thinks the lords should send ambassadors to England, as he and his mother will do, to promote peace between the two kingdoms.

Lat., pp. 4. *Endd.*: Double de lettres envoyees au parlement, estatz et conseil d'Escoce par Mons. de Flamigny.

1520.

1048. [WOLSEY] to DACRE.Calig. B. vi.
23.

B. M.

Had advertised him of the setting forth of the French ambassadors for Scotland, and that he should meet them at Morpeth; promising to send further information by Clarencieux. Since then, France has desired a proration of the truce about to expire on St. Andrew's Day. The King has consented to prorogue the truce till that day twelvemonth, on certain conditions, which Clarencieux will show Dacre, and require his advice. As Dacre has great influence with the Scotch lords, Wolsey hopes he will induce them to sue for peace, and "better to intreat the King's sister," and secure the payment of her revenues, and redress for such injuries as had been done to her by her husband and others. Means to do all that he can to bring the King's purpose to effect. The French ambassadors now sent will advise the same, and leave the Scotch to their fate if they obstinately refuse compliance. He has, at the King's desire, written a comfortable letter to the queen of Scots, certifying her of the truce, and the provisions made for her comfort; requiring her also to communicate with Dacre from time to time.

Draft in Ruthal's hand, pp. 2.

7 Nov. 1049. FOR RALPH NEVYLE EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

S. B.

Livery of lands, as heir of the late earl Ralph his grandfather and son of Sir Ralph Nevyle, son of the late Earl, although under age. *Del. Westm., 7 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 9.

8 Nov. 1050. TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx. 175.

B. M.

[At] the beginning of last summer Master [Tuke] brought him certain writings a made by learned men, doctors of law, up[on a certain] wrong done to Tuke by of Genoa, (of which hitherto he can have no [redress], though he has long sued for it,) that [Tunstal might] have informed Wolsey at the meeting of Henry and [the] French king, and Wolsey spoken [with] the French king for a commandment of minist[ration] of justice to be given to the city of Genoa. Wolsey, however, was so occupied at that time in public matters that both Tuke and Tunstal thought it would not be convenient to trouble him with private business. Tuke has now desired Tunstal to write his opinion on the case to Wolsey. The main facts are, that a ship laden with wools and cloths belonging to Tuke, sailing into Levant, was taken by the Turks, and remained some days in their hands upon the high seas, when the army of Genoa, meeting of [u] the sea with the said Turks, captured th[em] with all their ships and booty, and [amongst other thing]s the goods of Tuke, which (though they have confessed them to be Tuke's) they will not restore, nor recompense him for them. Sir Herman Ryng has desired Tunstal to write to Wolsey, and ask his help in getting payment for a large num[ber] of spear staves [which] the King used at his meeting with [the French] king, and in the matter of an annuity he has of the King. Cologne, 8 Nov. *Signature mutilated.*

Pp. 3, mutilated. Add.: My lord cardinal of York, legate de [la]tere and chancellor.

8 Nov. 1051. ERASMUS to REUCHLIN.Er. Ep. xii.
16.

When he dined a short time since with cardinal Sion, heard that Reuchlin was dead. Wishes he had been only a spectator, not an actor, in the tragedy now going on. Always wished to disentangle the cause of

1520.

ERASMUS to REUCHLIN—*cont.*

Reuchlin and of literature from Lutheranism; "sed aliis aliter est visum." An English bishop (Fisher), than whom there is not in the whole nation a more learned or pious prelate, has a great liking for Reuchlin, and intends to visit him next summer. Cologne, 6 id. Novemb. 1520.

8 Nov. 1052. MONASTERY OF READING.

Oxon. and Berks.—Restitution of the temporalities on election of dom. Hugh Faryngton, late sub-chamberlain of the said monastery, as abbot. Westm., 8 Nov.

ii. Similar writs for *Herts, Warw. and Leic., Beds and Bucks, Herefordshire, Kent, Hants and Wilts, Sussex, London.*

Pat. 12 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 8.

11 Nov. 1053. For LAUNCELOT COLYNS, clk., treasurer of St. Peter's, York.

Inspeximus and confirmation of charter 20 June 19 Edw. I., licensing Hugh de Clare, treasurer of the said church, and his successors, to hold a market and fair at the manor of Tollerton, York. Westm., 11 Nov.

Pat. 12 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 19.

11 Nov. 1054. [CAMPEGGIO] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 71.

B. M.

Florianus has returned, from whom he has heard all the news. Professes much gratitude for Wolsey's kindness. Letters have come from Epidaurus that the sultan of the Turks is dead. Selim, the dread of the whole world, has been cut off by pestilence, and Solymán his son has succeeded. The Janissaries have plundered all Jews, Christians, and others living at Constantinople; and they say that Selim, when his life was given over, made a sacrifice of his physicians. One of the French king's chamberlains, named [M]arciottus, has been at Rome to propose a new meeting between the Pope and his master, who wishes the count de Carpi to be present at the interview; he is ill at Naples. An order is gone to concentrate the French troops in Milan. Lautrec is to go to Venice. Either they do not trust the Swiss, or there is some new design in it not clearly understood. Rome, 11 Nov. 15[20].

P.S.—Was made Papal Secretary on the 8th.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. "Card. Ebor, sedis apost. legato." Endd.: "Campegius," &c.

11 Nov. 1055. [CAMPEGGIO to HENRY VIII.]

Vit. B. iv. 72*.

B. M.

Florian has returned. Thanks Wolsey for the generous treatment he has received. Rome, 11 Nov. 1520. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., p. 1, mutilated. Add. in modern hand.

12 Nov. 1056. For FRANCIS BRIAN, the King's servant.

P. S.

Annuity of 50 marks, as one of the King's cipherers, from Easter 1519; on surrender of patent, 6 Nov. 7 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Nich. Carewe, squire of the Body, *vice* Sir Ric. Hastings, deceased. Woodstock, 15 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 12 Nov.*

Pat. 12 Hen.VIII. p. 2, m. 24.

1520.

13 Nov. 1057. JERNINGHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The Admiral tells me that the French ambassador has written to him, saying that you would write to me about the changing of the hostages. As I have had no such letter, he asked me to write to you to know your pleasure. On the 10th I received your letter by Ant. Vivaldi's factor, and have procured them the licence for wheat, but not to the number of "mewys" they desired; for the Admiral says there were other London merchants, who came first with the King's letters, and obtained a licence, "but to no number;" for De Vandon reports that there is not much wheat in Picardy, and the French king will give no licence except to the King. He has ordered De Vandon to allow the said merchants to have as much wheat as the places he appoints will bear. The French king intends to go to Milan, as I wrote before. Amboys, 13 Nov.

Hol., pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

13 Nov. 1058. JOHN SAXEY, of Northampton.

R. O.

Acknowledgment given to Rob. Fouler that he has lost a receipt under the said Robert's hand for 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, parcel of 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, paid by Ric. Samewell, for the ward of Mauntell, 18 Nov. 19 Hen.VII. Date, 13 Nov. 12 Hen.VIII. *Signed.*

14 Nov. 1059. ABBEY OF QUARRER or ARRETON.

Inseximus to Ric., then abbot, of pat. 35 Edw. III., confirming the following, viz.:

i. Charter of Henry II.

ii. Inquisition 7 Edw. I., concerning a charter granted to them by Isabella de Fortibus, countess of Albemarle, which the abbot alleged had been destroyed by Adam de Stratton on its being produced for inspection at Carisbrook Castle.

iii. Charter 12 Edw. I., granting free warren to the convent.

Westm., 14 Nov.

Pat. 12 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 3 and 4.

16 Nov. 1060. [JAMES V.] to LORD DACRE.

R. O.

Hopes he understands that the abstinence of war endures only till the feast of St. Andrew next. On account of great causes now in hand cannot send an ambassador to England to renew it; requests therefore that Dacre will send for a commission empowering him to meet with the wardens and prolong the truce for one year. By advice of the lords Regents. Edinburgh, 16 Nov. *Not signed.*

P. 1. Add.: "Thos. lord Dacre and of Graistok, warden, &c."

1061. QUEEN MARGARET to DACRE.

Calig. B. 1.

230.

B. M.

Has received his letters. As to the reception of the French ambassador, the lords were not pleased with his message because it was against the Duke. They have sent an answer, but hold the Frenchman still, as this bearer can show. As to the band made by Angus to Dacre for her, and "the power ye sent me, the persons ye committed the power to will not accept it." Requests a new power by some special person from Dacre himself, who will accept it with her men-of-law, Master Robert Gabreth and Patrik Synklar, "for here is no lords that will do for me," if her cause were ever so just. As she cannot get answered of her living, and has nothing to spend, will be obliged to leave Scotland and put away her jewels, which would not be to the honor of the King her brother. Has often complained to Dacre, but can get no remedy. Has put it off as long as

1520.

QUEEN MARGARET to DACRE—*cont.*

possible, but can endure no further. If Dacre do not provide speedy remedy she will have to apply to those who were ever her foes, and do their bidding. Has had many fair promises from the lords, only to put off the time. Since her last coming to Scotland, has not had of her living 2,000*l.* Scots. Refers to Arran whether she be ill-treated or no.

Hol., pp. 3. *Add.*: "To my lord Dakars."

16 Nov. **1062.** For SIR ROBT. ASKE, of Yorkshire.

P. S.

Exemption from being made sheriff, serving on juries, &c. Greenwich, 13 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 16 Nov.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 9.

16 Nov. **1063.** For JOHN BISHOP OF GALLIPOLI, Prior of St. Mary's and St. Eustace's, Shuldbrede, Sussex.

Custody, for 40 years, of land in Midlovent, Sussex, held by Master Robert le Coke, a bastard; and of land in Midlovetta, belonging to Ire-monger tenement, Sussex; at a rent of 8*s.* 10*d.*, and 2*s.* 4*d.* of increase. Westm., 16 Nov.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

17 Nov. **1064.** JAMES V. to the TOWNS OF HOLLAND, FLANDERS, ZEALAND and BRABANT.

R. MS. 13 B. II.

307.

B. M.
Ep. Reg. Sc.
I. 324.

In behalf of Alex. Fotheringham, officiating priest at the altar of St. Ninian in the church of the Carmelites at Bruges, towards whose support the masters of Scotch ships are bound to contribute a certain assessment, which several of them have refused to do. As it would be troublesome for him to institute a suit in Scotland, remits the cause to them. Edinburgh, 17 Nov. 1520. *Signed*: "Tallefer."

Lat.

19 Nov. **1065.** WM. VAUGHAN.

R. O.

In Camera Stellata, 19 Nov. anno xii.

Order of Wolsey in the case of Wm. Vaughan, indicted as accessory to a murder in Brecknock, and sent by the lord Chamberlain and Sir Mathew Cradock, his deputy, to answer before the council for a riotous rescue and other charges. He shall return to Brecknock to be tried, and as he accuses the officers of the duke of Buckingham of partiality, the King's commissioners shall sit with them; John councillors of Buckingham, are to warn him that Vaughan must be indifferently tried, setting apart all rancor and malice, and that the outlawry decreed upon him while in prison at Cardiff shall be discharged on his appearance at Brecknock.

Pp. 2, mutilated.

20 Nov. **1066.** For CARDINAL WOLSEY.

S. B.

Grant of the next presentation to a canonry in the collegiate church of St. Mary and St. George, Wyndesore Castle. *Del.* Westm., 20 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.

22 Nov. **1067.** DACRE to JAMES V.

R. O.

In reply to his letter of the 16th, states that the time is too short to obtain a commission before the feast of St. Andrew. Had in July last notified my lord of Glasgow, chancellor, to send up ambassadors, "and desired to know their names and styles for getting of their safeconduct, according to his promise made on the behalf of your grace, with La Fayette

1520.

and his fellow, the French king's ambassadors, and Mr. Clarencieux. Advises the King to send one of his council to Heppethgate on the Middle Marches on Tuesday or Wednesday next, to take longer abstinence for a month, and bring the names of the ambassadors for whom safeconduct is desired. Without this abstinence the Marches will break loose. Harbottle, 22 Nov.

Copy, pp. 3.

24 Nov. 1068. JOHN CAMPBELL to LORD DACRE.

R. O. Has been appointed by the council to meet Dacre. Because the weather is evil, begs him to be at Ridanfurd on Thursday next. Edin-
Rym. XIII. 729. burgh, Saturday, 24 Nov. *Signed. Add.*

24 Nov. 1069. JAMES V.

R. O. Commission to Thomas abbot of Kelso to treat with lord Dacre for
Rym. XIII. 728. continuance of the abstinence. Edinburgh, 24 Nov. 1520.

26 Nov. 1070. The DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Titus, B. 1. "Instructions yeven by the right high and mighty prince Edward
171. duke of Buckingham, &c., to his chancellor Master Robert Gilbert, as
B. M. followeth :"—

1. To deliver "our letters of credence" to my lord and lady of Norfolk, expressing his great thanks for their kindness, and that he has as great trust in them as any child they have. 2. To communicate the answer made by the Duke to the Cardinal touching his journey to Wales. 3. To call upon my lord of Suffolk for certain deeds. 4-6. To have a goblet of gold made for a new year's gift to the King, a pomander and chain of gold for the Queen, and a cup of gold with a cover for the Cardinal;—Thos. Willoughby to present the same. 7. To sell his wood at Agmondesham. 8. To arrange with the lord Privy Seal [Ruthal], the abbot of Westminster and Sir Thos. Lovell in regard to certain debts; 9, also with lord Berners. 10. To pay Rob. Amadas for certain pots made for christening lord Abergavenny's child. 11. To have his broad seal new made,—the antelopes in the bearings set right. 12. To go to Oxford, and look out a sufficient clerk for his works; to tell Bentley of the Cardinal's conduct, and what Margaret Geddyng has declared upon oath of Charles Knyvet. 13. To arrange with lord Broke for exchange of certain lordships. 14. To speak with lord Ferrys for his fur of sables, and get Auchet, the skinner, to examine it. 15. To ask lord Abergavenny to get Thos. Lewkenor to take charge of lord Stafford, his son. 15, 16. To have Sir John Coke, his late chaplain, arrested for leaving contrary to his oath; and the same with Gamme. 17. To speak with officers of the bishops of Norwich and Exeter, and arrest Sir John Pykrynge for debt. 18. To inquire if Sir Hen. Owen will visit the Duke at Christmas, and bring his little daughter, and learn from him how the King behaves to Master Brian, and whether Sir Will. Wodeall's son is minded to take the bearing of the Duke's park of Brodsted. 19. To provide "one good kok or tweyne," and send Fyshweke. 20. To ascertain whether Margaret Geddyng has misreported him to the Cardinal, and whether lady Fitzwalter would advise him to take Margaret again into his service. 21.* To ask the controller whether he had made suit to the King to write to the Duke for the keeping of his park of North Lee, in Kent. 22.* To deliver his letter to the countess of Salisbury for money, and another to lady Fitzwalter, to know if she be with child, "to

* These entries struck out.

1520.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

beseech stuff for little Mary," and "to know of her who were godfathers and godmothers to the child of our daughter Mary." "Item, to show her the demeanour of my Lady our wife, and also to my lord Fitzwater. And, therefore, my lady Fitzwater may do us great pleasure and comfort to purvey us of a sad woman to be about her; for we think the demeanour of my lady is such that Margaret Geddyng wolbe loth to be about her; and to know who told her of the things we should do at Southampton, &c."

23. To send one to London for his ewery. 24. To speak with Lyttester, who has promised the Duke information of the King's wardships, which he wishes to purchase, and bespeak his kindness for Pudsay, groom of the King's chamber. 25. To obtain Sir Thos. Lovell's interest for the same. 26. To arrange with Sir Will. Compton of certain exchanges. 27. To ask the controller to send news of the French king and the Emperor. 28. To ask Sir Edw. Nevell to procure him a bailiff for Tunbridge, &c. 29. To speak with John Clement, of London, for making of knots and devices in sealing. 30. To inform the lord of St. John's that Thos. FitzGarret was contracted to the Duke's bastard daughter, and desire that he may have the whole profit of his lands. 31. Crochet to take order for his harness. 32. A "remayne" to be taken of his tench. 33. Torn leaves of his primer to be new written, and the clasps remade. 34. To inform the Cardinal that the Duke intends after Candlemas to visit his lordships in Wales if the sickness cease; as it will be necessary for him to take 300 or 400 men, who will be his own servants, that he may be a mean to the King that the Duke's harness may be secretly conveyed with him. Dated at the beginning. Thornbury, 26 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.

Pp. 7.

27 Nov. 1071. JAMES V. to DACRE.

R. O.
Rym. XIII.
730.

John Campbell, of Thornton, has been appointed to meet him for prorogation of the truce; but in consequence of the arrival of Robert Stewart, lord Aubigny, and sieur de la Planys, ambassadors from the French king, Thomas abbot of Kelso, and Thomas Nudry, archdeacon of Murray, have been appointed to take his place. Desires safe-conduct for the number of 100 horse. Edinburgh, 27 Nov.

P. l. Add. Endd.: "A minute of abstinence annex unto the abbot of Calco's commission for the treating of truce with my Lord Dacres, for four months, &c. Dated the 4th of November 1520."

27 Nov. 1072. JOHN DE PLANIS to DACRE.

R. O.
Rym. XIII.
730.

Knows very well the truce between England and Scotland will end on Friday next. It is some time since he and Mons. d'Aubigny have been dispatched to Scotland by the king of France, to treat of peace between the two kingdoms; but on account of various obstacles and the stormy weather, they have not been able to land until today. Dunbar, 27 Nov. *Signed.*

Fr., pp. 2. Add.: To Dacre or the captain of Berwick, at Berwick.

28 Nov. 1073. For THOMAS MORE, the King's Councillor, and GEO. ARDESON, merchant.

S. B.

To be keepers of the change and exchange in England towards foreign parts and in Calais, in survivorship, from Easter last for 23 years, at the annual rent of 30*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; on surrender of patent, 15 Dec. 7 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Sir John Sharp, now deceased, and the said George. *Del. Westm.*, 28 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 4.

1520.

28 Nov. 1074. For JOHN BOURGCHIER LORD BARNERS.

S. B.

To be deputy of Calais during pleasure, with 100*l.* a year for himself, and 104*l.* a year for "apyall money," out of the issues of the lordships of Marc and Oye. To have in his retinue 1 spear, 2 archers and 28 soldiers, who are to have the same wages as when Sir Ric. Wyngfeld and Sir John Peehye were deputies; also 10 extra soldiers to be elected from those who belong to the King's retinue, or those who were in the retinue of the late treasurer of war of Calais; with appointment of the soldiers and officers of the town, except those in the retinues of the lieutenant of the castle, marshal, treasurer, &c. To grant safeconducts. *Del.* Westm., 28 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.

Fr., m. 5.

29 Nov. 1075. SCOTLAND.

Rym.xiii.729.

Indenture made at Heppethgatehede, 29 Nov. 1520, between Thomas abbot of Kelso and Thomas lord Dacre, for a further abstinence from the feast of St. Andrew to 1 January, inclusive.

Copy by Dacre's clerk.

29 Nov. 1076. DAUNCE, BLAGGE, and WESTBY to HERON.

R. O.

To pay to William Okeley, the King's messenger, certain sums for his diet, attending upon them as the King's general surveyors. Privy Council Chamber, 29 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.

P. 1, mutilated.

30 Nov. 1077. DACRE to JOHN DE PLANIS.

R. O.

Rym.xiii.731.

Has received his letter, and thinks his arrival in Scotland will do much good. "I cannot so well answer your letter as I should do, because I am no good Frenchman." The King is favorable to him and Mons Aubigny. Has taken a new abstinence until the 1st January, inclusive. Knows that great outeries were made by the Scots against the English, which he denies; "and thus in these pleyes I am sure it is my said sovereign Lord's pleasure that ye be judge." Will come to the Marches whenever the ambassador likes. Harbottle, 30 Nov.

Copy by Dacre's clerk, pp. 2.

30 Nov. 1078. DACRE to the LORD TREASURER OF SCOTLAND (CAMP-BELL).

R. O.

Rym.xiii.731.

Expected to have seen him on Thursday, but perceives that he has been obliged to meet the French ambassadors now landed in Dunbar. Thinks he has put too many names in the conduct to come up as ambassadors. Two bishops, two lords, two clerks or temporal men will be sufficient. Desires his recommendation to Mons. de Planis, the French ambassador, whose writing he has received, but cannot well understand, because it is in French. Harbottle, 30 Nov.

Copy by Dacre's clerk, p. 1.

Nov. 1079. LORD DARCY to LORD DACRE.

R. O.

Asks Dacre's advice and favor for his nephew Swynoo in certain matters. Will do the same for any friend or servant of Dacre's. The King, Queen, Princess, the Cardinal and all the nobles of the Court "be as

1520.

LORD DARCY to LORD DACRE—*cont.*

joyous as I have seen them." A French ambassador is here, preparing to go to Scotland. Universal peace among all Christian princes.

Draft in Darcy's hand, p. 1. Headed: Copia to my lord of Dacre.

On the dorse are a draft of a letter and a memorandum relative to a dispute in Knarsburgh forest; also the following words: "Witnesseth that Thomas Darcy, knt., lord Darcy, hath delivered to Mr. Erington, master of the hospital of the Blessed Trinity at Whitkyrk, and free school there, lately founded and builded by the said Thomas lord Darcy, these books following, safely to be kept by the said master to the use of the said hospital and school."

1080. [CARD. DE MEDICI to the AUDITOR OF THE CHAMBER.]

Vit. B. iv. 91.

B. M.

Has received his letters of the 22d and 30th, stating that the Imperial ambassador had made some complaint of the levy of 6,000 Swiss, and that the Emperor had commanded the viceroy of Naples and others to defend the Pope; that Wolsey had made the Pope's excuses to the said ambassador. As the Emperor had allowed certain Sicilian troops to the number of 4,000, that should have crossed the sea into Spain, to congregate at Naples and the borders of the Church, to prevent any violence from them, he had written to the Swiss for 6,000 men, as specified by the terms of the treaty, and that openly, to avoid all misconception. His correspondent will see by his last letters that he was compelled to advise with the Pope [on the matter there stated], and not write and complain of it again, but urge Wolsey to send a well informed agent, as he wrote to him in his last. Is surprised at what he wrote about the legateship, desiring a prorogation to be sent, &c. Will wait till the aforesaid agent comes. Meanwhile they send a bull *super hoc*. The Pope would rather not have received any further letters respecting the promotion of Worcester, as his correspondent had promised, on the part of Wolsey, no more should be sent. Is content, however, if he is to follow his own mind, and begs that Wolsey will desist henceforth. Is constantly pestered by Worcester. If Worcester cannot take the hint, his Holiness will have to tell him openly, since he does not wish to incur this infamy. [*Some answer to the question of Worcester's employment with the Pope, destroyed by the fire.*] The Pope daily pays considerable attention to finding some remedy for Lutheranism, as Wolsey has advised him. As the influence of Henry and Wolsey is very great with all princes, wishes they would write to the Emperor and other Christian Princes to prevent its further diffusion. Thinks their letters will have great effect.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3.

1520.

1081

GRANTS in NOVEMBER 1520.

Nov.
GRANTS.

3. Sir John Wallop. Licence to import 300 tons of wine of Guienne and Gascony and of Toulouse woad. Greenwich, 2 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 3 Nov.—P.S.

3. James Aacue, yeoman for the King's mouth in the Pantry. To be bailiff of the lordships of Shirbourne in Herforth, Lyeth and Knapton, York, *vice* David Trolap, deceased. Greenwich, 28 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 3 Nov.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 18.*

5. David Morgan. Grant of "le gale subttus le wodde" of the forest of Dene, Glouc., on surrender of patent 17 Nov. 8 Hen. VII., granting the same to Rob. Johns, sewer of the Chamber, now knight, *vice* John Motton, deceased. Greenwich, 27 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 5 Nov.—P.S.

6. Geo. Whelpeley, *alias* Wolpelle, silkman, of London. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petché, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 6 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Endd.*: "Pewterer"—"Whelpeley."

6. Rob. Shetforde, *alias* Shotforde, of London, grocer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pechie, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 2 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—*Del. Westm.*, 6 Nov.—P.S.

8. Ralph Beeke, of Hutton, "in com' Appulby," chapman. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Anth. Ughtred, captain of Berwick. Greenwich, 28 July 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 Nov.—P.S.

8. Wm. Cooke, yeoman of the Queen's Chamber. Licence to export 300 tons of beer, on finding security to import 500 qra. of wheat. *Westm.*, 8 Nov.—*Fr. 12 Hen. VIII. m. 2.*

8. Roger Mynours. Release as serjeant in the butlery of the Household. Greenwich, 6 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 Nov.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 8.*

8. Edw. Ryngley, the King's servant. Grant, during pleasure, of various annual rents pertaining to the manors of Knolton, Shrynkyling and Northcourte, Kent, which were enjoyed by John Langley, deceased, as found by inquisition at Canterbury; which also found that Isabella wife of Edw. Skydmore, Christiana wife of Roger Wiggston, and Alice wife of John Huntley, were heirs of John Langley. Also grant of the manor of Shortley, in the county of the city of Coventry, and lands, &c. in Coventry, of which the said John Langley was seized, as found by inquisition *p. m.* at Coventry, 30 Oct. 11 Hen. VIII., and which Sir Ric. Wentworth, Sir Wm. Walgrave, and others, recovered against him, but did not enter upon; which, moreover, are held of the King as of the manor of Chilesmore. Greenwich, 7 May 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 Nov.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 11.*

9. Wm. Ingelby, kinsman and heir of Thos. de Ingelby. Inspecimus and confirmation of charter 4 Dec. 30 Edw. III. granting free warren to the said Thomas and his heirs. *Westm.*, 9 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.*

12. Commissions of the Peace.

Essex: Thomas cardinal of York, Henry earl of Essex, John abbot of Colchester, Thomas prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, Robert Radclyff lord Fitzwater, Sir John Fyneux, Sir John More, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir John Cutte, Sir John Veer, Sir Th. Tyrell of Heron, Sir John Reynasford, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Ric. Fitzlowes, Sir Roger Wentworth, Sir Ric. Rokeby, Sir Wistan Browne, Sir John Marney, Th. Tay, Wm. Pirton, Edw. Tyrell, Edw. Halyas, Humph. Browne, Rob. Norwiche, John Sakvyle, Walter Froste, and Th. Awdeley. *Westm.*, 12 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

Suffolk: Thomas cardinal of York, R. bishop of Norwich, N. bishop of Ely, Thomas duke of Norfolk, Charles duke of Suffolk, Thomas earl of Surrey, John abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, Rob. Radcliff lord Fitzwater, Sir Rob. Curson, Sir Rob. Brudenell, Sir Ric. Broke, Sir Th. Wyndham, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Rob. Drury, Sir Wm. Walgrave, Sir Anth. Wyngfeld, Sir Wm. Clopton, Sir Edm. Genney, Sir Ric. Wentworth, Sir Philip Tylney, Lionel Talmage, John Sulyard, John Hennyngham, John Harux of Oulton, and Edm. Lee. *Westm.*, 12 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.*

12. Commission of Gaol Delivery.

London and Middlesex: John Brugges, mayor, Sir John Fyneux, Sir Rob. Brudenell, Sir Wm. Hody, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, Sir John More, Sir Ric. Elliott, Sir Lewis Polerd, Sir Ric. Broke, and Wm. Shelley, recorder. *Westm.*, 12 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14d.*

13. Commission of the Peace.

Cumberland: Thomas cardinal of York, J. bishop of Carlisle, Th. lord Dacre and Graistok, Anth. Fitzherbert, John Neuporte, Sir Christ. Dacres, Sir Th. Curwen, Hugh Hutton, and Wm. Beulewe. *Westm.*, 13 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

13. Ralph Falsehurst. Custody of the manor of, and all the possessions in, Lasyngton, Glouc., late of Sir Edward Rawley, during the minority of George, son of Edward, son of the said Sir E. Rawley. *Signed*: Th. Lovell, Ri. Weyston. *Del. Westm.*, 13 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 12.*

14. Commissions of the Peace.

Lincoln (Kesteven): Thomas cardinal of York, Wm. lord Willoughby, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, John Carell, Sir John Husee, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Th. Neuporte,

1520.

GRANTS—*cont.*

Nov.

GRANTS.

Edm. Busshe, Rob. Husee, Fras. Broun, Rob. Broun, Fras. Hall, John Wymbysshe, Wm. Dysnay, Rob. Brudenell, jun., and Th. Quadryng. Westm., 14 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.*

Lincoln (Lyndesey): Thomas cardinal of York, W. bishop of Lincoln, Thomas earl of Surrey, Wm. lord Willoughby, John Constable, dean of Lincoln, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, John Carell, Sir Christ. Willoughby, Sir Wm. Tirwhit, Sir Rob. Dymok, Sir Th. Borough, jun., Sir Rob. Tirwhit, Sir Andrew Billesby, Wm. Skipwithe, John Monson, John Seyntpaule, John Topcliff, John Fulnetby, John Hennege, sen., Edw. Forman, Th. Hennege, John Hennege, jun., and Edw. Forsett. Westm., 14 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.*

14. Commission of Gaol Delivery.

Colchester Castle: Commission to Henry earl of Essex, Rob. Radclyff lord Fitzwater, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir Wistan Browne, Sir John Raynesford, Sir Ric. Fitzlowes, Sir John Marney, Humph. Wyngfeld, Wm. Pyrtton, Humph. Browne, Edw. Hales, Rob. Norwyche, and Th. Awdeley. Westm., 14 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14d.*

14. Ric. Bigge, riding yeoman of the King's harriers. Annuity of 3*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* out of the issues of the lordship of Patengeham, Staff., on surrender of patent 18 Aug. 6 Hen. VIII., granting him the office of bailiff of the lordship, *vice* Th. Wobaston, deceased, which patent has become void because the lordship has been let to farm. Greenwich, 12 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 14 Nov.—*P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 22.*

14. Reginald Dygbe. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Simon Digbe. Greenwich, 7 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 14 Nov.—*P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 3.*

15. Sir Th. Denys. Constat and exemplification of pat. 20 Feb. 1 Hen. VIII., inspecting and confirming, by reference to other patents, &c., charter 10 April 33 Edw. I., being a grant of liberties and exemptions to the tin miners in co. Devon. Westm., 15 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 15.*

16. Commissions of the Peace.

Gloucestershire: Thos. cardinal of York, G. bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, C. bishop of Hereford, Edw. duke of Buckingham, the abbot of Gloucester, Sir Lewis Pollard, John Fitzjames, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir Wm. Uvedale, Sir John Hungerford, Sir Wm. Kyngeston, Sir Griffin Rice, Sir Th. Cornewall, Sir Alex. Baynham, Sir Wm. Denys, Sir Thos. Berkeley, Sir Edw. Wadham, John Whittingdon, John Broke, Peter Neuton, Geo. Bromeley, Rob. Chauntrell, Wm. Rudhale, Wm. Tracy, Christ. Baynham, John Arnold, Rob. Wye, Th. Matston, Roger Porter, John Pakyngton, and Th. Poynes. Westm., 16 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

Staffordshire: Th. cardinal of York, G. bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Edw. duke of Buckingham, Th. marquis of Dorset, Geo. earl of Shrewsbury, Edw. Sutton lord Dudley, Wm. Blount lord Mountjoye, Sir Lewis Pollard, John Fitzjames, Sir Th. Lovell, Sir Walter Gryffyth, Sir Wm. Grysley, Sir John Aston, Sir Edw. Grey, Sir John Dreycot, Anth. Fitzharbert, Wm. Basset, John Gyfford, Ric. Asteley, Th. Partryche, John Wellys, Ric. Selman, John Blount, and John Vernon. Westm., 16 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.*

Surrey: Th. card. of York, W. abp. of Canterbury, R. bp. of Winchester, Edw. duke of Buckingham, Th. duke of Norfolk, Chas. duke of Suffolk, Th. earl of Arundel, Chas. earl of Worcester, Geo. Nevell lord Bergevenny, Jo. Bourchier lord Barnes, the abbot of Bermondsey, Sir Edm. Howard, Sir John Fyneux, Sir John More, Sir Th. Lovell, Sir Ric. Broke, Sir Th. Nevell, Sir Hen. Wyat, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, sen., Sir John Legh, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Edm. Bray, Sir Matthew Broun, Sir Ric. Rokeby, Sir Th. Exmewe, Sir John Gaynesford, Sir Rob. Johns, Sir John Iwarby, Nich. Carewe, Rob. Wyntershall, Roger Legh, Hen. Tyngelden and Ralph Vyne. Westm., 16 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.*

18. Th. Marler, of Flaxflett, York. Reversal of outlawry, sued in the Common Pleas by John Erneley and Thomas Lucas, and also by Thomas earl of Surrey, lately called Thomas lord Haward; and having surrendered to the Flete Prison. Westm., 18 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1.*

19. Commissions of Gaol Delivery.

Gloucester Castle: Sir Alex. Baynham, Sir Wm. Denys, John Broke, serjeant-at-law, Th. Jubbes, John Whyttington, Th. Maston and Roger Porter. Westm., 19 Nov.

Wiltshire County: Sir Ric. Eliott, Ric. Lyster, Th. Eliott, Barth. Huse, Hn. Paunscote, John Bonham and Anth. Styleman. Westm., 19 Nov.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14d.

19. John Rooper, and Elizabeth Hadde, widow. Wardship of Th. s. and h. of Rob. Hadde. Westm., 19 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 10.*

20. Th. Eynon, clk. Grant of the pension which the abbess elect of Wilton, Wilts, is bound to give to a clerk at the King's nomination till she promote him to a competent benefice. *Del.* Westm., 20 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—*S.B.*

20. Rob. Rowlow, of Bristol, merchant. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Pecche, deputy of Calais. *Del.* Westm., 20 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—*S.B.*

21. Th. Ferdyngh, gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Grant to him and his heirs, for ever, at the service of a red rose, "if it be asked," of a tenement with a garden in Est

1520.

Nov.
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GRANTS.

Grenewich, Kent, bounded by a tenement, the highway to the Thannys and the way leading to the Friars Observants' church, and which was purchased by Henry VII. with intention of giving it to the said friars; "howbeit, they gave answer, and said they had enough;" whereupon it was granted to Robt. Johns, then dwelling in it, and, on his decease, to Th. Rither, gent. usher of the Chamber, who has compounded with Ferdyng. Greenwich, 15 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 21 Nov.—P.S.

22. Godfrey Deux, *alias* Dews, deputy of Christ. Villers, searcher in the port of London. Pardon for all infringements of the statute of 20 Hen. VI., prohibiting customs officers from occupying wharves or quays, keeping inns or taverns, or being factors or attorneys for any merchant. Greenwich, 18 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 22 Nov.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 32.*

22. Robert Gilbert, of London, draper. Lease of the tenements and cottages with appurtenances, in Newgate, Newgate Aly, Middell Aly and Tutes Aly, London, late of the duchess of Somerset, for 21 years, at the annual rent of 11*l.* 2*s.* *Del. Westm.*, 22 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 23.*

23. Recognizance cancelled. Humph. Stafford, of Codered, Herts, Sir Th. à Burgh, of Stowe, Line., sen., and Sir Ralph Verney, of Salden, Bucks, 7 Mar. 5 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 23 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

23. Wm. Haryet. To be bailiff of the lordship and hundred of Gillisborowe, Northt., *vice* Wm. Fynall, deceased. Greenwich, 18 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court*, 3^d Nov.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 13.*

23. Edw., eldest son of Th. Lewkenour, aged 10 years. Pardon. Greenwich, 19 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 Nov.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 18.*

24. Commissions of the Peace.
Cornwall: Th. cardinal of York, J. bp. of Exeter, Rob. Willoughby lord Broke, Sir Ric. Elliott, John Broke, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir John Arundell of La Hern, Sir Peter Eggecombe, Sir John Bassett, Roger Greynsford, John Arundell of Talferne, John Carmynowe, John Chamond, Rob. Vyvyan, James Hersey, Ric. Penrose, Hen. Trecarell, Wm. Lowre, Nich. Carmynowe, Wm. Carne-sewe and Nich. Opy. *Westm.*, 24 Nov.

Lincoln (Holland): Th. cardinal of York, W. bp. of Lincoln, Th. earl of Surrey, Wm. lord Willoughby, John Constable, dean of Lincoln, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, John Carell, Sir John Husee, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Geoff. Paynell, Th. Roberdson, Fras. Broun, John Robynson, John Hennage, sen., John Hennage, jun., Th. Holand, John Lytelbury and Ric. Godyng. *Westm.*, 24 Nov.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.

24. Commission of Gaol Delivery. *Case-bridge Town Gaol*: Ric. Clerke, mayor, John Hynde, Rob. Frepell, Philip Paris, Th. Hutton, Wm. Colyns, Hugh Chapman, Hen. Halled and John Bury. *Westm.*, 24 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14d.*

24. Ric. Bigge, "yeoman pricker of our haryers." To have the corrody in the monastery of St. Augustine, Daventre, *vice* Wm. Fynall, deceased. Greenwich, 22 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 24 Nov.—P.S.

26. Commission of the Peace. *Derbyshire*: Th. cardinal of York, Geo. earl of Shrewsbury, Th. earl of Derby, Wm. Blount lord Mountjoy, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, John Carell, Sir Hen. Sacheverell, Sir Godfrey Fuljambe, Sir Wm. Greysley, John Porte, Roger Meynours, Anth. Babyngton, Th. Eyre, John Fitzherbert and John Vernon. *Westm.*, 26 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

26. Commissions of Gaol Delivery.
Lincoln Castle: Sir John Huse, Sir Wm. Tirwhit, Sir Th. Burgh, John Hennege, sen., John Mounson, John Seyntpoll, Rob. Huse, John Wymbiashe, John Robynson, Th. Holand and Edw. Forman. *Westm.*, 26 Nov.

Norwich: John Clerke, mayor, Wm. Elys, John Spilman, Th. Aldriche, Wm. Harte, Rob. Jannys, John Marsham and Fras. Mountford. *Westm.*, 26 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14d.*

26. Wm. Digby. Custody of the manor of Middleton Colyngtre, Northt., and all other possessions in the King's hands by the death of Goditha Purwiche and Richard Purwiche, during the minority of John Digby, kinsman and heir of the said Goditha, at the annual rent of 15*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *Del. Westm.*, 26 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 6.*

27. Sir John Savage, sen., of Hanley, *alias* Hanley Castell, Worc. Pardon and release as sheriff of co. Worc.; master of the hunt of Ridmerley Park, of Malveron Chace, of Bussholey Park, and of the park of Blakemore in Hanley; steward of the manors of Hanley, Upton-on-Severn, Bussholey, Elmeley, Ridmerley, Wyerpydell, Erlescrombe, Worc., and Teukesbury, Glouc. *Westm.*, 27 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 5.*

27. Sir John Savage, jun., of Elmeley, *alias* of Hanley Castell, Worc. Pardon. *Westm.*, 27 Nov.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 5.*

27. Sir Edw. Boleyn and Anne his wife. Livery of lands, the said Anne being d. and h. of John Tempest, and kinswoman and h. of Rob. Tempest and Katharine his wife. Greenwich, 19 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 27 Nov.—P.S.

1520.

GRANTS—*cont.*

Nov.

GRANTS.

27. Th. Rither. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Sir Ralph Rither. Greenwich, 20 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 27 Nov. —P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 3.*

27. John Whitton. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Wm. Whitton. *Del. Westm.*, 27 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 4.*

27. Roger Whitton, one of the yeomen ushers of the Royal Chamber. Lease of the site of the manor of Nettlebed, Oxon.; a cottage called "le Logge" in Nettlebed; land in Watlington, Oxon., lately in the tenure of the abbot of Oseney, of which 12 acres abut on the moor, and 8 acres on the rectory there; a parcel of meadow called "le Flete," in Watlington; a cottage in the High Street in Watlington; and the herbage below the bridge of the manor of Watlington; rent of 70s. 10d. payable to the bailiffs of Watlington and Bensyngton, Oxon., or to the receiver of the duchy of Cornwall, and 3s. 4d. of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 27 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B.

27. Th. Atwill, of London, haberdasher, *alias* vintner, *alias* merchant adventurer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir John Petcher, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 20 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 27 Nov. —P.S.

28. Sir Nich. Carewe, late esq. Release as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, and keeper of the castles or gaols of Guldeford and Lewes. Also release to Carewe, Ric. Devenyshe of Hennyngle, Sussex, and Roger Copley, of Westhamptnett, Sussex, of their recognizance of 40l. made 8th Nov. 10 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 28 Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 28 Nov. —S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 11.*

28. Recognizances cancelled. Sir Ric. Carewe, late of Bedyngton, Surrey, deceased, Sir Nich. Carewe, formerly of Walwyngton, in Bedyngton, Surrey, Ric. Devenyshe, of Hellyngly, Sussex, and Roger Copley, of Rowghwey, Sussex, 6 Nov. 10 Hen. VIII., of 1,400l., for payment of 142l. 17s. 2d. yearly from 1520 to 1526. Greenwich, 28 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B.

28. Feodaries of Crown lands. Appointment of Th. Hacche, during pleasure, as feodary of all possessions held of the King in co. Devon, with power to take all minor heirs into the King's hands, and deliver them to Sir Th. Lovell and Sir Ric. Weston, keepers of such heirs.

Similar appointments follow, viz. :—

Norf.—Sir James Boleyn.

Heref., Glouc., Worc. and the Marches of Wales.—John Adams.

Somerset and Dorset.—John Plompton.

Signed: Th. Lovell, Ri. Weyston. *Del. Westm.*, 28 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 12.*

Commission of the Peace.—*Dorset:* Th. cardinal of York, Henry earl of Wiltshire, Rob. Willoughby lord Broke, John Bourchier lord Fitzwaren, Wm. lord Stourton, Hen. lord Dawbeney, Sir Ric. Eliott, John Broke, Sir Th. Lynde, Sir Th. Trenchard, Sir Wm. Fyloff, Giles Strangweys, John Horsey, sen., John Rogers, Geo. Rogers, John Britt, Geo. Twyneo, James Frampton, John Moreton, Wm. Moreton, Wm. Hody, Nich. Willoughby and Wm. Uvedale. *Westm.*, —. —*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.*

1082. MAGISTRATES OF STRALSUND to [the DUKE OF GUELDRES?]

Nero B. III. 67.

B. M.

In the year 1511 war arose between the king of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and the six ports of Sleswig, in which an English ship fell into the hands of our men, who took it as a legitimate prize, and carried it to Stralsund, much to the displeasure of the senate. We ordered the ship to be restored to the masters, Wm. Canneton, Luke Thomas and John Bruen, to whom we gave full liberty of sailing where they pleased, declaring ourselves ready to make ample restitution of the value of the goods taken, as appears by a public instrument, the tenor of which we lately sent to the king of England and the cardinal Legate, his chancellor. Nevertheless, the masters procured from the King and Cardinal the arrest of the German merchants in London, for a whole year, and they are now arrested in compensation of the loss sustained by that ship. Two of the said merchants, Theodoric Schuttenbecker and Ludolf Butinck, have been compelled by oath, under a penalty of 500l., to give security that no merchant of Lubeck, Rostock, Stralsund or Wysmar residing at the court called Staleshoff (Steelyard) should leave England or export goods until compen-

1520.

sation has been made for the said ship. Thus you will see, most noble prince, what regard the English have for justice.

We request you to give us letters to the King and Cardinal, that he may release the merchants, and that the masters of the said ship may come to us at Stralsund for justice; or if this be refused, we trust to your justice that you will grant us the right of reprisal against the English in your duchy and lands. We sent to England George Sibutus, who, when he arrived, having learned that the King was at Woodstock, went thither, and on bended knees presented your letters to him, beseeching a favorable answer. He was told to go to the Cardinal, to whom the affair was committed, and the Cardinal gave him this answer, in presence of bishops and many princes: "Your reverence has presented to us the letters of an unknown prince. He may be most Christian and powerful, as you say, but he is unknown to us, and we do not wish to have anything to do with him." Our ambassador pressed for an answer to your letters, but the Cardinal said it was not the custom for his king to seek the friendship of an inferior or unknown prince. We therefore beg you will give us new letters to the King and Cardinal by which they may be made to know you, and the German merchants, who have now been detained for nearly two years, may be liberated, and that if this request be not listened to we may redress it ourselves.

Lat., pp. 6.

2 Dec. 1083. MONASTERY OF LYLLESHULL.

Writ to the escheator of co. Derby for restitution of temporalities of the monastery of Lylleshull, on the election as abbot, *vice* James Cokerell, resigned, of Rob. Watson, whose fealty has been ordered to be taken by Rob. Toney, one of the clerks of the court of Chancery, and Th. Larke, clk. Westm., 2 Dec.

ii. Similar writs for cos. *North., Warw., Salop, Staff. and York.*

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 24.

3 Dec. 1084. KINE.

R. O.

Account of Wm. Skelton, of my lord's [Darcy's] dairy kine, from Martinmas a^o 11 to the feast of St. Ellyn; made 3 Dec. a^o 12.

According to his last account he had charge of 29 "kye and whies," whereof due to my lord for 9 milch kine occupied by him for the said time, 3s. 4d. a cow. For 8 cows, of which 4 had calves but gave no milk, 10s. For 12 whies, 26s. 8d. For 2 whies from Pikering, which had calves at Martinmas, 4s. 6d. Total, 3l. 11s. 2d.

Same account continued, with wages, &c. to Sir Nicholas, to Wm. Wall, &c.

Pp. 4.

1085. HENRY VIII. to ———.

Has received his letters dated Dublin, 5 Dec., urging the King to proceed in the reduction of Ireland with sufficient power, and to act substantially in this matter; in which case "we shall have your service after the best of your power, promising to be content to take all such lands as ye have with other parcels of us by letters patent, with a creation of a name of dignity to you and your heirs males." Assures him that none of the King's progenitors were so resolved to reduce that disordered land to some good and virtuous governance as the King is; and when Surrey was sent to be lieutenant there, the King had no intention to revoke him and substitute the earl of Kildare. The King, trusting that Ireland will follow a milder

Titus,
B. XII. 385.
B. XI. 411.
B. M.
St. P. II. 59.

1520.

HENRY VIII. to ——— —cont.

course, has hitherto forborne to send thither a puissant army. He intends shortly calling a parliament, to take a final resolution in this matter. Wills him in the meantime to assist his lieutenant. Accepts his offer, with a creation of dignity, and has written to Surrey of the same.

Minute, corrected by Ruthal.

5 Dec. 1086. JAMES CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND to DACRE.

Calig. B. II.
240.

Had written from Linlithgow the 26th Nov. for the prorogation. The ambassadors will leave on the 11th Dec. Glasgow, 5 Dec. *Signed.*

B. M. P. 1. To my lord Dacre, warden general of the Borders, &c.

6 Dec. 1087. JOHN CAMPBELL, Treasurer, to DACRE.

R. O.
Rym. XIII.
733.

Thanks him for excusing Campbell's attendance. Presses to have the safeconduct for the numbers named in his previous application. Desires a longer prorogation. Expects the Chancellor to meet the lords on Sunday or Monday next, but he has been sore affrayed with pestilence. De Planis has written to Dacre in English. "My Lord, I trust Scotland desires rather a good way betwixt you and your sovereign by your own way, nor to have it by any French way, notwithstanding thir mone French ambassadors, which ye shall understand afterward." Edinburgh, 6 Dec. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*

6 Dec. 1088. DE PLANIS to DACRE.

R. O.
Rym. XIII.
733.

Received his writings at Edinburgh on the 3rd. Has shown them to my lord of Aubinze. Has deferred writing to them their intentions until the convention of the lords. Begs that he will prolong the abstinence. If the wardens of England and Scotland cannot agree, hopes commissioners may be appointed to hear complaints. Edinburgh, 6 Dec. *Signed.*

In Campbell's hand, p. 1. Add.

6 Dec. 1089. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Hopes Wolsey will pardon this short letter, as he has nothing to write. Everything here is quiet; but the silence is that in which coming disturbances are looked for. The object of the French king's messenger here is not yet known, and the affair is studiously buried in mystery. Rome, 6 Dec. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Car^{ll} Ebor., &c., legato. Endd.

6 Dec. 1090. T. LORD DARCY to MR. LISTER.

R. O.

Begs he will see his warrant dormant for the Observants thankfully served. My lord Cardinal is to have "Talworth Holle, with as well set and bestowed words as your wisdom can devise to his grace's surveyor: Mr. Ashton hath sent to me for speed thereof." Trusts that his farms and fee of the duchy will serve all his purposes and debts, and will release his plate at nursen.* If not, the next quarter of Devon may suffice. Is to make up his accounts and release his plate, and pay the King's first payment. Lister is to send the plate home; "and if it may, after it be loosed, do you, or any friend of mine, good, spare it never to pledge it."

* Or Mirfen?

1520.

"I beseech you to husband me at some shift, as ye would yourself, of a good peiss of blak velfotte of Geyn, and that it be a speciall silke and colour, and of a good butt of Mawsece," to be delivered to John Burton for Christmas, "and the King's new year's gift, worth 20 nobles—a ring—after Mr. Wyatt or Amadas' advice." 6 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To Mr. Lister, of the Middle Temple.

10 Dec. 1091. DACRE to WOLSEY.

Calig. B. II.

264.

B. M.

Received his letter by Clarencieux, whose instructions he has seen. According to Wolsey's command, met the French ambassadors, conveyed them into Scotland, and gave them up to gentlemen of substance, who will re-deliver them to him at their return. Lodged them on their way at Wark Castle, he trusts to their satisfaction; whence, on the 28th, they went to Kelso; thence, next day, to Newbottell, where they remained all St. Andrew's Day; next day to Edinburgh. Part of the lords there, viz., the bishops of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Orkney, the earls of Angus, Arrell (Erroll?), Craufurthe and Morton, the lords Glamis and Lemyn[g] (Fleming), the master of Kilmawers, the lords Borthik and Lyndsey, the abbot of Holyrood and the prior of St. Andrew's, caused them to be received three miles from the town by the earl of Angus, the "province" (provost) of Edinburgh and others. On Saturday they were brought with Clarencieux to the King's presence in Edinburgh Castle, "where every lord and man of worship went in, and but one servant with him, except the ambassadors' servants." There is a breach between the above lords [and] the Chancellor, the earl of Arran, lieutenant, and the earl of Lennox, concerning the provostship. "The said earl of Arran, lieutenant, was provosse, that it is to say, as mayor; and now the town has chosen Archibald of Douglas to be provosse, uncle to the earl of Angus; and when the said lieutenant would have comen in the town they stopped him, and a great saute was made betwixt them, and divers hurt of both sides." The Chancellor takes part with the lieutenant because he has put away his wife, and married the Chancellor's brother's daughter. In consequence of these feuds, the ambassadors can get no audience of the whole of the lords. Some would be at Edinburgh, some at Stirling, some at St. Johnston's. The Treasurer and others try to make them agree to a place of meeting. Dacre trusts they will meet in six days.

The council, as appears by the Chancellor's last letter, which Dacre sent to Wolsey, are conformable to the objects of Clarencieux's mission. Copies of the letter, and Dacre's answers to the Chancellor and the lords Regents, enclosed. If Albany be endeavoring in a private way, by these ambassadors, or otherwise, to obtain a pre-eminence in this twelve months' abstinence, Dacre doubts not such "noysaunce" will be done to them they will be glad to sue for peace. The Regents have made application to him, under the King's seal, for an abstinence till Christmas, which he has granted on a further application from the Chancellor. Will send his letter at Christmas. Encloses the Chancellor's, dated 5 Dec. Has given the queen of Scots his advice how to act. Encloses copy. Has instructed the ambassadors touching her causes, and delivered Clarencieux "the principal book upon which she entered into Scotland, under the great seal," by Albany's consent under his sign manual, bidding him demand its fulfilment in all points. No such outrages as have been complained of to the King are committed by the Scots unredressed, except that Maxwell sent to a place that Dacre was building on the West Border, took sixteen masons and wallers prisoners, carried off four draughts of oxen bearing stones, and slew two of his servants. At next meeting Maxwell freed the prisoners by proclamation, and hopes to do justice for the murder and goods. Harbottle, 10 Dec. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. *Add.*: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

iii.

c c

1520.

10 Dec. 1092. Fragment of INSTRUCTIONS to an AMBASSADOR.

R. O.

* * * * * "And inasmuch as the King's grace hath heretofore, as well by the said Sir Richard Jerningham, as by sundry other his servants," informed his said brother of all occurrences, since which time nothing important has taken place, he has no charge to declare anything special. The King is sorry to hear that his brother intends passing the mountains to Milan, as he will be too distant to communicate with him easily, whereby a new personal meeting might be brought about. As the French king's affairs in Italy are well established, Henry trusts he will not go without urgent cause. Would not fail to aid him if his dominions were invaded. Understands that the lord Daubigny, with certain ambassadors of the French king, has arrived in Scotland by sea, instead of passing through England. As the truce with Scotland expired at St. Andrew's day last, the King has commissioned the warden of the Marches to renew it for half a year, during which time an embassy is to be sent from Scotland to treat for peace, which the King hopes is by this time concluded. Is to thank the French king for licensing his subjects to export corn to England in this year of scarcity, and assure him that England will do the like when France is in similar necessity. In spite of the French king's commands, however, English subjects have been prohibited from freighting ships in Normandy and Picardy.

Pp. 2. Draft in Ruthal's hand.

10 Dec. 1093. FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

R. O.

Warrant to Sir John Heron for payment to Wm. Rothewell, serjeant of the vestry, of 16s. 4d. for articles bought at the time of the King's last being at Calais; viz., for cases of leather for images, at 2s. 8d. a piece; for a great [case] of leather for an image of Our Lady, 3s. 4d.; for the new binding of certain books, and carriage of stuff from Westminster to Greenwich and back, 5s. At our manor of 10 Dec. 12 Hen.VIII. *Signed.*

10 Dec. 1094. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Wolsey mentioned in former letters that he intended giving up the bishopric of Badajos; and the bishop of Helna, the Emperor's ambassador in England, is endeavouring to obtain it with the annual pension of 2,500 ducats. Asks that it may be granted to himself, on account of his poverty and the household he has to support. If so, will manage it entirely according to Wolsey's wishes. When Campeggio obtains the bishopric of Salisbury, Wolsey shall have a pension from the revenues, "prioris temporis pensionibus interea legitime et suis temporibus solutis." Rome, 10 Dec. 1520.

There will be much difficulty in granting possession of the sees to the bishop of Helna, as he belongs to a religious order, and concessions of this kind are rarely made to such persons. This will give Wolsey a pretext for passing him over. Will be able to obtain the Emperor's consent by the influence of the King and Wolsey.

Lat., pp. 2. The last paragraph holograph. Add. Endd.

13 Dec. 1095. For the ABBEY OF BURY ST. EDMUND'S.

S. B.

Grant of the chattels of outlaws, &c. in the hundreds of Babbergh, Cosford, Thynghowe, Thedwardestrete, Blackburn, Lakford, and Risshebrigge, Suff., and elsewhere, on surrender of patent, 12 April 5 Hen.VIII. *Del. Hampton Court, 13 Dec. 12 Hen.VIII.*

Pat. 12 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 17.

1520.

14 Dec. 1093. SIR ANDREW WINDSOR to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Has ordered his son Will. Windsor, now at Enfield with the King, and appointed to go with horses to the French king, to wait on Wolsey at his return. London, 14 Dec. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: "My lord Card." Endd.

16 Dec. 1097. SURREY to WOLSEY.

Lamb. 616,
f. 41.

St. P. II. 61.

Has caused the prior of Kilmainham to write to Wolsey. Has sent an answer by Leonard Musgrave, and "Apliard my servant," to certain articles brought by Sir John Wallop. Sees that Ireland will not be reduced without compulsion; and if the King do not propose to go through with the conquest of it, will be glad to be exempted from any longer wasting the King's treasure. Dublin, 16 Dec. *Signed.*

Add.

17 Dec. 1098. [TUNSTAL] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.
180.

B. M.

Received his letters dated at his place beside [Westminster] . . Nov. last, with the and two commissions from the King. Has employed himself accordingly. Has written at length to the King in cipher what he h[as done] in the King's business. Refers Wolsey to the letter, in which he endeavored briefly to comprise the effect of [every]thing. Was told by the Chancellor, when he was last with him, how kindly the king of Portugal had behaved, declaring he would take part with the Emperor against the rebels, and advancing him a loan to repress them. He further said that a league defensive having been concluded between the Emperor, Maximilian, and Henry VIII., "*de data MDx[VI]*", which was *pro possessis et possidendis*, and now his master do[th] succeed to Maximilian also in the Empire, and that league was ma[de] *pro hereditibus et successoribus*; of which thing he said, speaking had [been] at Canterbury at the Emperor's being there;" the renewal and confirmation of that league must now be treated of among other [matters]. [Tunstal] replied that the league having been made between three [princes], one of whom was dead, was expired, and Henry was not bound thereby, but held himself quit of it; that it was unreasonable he should be bound *de possidendis*, seeing he had all his things in possession, and the Emperor was out of possession of many of his. Never thought the Chancellor was of himself much inclined to France, but has heard, both from him and others, that he is very desirous the Emperor should go to Italy, where he was born, to take his crown imperial; "upon which string ever he harpeth [when] all other men some time have given it over."

The French ambassador is not yet arrived. He has been long in coming, but is said to be on his journey. The Emperor now treats with the league of Suevie, and none of the Electors have come hither, except the cardinal of Mayence. Since he is to stay, begs that his diets may be attended to. The money for his diet is not only spent, but before many days he will have paid of his own above two Has here x . . . horses and 27 servants. Overshot the mark at the commencement in making his proportion, and cannot diminish his train. Would be glad to apply elsewhere, but "there is not one English merchant to make shift with for a season." Has asked his brother-in-law Wm. Redmayn, and others his servants, to solicit Wolsey for his diet. Worms, 17 De[cember].

Hol., mutilated, pp. 8. Add. as before.

17 Dec. 1099. SURREY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

St. P. II. 63.

Sends the bearer (Fynglas), whom he has made chief baron of the King's exchequer in Ireland, with certain articles to be passed in the next

1520.

SURREY to WOLSEY—*cont.*

Irish parliament. Requests he may have a patent for his office under the Great Seal of England. Dublin, 17 Dec. *Signed.*

Add. Endd.

20 Dec. 1100. JERNINGHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

I have received by my clerk, Wm. Lelegrave, the money due to me for my diets for 40 days, from 26 Nov. last, by which time you say I must be at home. He gave me also a letter from the French ambassador, who says that you have written to me about the hostages; but I have received no such letter. The Admiral has asked about it, and three or four servants are waiting here for an answer.

In my last letter I mentioned Robt. de la Marche; and since then a gentleman who is "very great" with him, has told me that he intends to make war on the Emperor and the bishop of Liege in his own quarrel. The French king has been all this time at Blayse, because his mother is sick of the gout. If she recover, he will keep his Christmas at Aromantyn, and there run at the tilt. Paris, 20 Dec. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add. : To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

23 Dec. 1101. [CAMPEGGIO] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 72.

B. M.

Very secret negotiations between him and the count de Carpi and Marciot the French envoy; none but the Pope and De Medici present. The Pope is much pressed, by Don John Emanuel, to declare himself on the part of the Emperor. It is thought the Pope will do no more than attempt to preserve the peace, and lean to none. Had sent letters to the Cardinal by way of Germany, stating that, as Wolsey had declined the bishopric of Badajos with the pension, as he wrote, and the bishop of Helna was negotiating to secure it, Campeggio, considering his own poverty, thought it would do very well for himself, and it might be very proper to tell Wolsey so. Rome, 23 Dec. 1520.

P.S.—Gregory Casalis has empowered Francis Salvagio, a Genoese, to transmit to him the money given him by the King, being ignorant of the law which forbids the transport of coin from the realm. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. Add. and endd.

27 Dec. 1102. FRANCIS I. to [the CARDINAL ELECTOR OF MAYENCE].

Calig. D. viii.
43.

B. M.

Mon. Habs.
184.

Being informed of the diet convoked by the elect King of the Romans at Worms, in case there be any discussion touching Italy, the imperial crowns of Milan and Rome, and the duchy of Milan, I think right to state my case. (1.) If the king of the Romans prefer peace to war, and mean to go to Italy to obtain the imperial crown in the same manner as his ancestor Frederick, we will show him all honor, and believe other princes will do the same; but if he attempt to go there in hostile fashion, we are determined to resist him. (2.) As to Milan, our rights are as follows: Philip Maria, true and undoubted Duke of Milan, gave his daughter Valentina* to Lewis duke of Orleans, our great-great-grandfather, on condition that if his son died without heirs male, she and her descendants should succeed to the duchy. The empire was then vacant, and its authority belonged to the Pope, who confirmed the marriage contract, so as to prevent objections to descent in the female line, to which an imperial fief ought not to fall. When ambassadors were sent by the Emperor on

* She was really his sister, and given in marriage to the duke of Orleans, not by her brother, but by her father John Galeazzo, whose title was not an undisputed one.

1520.

this account to the late king Lewis, it was shown them that by these circumstances the right belonged to that king, and so the ambassadors reported to Maximilian and the Diet. Lewis accordingly obtained the investiture, and deprived the Sforzas, so that there is no ground to question our claim, as we have ordered the lord of Barres, our ambassador with the king of the Romans, to show you. Blois, 27 [Dec.]

Lat., pp. 2. Copy.

29 Dec. 1103. CHRISTOPHER URSWIK to the EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Shrewsb.
MSS.
A. 59 (2).
Heralds' Coll.

Finds divers things to his comfort in the Earl's letters received this St. Thomas's Day by the bearer; "first, for the gentleman of the North country that hath been with you, and the cause of his coming, and the likelihood of the good success thereof." Holds as good an opinion as ever of "our old matter," considering the nature of the party, if it be wisely handled. Sees no way but by the man mentioned by his lordship, who must be won by the same means as all his profession. It had better be broken to him by the Earl than by my Lady. Begs him to pardon this letter, "how as ever it is written, for peradventure my mind is not so stable as it hath been, now after my great sickness. I thought myself within this fourteen days as near my death as ever I did sith I had knowledge or remembrance, but by the help of God and good Master Frawnces, I am past all danger." Hackney, St. Thomas's Day. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.

31 Dec. 1104. RICHARD GRESHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Is bound to Wolsey and Heron, for the King's use, in 1,500*l.* Has paid all but 62*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, part to John Hopton in cables and cablets, and part in ready money to Heron. Will pay the rest at the delivery of the obligations. Wishes to have royal letters in French to the lady Margaret, for exporting 4,000 qrs. of wheat from Flanders, as she has stopped 2,000 qrs. which he had shipped, and which has already been on the water six weeks, and will soon be spoiled. Corn is very plentiful there, and they could easily spare 30,000 qrs. Master Allford will deliver this to Wolsey. Will send him the 100 qrs. of wheat for his household, as he promised. London, New Year's Eve.

Henege will deliver to Wolsey, to be signed, a license for respite of customs which he promised Gresham at Hampton Court.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

31 Dec. 1105. ERASMUS to THOMAS BEDELL.

Er. Ep. xv. 7.

Of the Archbishop's (*præsulis*) regard for him he is glad to hear, though it is nothing new to him. As to Bedell's complaint that he asks nothing, it is unfounded, "imo jampridem oro, ut ingens aliquod sacerdotium conjiciat in caput meum." Would be glad to have his pension for the coming year in advance, or bonds for it here or in Italy. Proposes to spend the summer at Basle, and then go to Italy, unless this meeting of princes prevent him. St. Paul was stoned but once; Erasmus is pelted every day with abuse from Dominicans and Carmelites. Compliments to the Archbishop and Dr. Welles. Louvain, pridie Circumcisionis 1520.

1106. CUTHBERT TUNSTAL'S LETTERS.

R. O.

"Abstract" (decipher?) of letters from the Master of the Rolls to Wolsey.

Writes at length to the King, and refers Wolsey to his letter. The Emperor's council consists of men of contrary minds, each of whom advises

1520.

CUTHBERT TUNSTAL'S LETTERS—*cont.*

him according to their own interest. The Spaniards agree that he should go this summer into Spain, and quell the rebellion; which he has promised to do. The princes and cities of the empire wish him first to restore tranquillity in Almayne, which will take no little time. The Chancellor wishes him to go to Italy to take his crown, saying all will be his if he do so; and the duke of Barry and other Italian exiles advise the same course, seeing they cannot be worse off than they are now. The cardinal of Sion desires but two months wages for a Swiss army, to recover Milan and drive the French out of Italy. Many nobles of the empire, being poor men, wish the Emperor to go to Italy, as they expect to get plunder there. Chievres will probably give him the same advice, that he may the longer remain governor about him, and will not counsel him to go to Spain, as it is thought he would not accompany him thither. Chievres' advisers are the cardinal Gurk, Felynger and Segler, who were about Maximilian, and are hated by all in Almayne. Gurk had "but" (put) sedition between duke Guiliam of Bavier and his brother Lewes. They are now agreed, and hate him for it. He dares not tarry at home, and so inclines to the Emperor's journey into Italy.

Hears that the duke of Saxony thinks the journey to Italy "cannot be ready so soon to do it as appertaineth." This will influence the Emperor, as the Duke has great reputation, and the Emperor trusts him because of the intended alliance between his nephew and the Emperor's sister. The Count Palatine, the bishop of Coleyn and the cardinal of Magunce wish the Emperor to go to Italy. Thinks he will do as the Electors and Princes incline.

Pp. 3.

1107. ERASMUS and LEE.

Jortin, III.
186.

Erasmus' defence of himself, giving a detailed account of his quarrel with Lee, and a history of his editions of the New Testament.

1108. MORE to BRIXIUS.

Jortin, III.
312.
Mori Op. 319.

In reply to *Anti-Morus*. Gives an account of the burning of *The Regent*, of the sea-fight, the occasion of More's epigram and of the anger of his correspondent. Complains of this attack appearing at a time when France and England were so closely united. Speaks of a book which had lately appeared in Paris, entitled *Fasciculus Temporum*, in which it was stated that Francis would have undertaken a crusade two years since against the Turk, had he not been withheld by dread of the ill-faith of England. Defends himself from his opponent's insinuation that in praising Henry VIII., and the purity of his reign from avarice, rapine and false informers, More had indirectly scandalized the memory of Henry VII. Admits that Henry VII., in consequence of his ill-health, surrendered himself to bad counsellors, and contrasts his reign with that of his successor. Alludes to the sneer of Brixius, who had insinuated that More's classical studies were hindered by the cares of his family.

1109. MORE to ERASMUS.

Jortin, III.
330.
Mori Op. 301.
ed. 1689.

On the same subject. Lupset is professor of Greek and Latin in Oxford, having succeeded Clement, who has given himself up entirely to the study of medicine. Hopes to see Erasmus at the forthcoming interview of the powers at Calais.*

* This and the preceding letter evidently belong to the same period as nos. 766 and 767.

1520.

1110. ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

R. O.

Article of a treaty between England and Scotland to endure for one year according to the last peace made at Berwick.

Headed: "Articuli Scotorum."

Endd.: Articuli Angl. et articuli Scotiæ confeder.

2. Translation of the above, with same heading.

1111. ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

R. O.

Article of a treaty, preserving the *status quo* till further arrangements.

In the hand of Magnus.

Endd.: "Articles with the king of Scots."

1112. RICHARD GODRYK, Prior of the Preaching Friars, Lincoln.

R. O.

Bond to Edith Hovey, by which she is to receive all the benefits of the order, and commemoration after death, as in the case of a brother. In our convent at Lincoln, 1520.

Latin, vellum.

1113. NORWICH.

R. O.

Arrangement of a dispute between the priory of Christchurch and the city of Norwich, respecting their rights to the ground called *Tomblunde*; of which an agreement had been effected, *temp.* Edw. I., but, owing to lack of due interpretation and new controversies, finally settled by Thos. Card. archbp. of York, legate and chancellor, on his journey from Walsingham. Tomland, which is claimed by both parties, is to lay waste, except when used at fairs, &c., when half is to be allotted to the citizens, and the remainder to the convent; also, that in times of synods, and on Sundays, victuals, &c. may be sold outside the priory gates. Determination of their respective jurisdictions and customs; of the rights of the Prior's prison; of the office of coroner within the precincts of the priory, or in Holmestrete or Spittellond. The city bailiffs not to meddle with any person arrested for theft in Holmstrete and Spittellonde, if they ought to be judged in the court of the convent. Tenants of the prior in Rotten Row, and in the Prior's leet, as in Holmstrete and Spitellonde, not to be compelled to be in the King's leet. The Prior, who has 1,000 sheep on a common outside the town, is in future to have only 300. He is also to fill up ditches which he has made on the river side, and which are a great hindrance to the keelmen towing their boats. If the Prior prove before the Exchequer that his tenants at Holmestrete, &c. are not chargeable for subsidies and fifteenths with the citizens, they shall be charged separately. If he do not prove it they are to be charged with the city. These articles are to be read in the convent before the mayor and commonalty every All Saints day, when they come to the monastery according to old custom.

Pp. 27, mutilated.

* * It appears from the MS. Extracts of Wharton in the Lambeth Library that Wolsey was twice at Norwich, with a view of arranging this dispute, viz., in 1517 and 1520 (erroneously written 1530).

1114. ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

Monthly wages.

R. O.

Geo. Van Amburgh, drumslade Jas. Worsley, yeoman of the Robes . . .
Thos. Appowell, yeoman of Guard, xx . . . John Madeson, yeoman of Chamber, xx . . .

1520.

ROYAL HOUSEHOLD—*cont.*

John Kydder, yeoman of Guard, xx. . . Wm. Rolte, serjeant-at-arms, 31s. John Lynde, yeoman of the Guard; Robt. Hilton, yeoman usher with the Queen; Roger Dale, yeoman of the Guard; John Parker, yeoman of crossbows; Thos. Appowen, serjeant-at-arms; John Prince, yeoman of the Guard; and John Lennolds, falconer, 20s. 8d., per ann. 12l. 3s. 4d. Thos. Higgis and Wm. a Lee, yeomen of Guard; John a Style, shooter at butts; John Nightingale, shooter; Thos. Walter, groom of Chamber; and Ric. Mered, keeper of the King's stud mares, 10s. 4d., per ann. 6l. 1s. 8d. Chr. Waleston and W. Nicolson, toil setters, 32s. Jeffen Percy, sewer of the Chamber . . . Wm. Lambert, yeoman of Chamber with the Princess, 26s. 3d. Peter Faulconer, monthly wages, 60s.; Hugh Faulconer, 70s., per ann. 42l. Matthew Faulconer, 51s. 8d., per ann. 30l. 8s. 4d. Frederick Faulconer and Gerard Brode, falconer, 30s., per ann. 18l. John Broune and Sir Henry Pynnago, ostregers, 31s., per ann. 18l. 5s. Umfrey and Jacob, falconers, and Piers, crossbow maker, 13s. 4d., per ann. 8l. Cornish, children's board wages, 26s. 8d. . . . Jacques Shatillion, a Frenchman, 66s. 8d. Jerard Van Hertell, the King's plymer (?), 22s. 2d., per ann. 13l. . . . John Deverux, keeper of "foles," 5s. 2d., per ann. 60s. 10d. The three horsekeepers' board wages, 51s. 8d., per ann. 30l. v. . . The armorers in Southwark, monthly 39l., per annum 468l. Noye de la Sale, minstrel, 33s. 4d., per ann. 20l. Nic. de Bovall, minstrel, 55s. 6d., per ann. 50 mks. Fredrego Gratian, King's voutteger, 33s. 4d., per ann. 20l. Wm. Gawde, a Frenchman, 66s. 8d., per ann. 40l. Total of monthly wages, 168l. 0s. 4d.; amounting to 2,807l. 3s. 2d. in the year.

Quarter wages, a^o xii.

Sir Ric. Cholmeley, [deputy lieutenant of the Tower]*, 25l. Lord Curson's fee, 100l. Wm. Norrice, master of the hawks, 10l. Mr. Heron 25l. Pirro, the French cook, 66s. 8d. Massy Barbor, 100s. John Porthc, 20s. John Trees, yeoman of the "Juelx," 20s. 8d. Ric. Legh, yeoman of the Jewels, 33s. 4d. Robt. Draper, groom of the Jewels, 25s. Vincent Voulp, painter, 100s. John Haywod, a singer, 100s. Stephen Vinekeeper, of Richmond, 33s. 4d. Lovell, gardener at Richmond, 15s. 2d. John Herte, keeper of Greenwich, 15s. 2d. Ric. Rumsey, Ric. Simpson, John Lennolds, Denys Marughwhy and Wm. Armer, children of the Leash, 10s. each. Ant. Trasillon, clock maker, 30s. 5d. Henry Webbe, yeoman of Stirrup, 50s. Ant. Imers, of the Stable, 50s. Cuthbert Blackeden, yeoman apothecary, 22s. 10d. Rainold Golden, serjeant-at-arms, 4l. 11s. 4d. Wm. Lewez, organ maker, 50s. Mr. Lynacre, physician, 12l. 10s. Percivall Herte, sewer of the Chamber, 100s. Elynor Knyvet, for keeping of Sir T. K. children, 22l. 8s. 4d. John Staunton, keeper of wardrobe at Richmond, 10s. John Haryson and Antony Low, yeomen ushers with the Queen, 22s. 10d. each. Beringer Gosse, armourer at Greenwich, 45s. 8d. Wm. Okeley, messenger of the Prince's council chamber, 25s. Margery Parker and Eleanor Hotton, gentlewomen with the Princess, 33s. 4d. each. Marget Cousen, with the Princess, 20s. Alice Baker, another gentlewoman, 50s. Beatrice ap Rice, laundre with Princess, 16s. 8d. Sir Henry Rowte, clerk of closet with the Princess, 45s. 8d. John Jenyns, of the pastry, 30s. 5d. Robt. Webbe, keeper of stables at Greenwich, 30s. 5d. "Thanere at Shene," 33s. 4d. Geo. Lovekein, keeper of the gallery at Greenwich, 16l. 13s. 4d. Henry Selby, Edmond Lyne, John Cocks, John Yerdeley, John Node, yeomen of the buckhounds, 13s. 4d. each. Sir John Baker, 100s. Thos. Butler, late courserman, 30s. 5d. Robt. Gamell, Jas. Jason, Austen Clerke and Rob. Bawmford, late coursermen, 20s. each. Henry Norrice and Wm. Caree, of the privy chamber, 8l. 6s. 8d. each. Thos. Carvanell, John Wellesbore, John Parker and Wm. West, grooms of the privy chamber, 50s. each. Nicholas Craser, an estronomyer, 100s. Jacob Hardy, late messenger of Tourney, 22s. 10d. Sir John Peché, 27l. 12s. Hilton, the daw-keeper, 15s. 2d. Robt. Bayldon, groom of the chamber, 50s. Fras. de Rege, horsekeeper, 100s. Ambrose de Millain, horsekeeper, 66s. 8d. Hannibal de Modena, horsekeeper, 33s. 4d. Paul Freland, harness gilder, 25s. Thos. Paulmer, late of Tourney, 50s. Thos. Ogle, of

* So called in the account of the quarter's wages due at Easter 12 Hen. VIII. in the King's Book of Payments, with which this account nearly corresponds.

1520.

the stable, 50s. Griffitz Sadeler, for keeping the butts at Windsor, 15s. 2d. Oliver de Richmond, sewer of chamber, 10l. John Bunting, late of the vestry, 22s. 10d. Roger Becket, half-yearly, 100s. Total quarter's wages, 400l. 12s. 10d.; amounting to 1,602l. 11s. 4d. in the year.

Half year's wages, a° xii.

Sir Ric. Cholmeley, 50l. Lord of Essex, 50l. Firewood for the yeomen in the Tower, 26s. 8d. Ric. Eden, clerk of council, 10l. Davy Frauncez, the King's hosier, 40s. Sir Henry Pynnago, 10l. Dr. Rawson, for divers priests' fees, 60l. Christopher Knyvet, the King's priest at Walsingham, 100s. The King's candle there, 46s. 8d. Mary Reding, 10l. Sir Henry Guldeford, 50l. Thos. Tamworth, auditor, 100s. Thos. Ferror, usher of the Prince's council chamber, 100s. Guyot de Huell, 50l. Frns. Brian, Robt. Knolles, Davy Bastard Emery, 66l. 13s. 4d. Antony Guynes, his steward, 10l. Sir Henry Guldeford, 16l. 13s. 4d. John English, 66s. 8d. Sir Ric. Wingfield, 100l. Sir Ric. Weston, 50l., Sir Wm. Kingston, 50l. Sir Ric. Jernegan, 50l. Sir Ric. Weston and Sir Thos. Lovell, for the wards, 50l. each. Antony Broune, 10l. Sir Edward Ponynys, for crowned key, 40s. Lady Anne Grey, 6l. 13s. 4d. Mr. Croke, reading Greek at Cambridge, 5l. Antony Bergehed, lord of Grenberge, 39l. 10s. 10d. Mr. Garnish, house rent at Greenwich, 100s. George Pole, "squiers de Quere," 10l. Olyver Manners, another of de Quere, 10l. Symond Digby, Wm. Traunder, Wm. Windesor, and Thos. Travilion, the same, 6l. 13s. 4d. each. Wm. Est, keeper, for repairs of Woodstock and Langley, 60s. Dr. Fernando, the Queen's physician, 33l. 6s. 8d. Robt. Hopton, comptroller of the King's ships, 16l. 13s. 4d. John Parker, late of Tournay, 100s. Robynet, of Calais, 50s. Nicol Harvy, 10l. John de Verten, bastard, falconer, 10l. John de Bullemount, 10l. John de Lucy, 13l. 11s. 1d. Thos. Dove, 50s. Wm. Hastings, 50s. Wm. Sympeon, 50s. John Russell, 16l. 13s. 4d. John Aulaby, 50s. Philip Denys, 10l. Rosset Moderley, 10l. Ric. Candishe, 100l. Guillam Breton, late groom ferroure, 50s. Total of half year's wages, 1,083l. 15s. 6d.

Wages of the yeomen of the chamber, daily waiters, monthly, on an average, 170l. The wages of the yeoman of the guard, at 4d. a day, paid quarterly, on an average, 400l. Total of the wages in the whole book, for one year, 9,417l. 5s. 6d.

Fp. 11, commencement lost.

1115. The KING'S HORSES.

R. O.

Expences of Sir Edw. Guldeforde, master of the Armory, and others, for horses and stuff provided for the King's armoury, by John Frognall.

For "your" supper at Arkes, 21 Nov., and horse meat, 10s. 6d.*—22 Nov.: Dinner and horse meat at Lylers, 3s. 6d. Supper at Pont Avendon, 6s. 6d. To Robt. Elvisehe and Sanderling, their costs, at Ly[sle], 7s. Wm. Simpson, going to see horses at Belle and other places, 10s. To lord Pynnoy's horse keepers, 6s. To the governor of Bitton's, master of the horse and palfreniers, 5s. To Harry Woodford, going to Mona. Novell to see horses, 5s. My master's costs at Bytten, 6 days, 4l. 1s. 6d. Spent at St. Polle, 2s. To Davy Roche, 10s. For a bay horse with cut ears, bought of Ant. de Brausse, and given by the King to Sir Wm. Kingston, 140 cr.=44l. 6s. 8d.—Dinners and suppers at Peron, Condron, St. Quyntynes, 2 Dec.; Mounce, 3 Dec.; Valenciennes, 4 Dec.; Clery, 5 Dec. A bay horse at Clery, by Wm. Simpson, 20l.—4 horses, from 1 to 7 Dec., 21s. 3 bits, a horse-comb and a pair of spurs, 9s. 6d.—7 Dec., at St. Quentin's, bosses, 15s.—8 Dec., at St. Quentin's, costs and 5 horses for 6 days, 30s. Mane combs and ointment, 4s. To the guide, 6d. 6 awnes of broad cloth for horse cloths, 10s. 6d.—9 Dec., at Cambray. To the horsekeepers of the abbot of Cambray, 2s. To Lynney's servants, for showing his horse, x . . .—10 Dec., at Arras, costs of Guildford's horses, 8s. Dinner and supper, 11s. To Jacotyn de Bornemacker, riding about the country to seek horses, 18d. a day.

* All the amounts are in Flemish money, even expences in England, except when otherwise stated.

1520.

THE KING'S HORSES—*cont.*

Hire of a hackney for him, 12*d.* a day.—11 Dec., at Bytten, to Gelytynes, for a sorrel horse for the Queen's litter, 13*l.* 10*s.* For candles, and given to the servant at Bettyen, on leaving, 5*s.*—12 Dec., at Are, to my lord of St. Barton's servant, 2*s.* 6*d.* 16 Dec., at Robert Elvisshe's house. Supper that night at Bullen. 17 Dec., at Mottrell. 18 Dec., at Abenvyle. To Buckevyle's servant, for bringing word of horses and acting as guide, 5*s.*—19 Dec., at Amyas, for a great steel saddle, 3*l.* Supper at Corby, 6*s.* Given to the lieutenant's servants to see his horse, 3*s.* 6*d.* To the captain's servant, to see a horse of his, 4*s.*—21 Dec., at Dorlance and St. Poule; 22 Dec., at Turwyn and Dornam. For hackneys from 16 to 24 Dec., at Bulleyne, 20*s.*

Expences of Robert Elvisshe and Sanderling, going to see horses:—1 Dec., dinner at Honpount, 21*s.* (*sic*, *qu.* 21*d.*?) Supper at Shaloyner, 2*s.* 6*d.*—2 Dec., dinner at Cousy, 21*d.*, and costs at Nansy, 2*s.* 9*d.*—3 Dec. at Sosson and Mounce.—4 Dec., at Companynyen and Sosson.—5 Dec., dinner at Voxus Sollyon, 22½*d.*—6 Dec., at Nansy and Noyon. For a white horse of Nassoye, 50*l.* 3*s.* Shoeing a horse, 12*d.*—7 Dec., at Hayne, 2 hackneys, at 8*d.* stg. a day each=14*s.* 4*d.* Fl. A grey horse cloth, 2*s.* 3*d.* Elvisshe's costs going to my lord of Barrowe (*sic*, *qu.* Barrowe?), Dyst and other places, 30*s.* To the bayly of Barrowe, a bay horse with a shorn mane, 120 gold guldyns=28*l.* Fl. To the burgh-master of Barrowe, for a black horse with cut ears, 100 gold guldyns=23*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Bringing the horse from Barrowe to Cales, by Andwerp Stekyn, Eklowe, Bruges, Anuwpport, Dunkerkyn and Gravelynge, 21*s.* Toll of the horse at Gavelings, 6*s.* 6*d.* To Elvishee, for his costs going with Mons. Feyotte's brother to Corby for the [horse] he gave the King, 40*s.*

Sir Edw. Guldeforde's expences, by Deryke the page:—Dinner, &c. at Daverne, Bulleyne Marguyson, Gravelings, Dunkirk, Newport, Owdenburgh, Dyxmew, Ipar, Bytten, Mynnyng, Rowley Owdenburgh, Newporte and Gravelynge. To Pety John, of Bullen, for seeing Saint Tobyn's horses, and other horses of the Bekes, 6*s.* 9*d.* A girth, 3*d.* 3 bits, 5*s.* 9½*d.* For "opening of a torney pyke," 4*d.* To a smith, for shaving his horse's top, 2*d.* Half an old sheet for the pied horse hurt. To the Vykawnte at Rowley, for a bay horse, 50*l.* A hackney for 10 days, 9*s.* 3*d.* Ferrying over at Gravelynge, 8*d.* Shoeing a horse, 3*d.*

Expences of Wm. Simpson and Sandring:—To the lieutenant's man of Valenciennes that he should not stop Frederick's horse at the gate, 4*s.* 3*d.* Costs from Hapre to Bytten with the said horse, and the bay horse of Clery, 6 days, 25*s.* 3*d.* Costs when he brought the horse at Cambray, &c., 10*s.* Costs at Lysle, Lanoye, Turnaye, Blamyn, and Lysle: To the 2 brokers at Lysle, 10*s.*; for a black pied horse, 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* stg.=17*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* Fl.; "for the laught they drank," 6*s.* 9*d.*; breakfast and horse meat at Lysle, 5*s.* 3*d.* Costs at Daway, Valencian and Bytten: to Antony Croham's boys, to go home to Brussels with the horse which he brought 70 miles to be seen upon liking, 15*s.*; to Vilford to go to Calais for money for Peto Delanoy's horse, 3*s.*; breakfast with "the captens Shokes," 18*d.*; a "lawgh" with the said captain, 5*s.* Costs at Bytten for 16 days, till Christmas after Guldford's departure, 5*l.* 10*s.* Going to see a horse at Axkes which captain Folke told him of, and a guide, 15*s.* To Pero de Lannoye for a grey horse with cut ears given by the King to Sir Griffith Rice, 160 gold guldyns=37*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To the Bastard, for his labor for brocage, 10*s.* A horse cloth, 2*s.*; a bit, 2*s.* Seeing Sir John Gaunte's horse at Lisle, 2 days, 10*s.* To a man, for bringing the black horse from Lisle, 2*s.* Spent at the tavern with Captain Folkes, 4*s.* 6*d.* 100 horse shoes and nails, 16*s.* 7*d.* Gloves for the lads, 6*d.* Costs at Bytten, 21 days after Christmas, 8*l.* 15*s.* Costs at Heyre, St. Omer's, Dornam and Guysnes: 2 red horse cloths, 5*s.* Simpson and Hauskyng going to see Mons. Bever's horse in Selond, 15*s.* 10*d.* To the horsekeeper, for "shoyng" the horse, 6*s.* 8*d.* A black bald horse bought at the Hayg, given by the King to the duke of Suffolk, 10*l.* 21 ells red frieze cloth, at 12*d.* 2 horse combs, 2*s.* For the horse left at Bruges with a sore [foo]tte, and to the smith that healed him, 8*s.* At Eklowe, meat for 2 young horses, at 6*d.* a day each, for 65 days; their toll at Gravelynge, 12*s.* 8*d.*

Expences of Sir Edw. Guldeford, riding into Zeland to see Mons. Bevers' and other horses; 12 Hen. VIII.:—Ferry at Gravelynge, 6*d.*; wine there, 6*d.* Shoeing a horse, 2*d.* Supper at

1520.

Dunkirk, 6s. 6d.; fire there, 6d. Costs at Newport, Bruges, Newhaven, Flushing, Middleburgh, Armewe, Campvere, Antwerp, Brussels, Termond, Gawnt, Bruges, Owdenburgh, and Gravelynge: to a friar, for saying a mass, 4d. Shoeing a horse at Sluce, 4d. For riding a horse at Dam, 6d. Ferrying over the haven at Sluce, 6d. Bearing the mail from Middlebourg to Armewe, 6d. Supper at Armewe on Ascension Day, 7s. 10d. For a bay pie horse given by the King to Ric. of Cornwall, 13l. 6s. 8d. 2 young bay horses bought of a man of Delf, 131 cr. 3s. 8d. = 41l. 13s. 4d. Saying a mass at Brussels, 4d. Given for God's sake, 2d. For 2 horses to ride to Mons. Barges besides Brussels, 2s. To Hans to ride into the land of Guylylke, and bring a grey horse to Gawnt, 30s. For the grey horse, 250 cr. = 79l. 3s. 4d. Standing of 5 horses, 6 days at Bruges, 15s. 10d. A hackney from Owdenburgh to Gravelynge, and then to Calais, 4s. 2d. To the nailers at Gawnt, to drink, 4d.

Sandring's expenses:—Passage at Gravelynge, going from Calais to Bruges on his master's business on "Shrostewynsdaye," 12d. Wednesday, dinner at Dunkirk, 7½d.; same day, at Newport and Ostend. Dinner at Owdenburgh, 7½d. Supper at Bruges, 8½d. Monday at Lisle, Wednesday at Byttune, Thursday at Hayre, Friday at St. Omer's. A box of white ointment, 22½d. 6½ ells of black velvet for 2 horse harnesses, at 11s. the Flemish ell. 22 buckles and 22 pendants of latten, 11s. 6d.; cleaning them, 21d.; gilding them, 36s. 9d. 2 leather harnesses, 20s. 9d. 18½ oz. of fringe at 16d. st. an oz. 2 horse collars and a girth to "truss the coffyr with harness," 12s. 9d. 2 books of paper, 2s. A pair of shears, 2s. At Lysle, a horse cloth for the rownyd horse, 2s. 3d. 2 surcingles, 6d. To Wm. Symson, 5 phps. = 20s. 10d. 100 rasiers of oats, at 22d. 1,000 garbage, at 4s. 4d. the 100. 700 tare sheaves at 6s. 8d. the 100. 300 bean sheaves at 10s. the 100. 150 wheat sheaves, at 13s. 4d. the 100. 10 sticks of black cloth for covering saddles for the King, 52s. 6d. Hire of 2 hoys to carry the horses to England, and for the mariner's abode while the weather was fair and stable, 6l. 27 iron staples to tie the horses to, 9s. 3¾d. Ropes to tie the spars to separate the horses, 12d. 2 new hogsheds for water, 2s. 9 baskets for the horses to eat from in the hoys, 2s. 3d. Carrying water, hay and oats into the hoys, 9d.

Expenses of carrying the horses into England, by Robert Burgent:—On leaving Calais, "supper of us all," 3s. At Sandwich, for the primage, 12d.; the custom, 5s. For setting up the bridge, 2½d. For the right of the bridge to take the horses out of the ship, 18d. At Canterbury, ointment, 12d. Shoes for Petty John, 14½d. Costs at Sittingbourne, 10s. st. = 14s. Fl., and at Rochester and Dartford. Mending the stable at Greenwich, 9s. 8d. st. = 13s. 6d. Fl.

Sir Edw. Guildford's costs coming to England:—M. Priseley's house, outside the gates of Calais, supper, 11s. 2½d. Hire of a ship, 26s. 8d. st. = 37s. 4d. Fl. Boat hire at Dover, 5s. 7d. Costs in the bayly's house, 2s. 10¾d. 10 horses hired at Canterbury, 14s. To the King's hackney men at Canterbury, 11d. A boat from Grenewyche to London for the saddler, 4½d.; toll at Rochester, 16½d. Carriage of the mail and horse hire to Canterbury, thence to Dover. Freight of a ship to Calais, 42s. Boat hire there, 4s. 7¾d.

Costs of Ric. Pellande, Rauffe Brand, Richard Cutler and Hans going to Flanders to provide stuff for the triumph at the meeting of the King and the French king, 12 Hen. VIII.:—9 April, 4 hackneys from Calais to Bruges, 4 cr. = 25s. 4d. 10th, at Bruges and Gawnt, for 3 hackney horses at 6 stivers each, 2 days, 6s. 11th, at Termond and Makeleyne, 12th, at Brussels. A pair of shoes for Rauff, armorer, 12d. Hans' costs when he came out of Guylylke to Guildford, 12s. 8d. 13th, at Malens, 14th and 15th at Antwerp, 16th at Stekyn and Ecklowe. 3 horses from Bruges to Brussels, for 5 days, at 6 stivers a day each. 18th, at Bruges and Newport. Costs at Antwerp, 21st to 24th, 3s. 6d. 25th, at Makelyn. A wagon from Antwerp to Barrowe and back, 2s. A wagon from Antwerp to Malens, 12d. 5 May, a hackney from Malens to Brussels, 12d. Spent for his mule, 4 days, 2s. 13th, at Termond and Pallos; 14th, at Oudenarde and Bruges; 15th, at Owdenburgh; 16th, at Newport and Skebellkynne; 18th, at Dunkirk. 2 "rappers" for the saddler to make the King's saddles, at Calais, 4s. 2d. 222 lb. of "hertsheyer," 17s. 6d. To Peter van Harne, for 2 "adda" for the saddler, 20d. 2 mawndes to put the chisels and "puchens" in, 20d.;

1520.

The KING'S HORSES—cont.

another for the files, 8*d.* 2 canvas bags for the buckles, 18*d.* 4 tuns for the "bures," the "morns" and the counter-rowndells, 4*s.* 4*d.* 3 tuns for the vamplets, 3*s.* 3*d.* 2 wagons from Brussels to Macklyn, with the stuff. Toll of Brabonde between Vylvorde and Makelyne, 12*s.* 8*d.* Wagon toll at Termont, 3*s.*; at Bruges, 12*d.* Unlading the gear at Calais, 20*d.*

Costs of Robt. Mercer and a servant of my lord St. Barton's, riding with letters to my lord of Bevers, that the King should have his horse:—Dinner at Lowshys on Christmas Eve, 12*d.* Costs at St. Omers, Burburgh, Dunkerke, Ostende, Owdenburgh and Bruges. Boat hire from Bruges to Sluce, 16*d.*; the same from Sluce to Flushing, 3*s.* From Flushing to Middleburgh, 6*d.*; to Derver, 8*d.* Breakfast on Sunday with my lord of Revers', yeoman of the horse, 11*d.* Costs at Middleburgh, Flushing, Bruges, Skepylkynne, and Burburgh.

Provision of stuff for the triumphs, by Ric. Pelland:—2,000 mornes of steel glazed, at 18*d.* 2,000 counter-rowndells, at 10*d.* 2,000 bures, filed, at 16*d.* 1,000 vamplets of Isebroke, at 5*s.* 10*d.* each for grinding and glazing, and 6*d.* for garnishing and lining them. 1,000 myllen swords for the tourney, at 4*s.* 600 two-handed swords, at 7*s.* 6*d.* 100 heavy swords for the tourney on horseback, with tangs of massy steel, with two bands, at 10*s.*, including cutting them shorter, new binding and scaling them. Glazing, new binding and scaling 600 two-handed swords, at 12*d.* each; glazing 400 heavy swords, at 4*d.* each. To Rauffe Brand, armorer, for riding into Flanders and Almayn to provide for the triumph at Guisnes, 12 Hen. VIII., 28 days at 12*d.*; a hackney for him at 12*d.* a day. To Ric. Cutler, for like costs, 56*s.* For shortening 500 swords with new pommels and crosses, at 10*d.* each. 6 sticks of russet velvet, at 11*s.* 6*d.*; and white and yellow velvet, at the same price. 3 sticks of canvas to pack the velvet in, 12*d.* 6 fat leather hides, 5*l.* 3 sommes of rivets containing 1,200 each, at 28*s.* 2*d.* a somme. 28 lb. of cord for binding the swords, 21*s.* 6 bussells leather hides, 3*l.* 1,000 buckles, at 20*d.* the 100. 600 files, at 8*d.* 500 chisels and 500 punches, at 3*d.* 600 feathers with springs, at 2½*d.* 1,500 vices with worms, 24*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* 600 fine charnaylls, 10*l.* 800 filed buckles, every piece filed out of a whole piece, at 3*s.* 2*d.* 12 sheffron, at 1 cr. each. 25 axes, at 6*s.* 8*d.* 40 velvet scabbards, russet, yellow, and white, quartered, at 12*d.* 1,000 sheets for glazing and new binding the swords, at 6*d.* For cutting shorter and new turning 500 swords for the tourney, and putting new pommels and crosses, at 10*d.* each. Breakfast for the lord of St. Barton's wagemen at St. Omers, 8*d.* Baiting his 3 mares and my horse. Drink homeward and outward, 3*d.* Beds at Calais, 2*d.* a night.

Expences for going into England for stuff for the triumph, by Ric. Pelland:—Going to fetch vamplates, sent from Antwerp to London. Hire of a "cache" to Dover, 20*s.* st. = 28*s.* Fl. Hackney to Canterbury, 8*d.* st. = 11*d.* Fl. Canterbury to Rochester, 16½*d.* Rochester to Gravesend, 5½*d.* Gravesend to London, 22½*d.* Repairs of a house in Calais where the King's armour lay:—To the tiler, 40*s.*; 15 rasers lime, at 6*d.*; 4 roof tiles, 5*d.*; 10 gutter tiles, 5*d.*; 4 days' work of a tiler and his man, 5*s.*; a carpenter, 27 days at 10*d.*; his servant at 5*d.*; 2 sawyers, 1 day, 20*d.*

"Mylne" horses for the King's armory. 2 sorrel horses, 8*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* A grey ambling gelding, 8*l.* 8*s.* A "powesse" horse, 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* A "dunned" horse, 74*s.* 7¾*d.* A black horse, 65*s.* 4*d.* A white horse, 56*s.* A "powesse" gelding, bought of John à Morgan at Calais, 65*s.* 4*d.*

Repairs of a house at Calais for the said horses:—600 bundles of reeds at 4*s.* the 100. Roddes and whites, 12*d.* A thatcher, 3 days, 2*s.* 2 loads hay, at 6*s.* 7 rasers oats, 23*s.* 4*d.* 300 straw, 12*s.*

To Wm. Heyward, master joiner, at 12*d.* a day, 2 May to 6 July. Wardens joiners, at 10*d.* Joiners, at 8*d.* 43 doz. calves' skins, at 5*s.* 4*d.* a doz. Carriage from London Wall to the Coyntreye (Vintry), 4*d.*; from the Vyntreye to the ship at Tower Wharf, 5½*d.* To three men for choosing spear staves in the Tower, at 8*d.* st. a day each. Two "sysyng" blocks and arming them, 16¾*d.* Hire of a hoy to carry 1,500 spear staves from the Tower to Calais, 8*l.* 8*s.* Two new keys for the workhouse doors there, 2¾*d.* 20,000 nails to nail the leather on the staves, counter rowndells, and "bawrees," 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Five men

1520.

working a whole night at the beginning of the jousts, 4s. 7½d. 4 lb. of candle for the night watch, 6d. st.

Taking down the mill at Greenwich, and other stuff belonging to the armory: four laborers for four days, at 5d. a day.

Three carpenters for taking down the mill at Greenwich, and setting it up and taking it down at Guisnes, 47 days from 21 March, at 8d. and 7d.

10 loads charcoal, at 12s. 7d. A ship of 44 tons from Greenwich to Calais, at 3s. 4d. st. ton. Carriage of two mill horses from Greenwich to Dover, 14s. Carriage of 54 wagon loads to the King's armory, 14l. Four laborers at Guisnes, setting up the mill and making four forges, for 34 days, at 5d. a day. Carriage of 38 wagon loads of armory stuff, from the camp and Guisnes to Calais, 7l. 18s. 8d. Freight of three mill horses from Calais to Sandwich, 16s. 9½d. A grey pied horse with cut ears, 50l. Given by Sir Edw. Guldeford to the King, a black pied horse, which the King gave to Master Carewe, a young bay horse called Byard Hays, and his boy called Jackett. A boy to Sandwich for them, 40s. Spars and staples for their stalls, 15d. Oats and hay, 11d. Their costs standing one day and night at Sandwich, 3s. 3d. Costs at Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Dartford, eight chafferons, of which six were delivered to Geo. Lovekyn, and two to my lord Marquis, 5l. 12s. Rent of a great woolhouse at Calais for an armory, 1 year from Lady Day 12 Hen. VIII., 9l. 6s. 8d. Rent of a house where 3,000 spars were stored for six years, at 40s. st. a year.

Received of Robt. Fowler by Sir Edw. Guldeford, 11 Hen. VIII., 1,300l. st.; of Sir Wm. Sandes, treasurer of Calais, 152l. 6s. 8d. st. Total in Flemish money, at 28s. to the pound, 2,033l. 4s. 8½d.

Pp. 35, mutilated.

1116. FEES AND ANNUITIES IN WALES.

R. O.

In *Montgomery*: to Chas. earl of Worcester, Sir Ric. Herbert, John Dudley, Thos. Sterky and others, 83l. 1s. 9d. In *Elvell*: to earl of Worcester, John Wren and others, 24l. 9s. 10d. In *Buelth*: Sir Rice ap Thomas, &c., 37l. 15s. 8d. In *Bromfelde and Yale*: Chas. duke of Suffolk and others, 95l. 6s. 8d. In *Chirklande*: duke of Suffolk, Wm. Edwards, &c., 45l. 8s. Late Sir Wm. Stanley's lands in *Cheshire and Flint*: Ralph Egerton, 10l. *Deffrencloid*: earl of Worcester, &c., 115l. 11s. 8d. Total, 673l. 13s. 3d.

Mutilated, pp. 3.

1117. BEAUMONT'S LANDS.

R. O.

Fees and annuities granted by Henry VII. and VIII. to be audited by Walter Pattesall, 12 Hen. VIII.

To John Josselyn, auditor, John Jason, bailiff of Stewton, Roger Wygston and James Chaplain, Sir Wm. Turwytt and others.

2. Annuity by late Viscount to Sir Thos. Lovell, from the manor of Wormegaye, Norf.

3. Coparceners' lands. Sir Willm. Compton, steward, Rob. Hennage and others.

Lat.

1118. NOTTS and DERBY.

R. O.

Fees of the King's officers within the receipt of Wm. Keby, receiver of the lands lately belonging to Jasper duke of Bedford.

Sir Thos. Lovell, Ric. Hopkins, bailiff of Horsey, Wm. Keby and others. Total, 21l. 8s. 4d.

Lat., p. 1. Endd.

1119. ERASMUS to WOLSEY.

Fr. Ep. xxix.
76.

Dedicates to him his Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude.

1520.

1120. ERASMUS to MORE, Treasurer.

Er. Ep. xvii. 7.

Recommends Conrad Goclenius, professor of Latin in the College of the Three Languages, Louvain. Anderlaci, 1520.

1121.**GRANTS in DECEMBER 1520.**

GRANTS. 1. Th. Cade, of Geyton, Norf., husbandman. Pardon for killing Th. Stagge, of Geyton, clk., in self defence. Westm., 1 Dec.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.*

1. Christ. More. Wardship of Alice d. and h. of Edw., s. of Wm., s. and h. of John Cobbe. *Del. Westm., 1 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B. Pat. p. 2, m. 24.*

5. Ric. Panell, John Clerke, John Lovekyn and Adam Byston. Mortmain licence to alienate a messuage, 2 workshops (*opellæ*) and a parcel of land in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, (bounded by tenements of the prior and convent of Lewes, of Wm. Braunche, of the prior and convent of St. Mary Overey, Southwark, and of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Southwark, the King's street from London bridge to the parish church, and a tenement of Th. Thaicher,) to James Denton, clk., rector of the parish church of St. Olave, and his successors, for the cemetery. Greenwich, 27 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 5 Dec. —P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

6. Sir Henry Marney, Sir Wm. Fitz-William and Th. Englefeld. Custody of the manors of Mickelton, Rumbald, Ovyngton, Lurtyngton, Dent-absque-Caldecotes, Sedbergh, Ingylton, Askridge, Fremyngton, Ravynswath, Estaplegarth, Thorp, Richmond, Dalton, Quassheton, Cleseby, Clowbecke, Barwyke-on-Tese, Cudderstun and Estanfeld, York, late of Sir Thomas Parre, during the minority of Wm. Parre, his s. and h., to the use of lady Matilda his widow, at the annual rent of 161*l.*; also of the manors of Westanfeld, Wath and Carethorp, York, late of the said Sir Thomas or of George lord Fitzhugh, to hold from the death of Katharine lady Fitzhugh, widow of the said George and now wife of Sir Th. Nevyle, and during the said minority; rent, 200*l.* *Del. Hampton Court, 6 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 13.*

6. Th. Evans, clk., student in civil law. Presentation to the church of Mountgomery, Heref. dioc., *vice* Hugh Pole, resigned. Greenwich, 4 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court, 6 Dec. —P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 13.*

8. John Wogan, gentleman usher, "quarter wayter" of the Chamber. To be bailiff errant of the lordship of Haverford West, during pleasure, *vice* Sir Th. ap Philip, de-

ceased. Greenwich, 8 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII.—*P.S. (No date on roll.) Pat. p. 1, m. 17.*

8. John Thomas ap Philip, sewer, and John Lloid, page, of the Chamber. To be stewards and receivers of the lordships of Llanstephan and Oisterlowe, S. Wales, during pleasure, with 100*s.* a year. Sir Th. ap Philip and Maurice Lloyd, their fathers, held the same offices by patent 18 March 7 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 8 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII.—*P.S. (No date on roll.) Pat. p. 1, m. 11.*

9. John Thomas ap Philip, sewer of the Chamber. To be coroner and escheator of co. Pembroke, and the lordship of Harford West, *vice* Sir Th. Philips, deceased. Greenwich, 9 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII.—*P.S. (No date on roll.) Pat. p. 1, m. 13.*

10. Sir Ric. Weston and Sir Edw. Belknap. To be surveyors, governors, keepers, and sellers of wards and their possessions, during pleasure, with nomination of feodaries and other officers, power to convoke such of the council as are learned in the law, and with 100*l.* a year; the same having been granted to Sir Th. Lovell, treasurer of the Household, and the said Richard, but given up by Lovell on account of age and business. *Del. Hampton Court, 10 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B.*

10. Th. Yate, *alias* Yeate, of Bristowe, merchant adventurer. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 8 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 10 Dec. —P.S. Fr., m. 1.*

18. Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam. Grant of the manor of Purbright, Surrey, with appurtenances in Pyrbright. *Del. Hampton Court, 18 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B.*

19.* Ric. Legh, yeoman of the Jewels. To have the free chapel called "le Wekes," in the lordship of Donyngton, in Holland, Linc., on surrender of patent 2 Dec. 3 Hen. VIII., granting the same to John Farding. Greenwich, 8 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. (*Date of delivery not given.*)—*P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 11 (undated).*

21. Ambrose Pudsey. To be keeper of Cotesough park, in the lordship of Middelham, on surrender of patent 2 May 1 Hen. VII., granting the same to Hen. Pudsey, his father, Henry VII.'s esquire. Also to be forester of one half of Coverdale forest, York. Greenwich, 13 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 21 Dec. —P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 5.*

* This date is obtained from a subsequent patent, made on surrender of this. See *Pat. Roll 15 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.*

1521.

A.D. 1521.

2 Jan. 1122. RICHARD [FOX] BISHOP OF WINCHESTER to [WOLSEY].

Faustina, C. vii. 214.
 Strype's Eccl. Mem. 1.
 pt. 2. p. 35.

Received great consolation from Wolsey's last letters, stating that he had instituted, and appointed an early day to commence, a reformation of the whole clergy. Has desired to see this day as Simeon desired to see the Messiah; and since he read Wolsey's letters, doubts not to see a more full reformation of the whole English hierarchy than he ever could hope for in this age. Has endeavored to do within his own small jurisdiction what Wolsey has resolved upon in both the provinces of England; but though he has given all his study to it for nearly three years, where he had to correct and punish, he found the clergy, and particularly (what he did not at first suspect) the monks, so depraved, so licentious and corrupt, that he despaired of any perfect reformation, even in his own diocese. Has known, by experience, that whatever Wolsey undertakes he will do; and such is his skill in divine and human affairs, and his authority with King and Pope, of which the fame has spread over the world, that he will undoubtedly achieve by this reformation a fame greater than that of all preceding legates. Marwell, postridie calendas Januariæ. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2.

1123. [CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. v. 136.
 B. M.

Excuses the long interval since he wrote last. Before Christmas, the Pope was absent several days hunting and riding "in his suburbanis locis." When he returned, the ceremonies of the festival left no time for business, though the affairs of the court are slow enough of themselves. Sends two briefs, the one for the King and the other for Wolsey, in reply to the letters brought by himself. The Pope desires him and Worcester to urge the King to persevere in promoting peace among Christian princes, and not take part with either the French king or the King Catholic, but make himself an arbiter between them, whose counsel his Holiness will follow. They assured the Pope this was quite the King's intention; which, though declared before to the Pope and Cardinal de Medicis, they are always glad to hear repeated. The Pope is thus led to believe that in time the holy expedition will take effect, of which the King's piety first raised his hopes. In the brief for Wolsey the Pope has ordered a clause to be inserted about the matters of the bishop of Worcester, to show that what Campeggio formerly wrote was by his order. He has again enjoined him to urge Wolsey to intercede for him with the King. Sends the bull for the continuance of the legateship for two years from the termination of the first grant. In granting it, the Pope said he wished Wolsey to acknowledge his kindness, that he might bind him to the interests of the Holy See. He meant this in reference to the affair of the half-tenth, wherein Wolsey ought certainly to do his best to satisfy him; which, Campeggio said, he had no doubt he would do. Had expedited (*expedieram*) a confessional for the King and Queen, and their children, born and to be born; but it was so full of errors, it had to be recopied, and cannot be sent now.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. The last leaf wanting.

6 Jan. 1124. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O.
 Rym.xiii.734.

On the return of Campeggio, granted Wolsey continuation of his legatine authority, with the visitation of the monasteries, first for one year after Campeggio's departure, and then for two years from the expiration of that time, with the additional privilege of granting absolution to those who hear him perform mass in the presence of the King and Queen. Continues these powers two years longer. Rome, 1520, 8 id. Jan., pont. 8.

Vellum, Lat., sub plumbo.

1521.

7 Jan. 1125. For the SUBPRIOR, &c. of the AUGUSTINE MONASTERY of
ST. MARY, SOUTHWIKE, Winch. dioc.

Congé d'élire, *vice* Thos. Kent, deceased. Westm., 7 Nov.

Pat 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 2, m. 8.

8 Jan. 1126. SIR RICHARD JERNINGHAM and SIR NICHOLAS CAREW
to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VIII. 1.

B. M.

Carew arrived at Funtayn, 31 Dec. Both went the same night to Mounfroo, in the Forest of Bullayn, where the French king lay. Carew presented his letters and instructions. Francis thanked him heartily; and I then showed him about the coronation of the Emperor, and the great labor made by the ambassador of Hungary, and other Almain princes, that the Emperor should take the daughter of Hungary in marriage, which he has refused, in accordance with the King's advice, and concluded the marriage for his brother, Don Fernando, in order to keep his promises with the French king. Francis replied, that if the Emperor kept all promises, the King might be sure they would not be broken by him; that as to the diet about to assemble "after this xii. day," he believed it was for three purposes: 1st, to have aid in recovering the imperial crown, for which Francis thinks the sum demanded will be so great that it will not be granted; 2nd, to have aid in repressing the mutiny in Spain, which will be refused; 3rd, to make Don Fernando king of the Romans, which Francis thinks the Electors will not submit to. Carew also told him that, after the diet and the marriage, the Emperor was determined to return to the Low Countries, giving up his journey to Rome, and soon after to pass into Spain to put down the rebellion. Francis answered little, except that it was needful for him to do so. Carew told him that the King had persuaded the Pope, the Emperor, the Swiss and all the estates of Italy to maintain friendship with France, so that he should have [no] occasion to cross the mountains again, except for his pastime. Francis thanked him, and said his going there was only for the satisfaction of his subjects, and the reform of justice. His mother goes with him, and says, "if he in[tended] otherwise than peace, he would have xx . . . of artillery in the lieu and place of the sa" When talking on this subject with the Admiral, he thought Henry's counsel right good and [honorable] to the King his master, and that if [Francis' going] over were to his honor the King would not advise him against it. On the French king's coming to Lyons, [he] shall be advertised touching the affairs of Milan more than he knows yet, "and . . . if the King his master may conclude all such . . . as toucheth his honor and profit," the Admiral will, for his part, advise him not to cross the mountains, as it will be expensive.

As to the new interview, the French king is content to put Wolsey in the same authority on his behalf as in the last. When Carew had declared the King's command touching the sending of Mons. Dowbeney into Scotland as Albany's lieutenant, the King answered that he was sent, against his own will, in consequence of the communication at Arde between the King's mother, Wolsey and mons. l'Amiral, in order to advise the Scots to send an embassy to England for peace; and to show this more clearly, Francis will send Wolsey Dowbeney's instructions.

This day, the King received letters from Scotland from Mons. Dowbeney, and showed Carew and Jerningham that Dowbeney had arrived at Edinburgh, with the Bishop of St. Andrew's and many other lords of Scotland. "And twenty miles thence, on the other party was the . . . Chancellor, with divers other lords of the country, t . . . number of people with her; and like to have b[een great] inconvenience, if the said Mons. Dowbeney had" Having shown his charge to the [king] of Scots, the bishop

1521

of St. Andrew's and others, Dowbeney desired [to speak] with the Queen, the Chancellor "and other of hi[r] council," and intreated them in such wise that an appointment is made by which the Queen is to enjoy her dowry, and no further inconvenience is likely to arise.—Francis told them he had written with his own hand to Wolsey touching the duke of Ferrara, a letter which he thought should have been kept secret; but he had a letter from Rome containing the same wo[rds] as the letter the King sent to Wolsey. The Pope's ambassador in England, he says, wrote this letter to his Holiness, and states that Wolsey had shown the matter to him. I have enquired the substance of the four young gentlemen whose names you sent me in your last. They are of good houses and rents, as will be seen by the enclosed bill. The Admiral declares they are of as good houses and greater rents than those in England. They will be sent to Boulogne, and when there will notify the ambassador of France; and when the others are sent to Calais, these will be delivered at Calais, according to the treaty. Carew has been well entertained by the French king since his coming. Francis has "as familiar and great . . . as he can desire." He is much pleased with the King's presents, especially the doublet, and asked if they were made in England. Arromatyn, 8 [Jan]ever.

Signed.

Pp. 7. Add. : To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

1127. 2. Duplicate of the INSTRUCTIONS of "Messires ROBERT ESTUARD, &c., SEIGNEUR DAUBIGNY" [from France].

Calig. B. vi.

140.

B. M.

(1.) That the king of Scotland should maintain peace during his minority; (2.) that Francis, immediately on his accession, had despatched, at their request, the sieur de Flamigny (lord Fleming?) and Jaques Ogubi, ambassadors of Scotland to Lewis XII.; (3.) that, on his making a treaty with England similar to that of Lewis, he would have included Scotland; (4.) but had been obliged to make modifications, subject to which it was sent by Villebresme to Scotland, accepted by the Estates there, and sent to the king of England. (5.) Thus the king of France conceived that peace between Scotland and England would remain unbroken; but as it turned out otherwise, they had been obliged to make a truce; (6.) to prevent the expiration of which, he had despatched as ambassadors the sieur de St. Romain and Cordier to England, and thence to Scotland. (7.) To secure the peace of Christendom, he had sent the Admiral into England to form a new treaty, desiring that Scotland should be comprehended therein, without effect. (8.) After its conclusion he had sent Denis Poullot into Scotland to notify the comprehension and the modifications required, which they would not accept. (9.) Thereupon the said Flamigny required the recal of Albany into Scotland, saying there were so many disorders that otherwise the kingdom would go to perdition. (10.) At the meeting of the two Kings at Ardre and Guyne, Francis and "Madame sa mère" used their efforts to comprehend Scotland in a treaty, without effect. (11.) On proposing Albany's return, Wolsey had declared it was not agreeable to the King his master, or safe for his nephew, and if Albany attempted it England would oppose him; (12.) that intestine divisions were fomented by the Duke, not by England; that if the king of Scotland would send an ambassador to England, the queen of Scots would do the same, and compose all divisions. (13.) As soon as Flamigny should return to Scotland with the pacificatory letters, Francis would send an ambassador to assist in tranquillising the kingdom, which he had accordingly done; help to recal the exiles, compose the differences, and aid the Queen. (14.) They will show the king of Scotland and his council the good will that France has always borne them in promoting the national interest. (15.) Scotchmen were treated in France like natives, and held in

1521.

Duplicate of INSTRUCTIONS of "Messires ROB. ESTUARD, &c."—*cont.*

such esteem that they formed the King's chief bodyguard. (16.) In consideration of which, and their own interest and security, the ambassadors shall beseech them to stop this effusion of Christian blood. (17.) If Albany returns war must inevitably ensue, and therefore (18.) it is better he should stay in France. (19.) For these reasons, Francis has promised to prevent his going. (20.) They shall urge the sending two ambassadors to England, as above, and the payment of the Queen's dowry.

Fr., pp. 15. *Endd.*: Double des instructions à Mons. d'Aubigny.

10 Jan.

1128. The HENRY GRACE A DIEU.

R. O.

Inventory of the tackle, &c. belonging to the *Herry Grace Diewe*, now in the storehouse at Erith, in the keeping of John Hopton, viewed by Sir [Ric.] Wyngfeld and Sir Weston Browne, by the King's order, 10 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. The main stay, of 16 inches, tarred, little worn. 2 main "bollyn." A halser of 8 inches, tarred, &c. 2 cables new tarred; one 22 inches, the other 20 inches. A cablet of 9 inches, tarred, &c. on the loft. The garlonds for the main-top, the fore-top, and the main-top gallant, of iron. Garlonds for the fore-top gallant, main mizen, and bonaventure, &c. A halser of 6 inches, for a gier for the main sail. A snache pulley with a brazen schever. Halsers from 4 inches to 8 inches. 181 morrispikes. 51 flagstaves. 136 javelines. 12 dozen casting darts. 6 dozen fyldstakes. 17 dozen long targets, and — round targets. The main course with two bonnets double.

Pp. 3.

11 Jan.

1129. RICHARD GRESHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Ellis, 3 Ser.
1. 235.

Reminds him of a licence he asked for at Hampton Court, for him and two of his brothers to export and import goods until the customs on them shall amount to 2,400*l.*, which they will pay at the rate of 300 marks yearly. Wishes to know his pleasure soon, as he is sending a ship to Turkey. "And whereas your grace oweth me 280*l.*, I am contented to give it your grace for the said licence, and have made your grace a general quittance, which I delivered your grace at Hampton Court." London, 11 Jan. 1520. Has given the said licence to Master Henage.

Hol., p. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Cardinal's good grace. *Endd.*

12 Jan.

1130. BAPTISTA DE TAXIS, Imperial Postmaster.

R. O.

Three receipts for 324 florins received from Sir Wm. Santhes, treasurer of Calais, for posts from Calais to Brussels, from 12 Jan. 1520 to 12 April of the same year, commencing at Christmas. Calais, x . . July 1520. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, and the writing much faded. *Endd.*: "The posts for three months."

R. O.

ii. Three receipts by the same for 324 (?) florins, from Sir Wm. verts (?), treasurer of Calais, for the payment of posts for the King from Mechlin to Calais. Dated at Mechlin, 12 Nov. [12 Dec.] and 12 Jan. 1520.

Hol., *Lat.*, mutilated. *Endd.*: 12 acquittances of the posts.

15 Jan.

1131. LEO X. to ERASMUS.

Mon. Vatican.
p. 3.
Jortin, III. 87.

Is glad to find by his letters that his loyalty to the apostolic see continues unshaken. Praises the services he has rendered to literature, and assures him he shall always be gladly received whenever he thinks of visiting Rome. Rome, 15 Jan. 1521.

1521.

- 19 Jan. **1132.** [CAMPEGGIO] to WOLSEY.
 Vit. B. iv. 79. Spoke in his last of the death of the Turk. Has since heard that
 B. M. one Gazele has formed an insurrection against him, who has called the Sophi
 to his aid. The Pope has sent troops to preserve tranquillity, being apprehensive of the proceedings of the fleet which stormed Zerbe. Rome,
 19 Jan. 1521. *Signature burnt off.*
Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. Add. in modern hand.

- 19 Jan. **1133.** TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.
 R. O. A courier of Antwerp brought him yesterday a letter from the King
 to the Emperor, asking for a licence of wheat for Ant. Vivalde, a letter
 from Wolsey to Chievres, and one to himself. Will assist Vivalde as
 Wolsey desires, as soon as his factors come to give him full information;
 but none have come yet, and the courier has not heard of any one coming.
 If the King's letters are of the same date as Wolsey's, 22 Nov., the affair
 has not been conducted with the diligence that was promised when the
 King's letters were obtained. Perceives by his servant's letters Wolsey's
 kindness in advancing him a prest of 500 marks for his diets. Will
 account for it at his return. Worms, 19 January. *Signed.*
Pp. 2. Add.: My lord Cardinal of York, [legate] de latere, &c.
Endd.

- 20 Jan. **1134.** MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.
 R. O. Has written by the post which the Emperor is sending to his
 ambassador in answer to the cordial letters Wolsey wrote lately. Brussels,
 20 Jan. 1521. *Signed.*
Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le legat d'Angleterre.

- 20 Jan. **1135.** SIR JOHN DAUNCE and JOHN HALES, the King's
 R. O. General Surveyors, to JAS. WHITENEY, Receiver of
 Newport, or THOMAS AP MORGAN, his deputy.
 At the session of Oyer held in September last at Newport, the
 King's tenants redeemed the sessions for 600 marks to be paid in three
 years. As one day is expired, and no process made for levying the money,
 require him to issue a process out of his Chancery there, for levying what
 is due. London, 20 Jan. *Signed.*
P. 1. Add.

- 20 Jan. **1136.** CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.
 R. O. In behalf of Gregory Casali, who has asked him to write to Wolsey
 for expediting his pensions. Knows there is no necessity for doing so,
 but could not refuse one who had deserved so well of him. Rome, 20 Jan.
 1521.
 Hears that John de Cavalcanti has got into trouble for undertaking,
 while Campeggio was in England, to pay money for him in Italy. Requests
 he may not be molested, as any proceedings taken against him will injure
 Campeggio. *Signed.*
Lat., p. 1. Add. Endd.

- 21 Jan. **1137.** HENRY VIII. to LEO X.
 Add. MS. Has consulted with the nuncio, the Pope's auditor, upon certain
 15,387, f. 86. matters of great importance which the bp. of Worcester had intimated to
 B. M. him in the Pope's name. Has caused Wolsey to write to the Bishop an
 answer in detail. Greenwich, 21 Jan. 1520.
Lat., copy, pp. 3.

1521.

22 Jan. 1138. JAMES V.

Rym. XIII.
735.

Commission to Thomas abbot of Kelso, Andrew Ker of Cesfurde, warden of the Middle Marches, and Adam Ottirburn of Auldham, to treat for peace between the two kingdoms with Thomas lord Dacre of Graystok. Edinburgh, 22 Jan. 1520.

23 Jan. 1139.] EARL OF KENT.

R. O.

Articles of marriage between the earl of Kent and Mrs. [Dawes] of London, widow.

The Earl to settle on her lands to the value of 300 mks., for her life, and to be paid 2,000 mks., one half at the marriage, half before the following Pentecost, besides plate or money to the value of 500*l*. Half the said sum to go to the redeeming of manors, &c. purchased from him by the lord Marquis, Ric. Dicone and Wm. Botry.

Mrs. Dawes not to be indebted to any one at the time of the marriage above 100*l*. She is to find sureties for the performance of these articles in 3,000*l*. All her manors, &c. "to be made sure to the said Earl, and to her term of life," and the heirs of her body. Dated 23 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.

P. 1.

1140. LADY OF KENT.

R. O.

"These byn the parsells that I, Wm. Husy, gentylman, have laide downe for the right honorable lady of Kent at dyverse tymys in London."

12 ells of Holland cloth, at 2*s*. "Half a nelne of powpyngen sasenet," 3*s*. 4*d*. For waving of ribbons, 14*d*. 1,000 pins, 7*d*. A frontlet of gold, 40*s*. 12 yds. of black satin, 5*l*. 8*s*. 12 yds. of black velvet, 8*l*. 3 yards of "tawne medley," 15*s*. To Jas. Gentyll, mercer, 3½ yds. of French black, 41*s*. To Jas. Monkecaster, 21*s*. For making 3 gowns, of black velvet, satin and cloth, and a cloak of camlet, 29*s*. To Roweche the skinner, for furring and performing furs, 31*s*. 8*d*. 1 oz. of gold, 2 oz. of silk, 7*s*. 8 "elmys" cambric, at 4*s*. the elne. For making 2 shirts and the gold belonging to them, 8*s*. 4*d*. "To deliver unto my lord, by your commandment," 6*s*. 8*d*. Horse hire, for carrying her stuff from London to Canysasby, 10*s*. "For a male," 7*s*. 2 pair shoes, 19*d*. Making a gown for maistres Wiburn, and lining for the back, 2*s*. 2*d*. To master Locke for ballis, 29*s*. 4*d*. Lent unto my Lady in ready money at Greenwich, 53*s*. 4*d*. Paid to Reynold, groom of her chamber, 13*s*. 4*d*. To Thomas, poticary, 2*s*. To Baker, for boat hire at divers times, 8*d*. Boat hire for Geronnyne and Thomas, poticary, when she was sick, 4*s*. 8*d*. To Master Brooke, 6*s*. 8*d*. Delivered to my Lady at Greenwich, 3 ducats, 13*s*. 6*d*. Boat hire between Greenwich and Westminster, 16*d*. To the clerk for writing indentures, 5*s*. A loaf of sugar, 15*d*. To Baker and Sharpe, for lining their coats, 5*s*. 6½ yds. russet damask, 52*s*. Total, 48*l*. 2*s*. 2*d*.

Of this sum, received in plate, at Ampthill and London, from Katerin Pratte, 15*l*. 2*s*. From my Lady, a collar set with stones, 3*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*. Received upon an obligation of Belknapes, 6*l*. 13*s*. [4]*d*. From Maistres Wiburre at Greenwich, 3*l*. From my lord of Kent at Greenwich, 4 mks. Received in stuff of my Lady, 7*l*. 4*s*.

Pp. 4, mutilated.

25 Jan. 1141. JOHN LORD BERNERS to WOLSEY.

R. O.

On the 24th Jan. a man came to him from the Emperor's court with news that the parliament at Worms was begun, that Don Ferdinando should marry the king of Hungary's daughter, and that the Emperor should soon after return into Spain. He says also that 5,000 or 6,000 Spanish rebels attacked a castle belonging to Fontesecca after he had left Spain, but were

1521.

repulsed, and many slain by blowing up some powder which had been placed in the ditch. A captain and 14 or 15 others were taken and hanged on the walls. The constable of Castile has taken the Emperor's mother and her daughter out of the hands of the commons at Towrdecelis, and those who were made her councillors by the commons were hanged. He was told for a fact that Gerone in Catalonia, 15 leagues from France, had rebelled against the Emperor, and that the archbishop of Toledo, Chievres' nephew, had died at Worms, and the bishop of Burgos, brother to Fontesecca, should take his place.

Thinks Wolsey may know the certainty of this news better than he does. Would like to be informed if they are true, that he may know whether to believe his informant. Has sent him back again, and has other persons in divers places, but has heard nothing as yet from them. Calais, 25 Jan.

Hol., pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

26 Jan. 1142. CARDINAL WOLSEY.

R. O.

"Anno xii.

"Saturday, 26 Jan., John gentylman, sworn upon a book before my taken, that one Thomas Gyldon, of Kirkby, about the 20th day of January, in the 11th [year of Hen. VIII.] Ryesby, within the said county, behind the high [said that the] Cardinal would destroy this realm, a[nd se]tt all the n[obles] in the King's top, and within this two year he the said Ca[r]dinal would have] the shamefullest fall that ever had chanced [in] En[gland] authority; and fartherly that it had cost his master ssy for to obtain his favor, and yet he could not get hi[t] his master. We shall never have no stroke while he reigneth; verily I would give 100*l.* of my purse that that time were come. And m[oreover h]e will bring one Wm. Marlyng, his brother, that will swear ay his oath that the said Thos. Gyldon said unto him these words or other as ill. All which premises the said Wm. Marling, when [he was ex]amyned, confessed that he heard them and more, and affirmed them to be true. Also the said John Marlyng saith that he shewed the said words to his brother, William Marlyng."

Thos. Gyldon's answer to John Marlyng's bill of complaint.

He says the whole of it is untrue, which he will prove as my lord's council will award, and that he heard "one Flude, which is a brewter called, say that he did see by provese (prophecy) that a great man being a bishop, should ride upon a high horse and should have as great a fall as ever had man, but whether the said Thomas ever spake these words to t[he said] John Marlyng or not, he is not in remembrance."

This bill was examined before Mr. Lovell, Sir Ric. Rokeby, Sir Thomas D[en]ny [and] Mr. Asheton, steward, treasurer, comptroller and surveyor to the Cardinal, and Mr. and Mr. Shelley, his councillors.

Pp. 3, mutilated.

30 Jan. 1143. SCOTLAND.

Rym. xiii. 736.

Truce taken at Ridane, 30 Jan. 1520, between Thos. abbot of Kelso, Andrew Ker of Cesford, Adam Ottirburne, for king James, and Thos. lord Dacre for England, from the 1st Jan. last to the 9th April inclusive, for the intent that the king of Scotland may send ambassadors to England. The term to be further enlarged to the 30th June, the said ambassadors "beand sett forethwart" within the realm of England.

1521.

30 Jan. 1144. BONNIVET to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. i. 26.

B. M.

[1st leaf lost] " maistre car sen retourne devers le Roy vostre m[aistre, par] lequel ledict sieur entendra, et vous aussi, les deviz quil a en[vers] le Roy son bon frere que me gardera vous en faire [co]nte par ma lettre," except that he wishes to assure him of Francis' friendship towards Henry. The persons mentioned by Jerningham to be exchanged for the hostages will be at Calais at the end of February. Romorantier, 30 Jan. *Signed*.

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: Le [car]dinal d'Yort, legat, &c.

Jan.

1145. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Has received his letters dated Greenwich, 30 Dec., asking leave for the mayor and aldermen of London to import from Flanders, by their factor, who is named in the said letter, 80 "gros cens" of corn for the use of their city. Regrets being unable to comply, as the people are in a state of commotion, owing to the dearness of grain. Asks credence for the bishop of Badajoz, the Emperor's ambassador, to whom she is writing also. Malines, —† Jan. 1520. *Signed*.

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

Jan.

1146. MARGARET OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. vi.

137.

B. M.

To the same effect. Malines, —† day of Jan. 1520. *Signed*.

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le cardinal d'Yorck, primat et legat d'Angleterre.

1147. BERWICK.

Calig. B. iii.

224.

B. M.

"Hereafter followeth certain articles of remembrance that I [Ugh-tred ?] must show unto my lord Cardinal's grace, touching the danger of the town and castle of Berwick."

(1.) Notwithstanding the smallness of the number of soldiers, many have patents to be away. (2.) To ask for the appointing and dismissal of all officers and servants as he is bound for the keeping of the town. (3.) To have letters to the prior of St. Oswald's for the tithes of Bamburgh.

Subjoined is a memorandum of the number of the soldiers and their fees.

Pp. 2.

1148. THOS. MORE to the DEPUTY CHAMBERLAINS of the EX-CHEQUER.

R. O.

Desires them to deliver the ratification of the perpetual peace between Henry VII. and James late king of Scotland, and the treaty for reformation of attemptats, with the king of Scots' commission and an indenture of their ambassadors, to the bearer, Mr. Udale, to be brought to the Legate at the More. *Signed: Thos. More, under-treasurer.*

P. 1. The titles of the documents in Tuke's hand, the rest in More's.

1149. [HENRY VIII. to TUNSTAL.]

Vit. B. xx.

181*.

B. M.

Has well considered his letters in cipher, dated 17 Dec., in which he describes at length the form and manner he has employed in [executing] the charges committed to him, and notices [the an]swer made by Chievres and the Chancellor to his over[ture and the sup]plications and reasons by which he sought to induce them to lay aside their difficulties. Thanks

1521.

him for his acquittal of the charges, and for giving his opinion, as requested, about the validity of the oath to be made to Henry by the Emperor, which is, that it would be of no force if mention were not made of the Pope's dispensation, the parties being in the second degree of consanguinity. This point was too manifest to be overlooked, but the council considered that to have the oath made dependent on the Pope's arbitrement by the words added by Tunstal might lead hereafter to influence being used with the Pope by the Emperor, the French king, or others, to refuse the dispensation altogether. They therefore thought it would be inexpedient to put them in the oath before they were sure of the Pope. If, however, the words be inserted in the oath, a brief or bull must forthwith be obtained from the Pope, dispensing with the parties, "now as then, and then as now, to contract matrimony, whensoever they should mind and determine so to do, the said impediment notwithstanding; which at this treaté"

Draft, in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, p. 1.

Jan. 1150. [HENRY VIII. to TUNSTAL.]

Galba, B. VII.

179.

B. M.

On receipt of your first letters, dated Worms, 17 December, describing the manner in which you made overture of the charges committed to you, the answers of Chievres and the Chancellor, and your replies to their objections, we had determined to answer you upon every point; but upon the arrival of your second letters, dated Worms, the 29th, showing that the Emperor was more untoward than ever, we have been compelled to change our purpose, and frame our answer to the purport of your last letters, which comprise all the points in the former. We thank you for your discreet behavior and good service, which we shall remember. We marvel at the sudden change of the Emperor's council, in resolving not to enter further in this alliance till he have leave from the Pope, and unless we consent to treat of all matters at once; viz., of the league defensive with the Pope, the entertainment of the Swiss, the means by which we and the Emperor might recover the lands detained by France, the aid to be given against the Spanish rebels, and a new interview between us two. This is far discrepant from other overtures made to us at Calais, and by their ambassadors in England; for although in your first letters you state that the Pope's dispensation is necessary in making this oath for alliance, the parties being in the second degree of consanguinity, which point we had well foreseen, it might be the ruin of the whole business to have the oath depend upon the Pope's arbitrament, as the Pope might be moved either by the Emperor, the French king or others not to grant the dispensation. The difficulty might be cleared by a bull dispensing with the parties, now as then, and then as now, to contract matrimony whenever they pleased; but we will not consent to any such treaties before the conclusion of the convention for the alliance. Therefore, in the articles sent by you, which we now return with sundry additions, there should be inserted an express provision, binding us and the Emperor not to conclude any defensive league with the Pope, unless such dispensation be first granted under lead; which shall be obtained in the most secret manner. The Pope will make no difficulty, or he will lose the advantage of the league. For more surety, a bond must be made between us and the Emperor, by way of stipulation, to my lord Cardinal, in the form contained in a memorial in Latin, now sent to you, with a proxy to enable you to stipulate in the Cardinal's name.

We wonder they refuse things so much to their advantage; for, considering the amity between us and France, and our daughter honorably bestowed there, and that we are at peace with all Christian princes, what need we care for further alliance with the Pope and Emperor than we have already?

1521.

[HENRY VIII. to TUNSTAL]—*cont.*

Why should we meddle with the Swiss, or make war against France, or aid the Emperor against rebels, except for the affection we bear him? We do not need aid of the Emperor or any other; and if they make difficulties, we are not minded to bestow favors on those that will not receive them. We only require this promise, that we may be the better inclined to the Emperor's interests. Without it, we have no occasion specially to tender his weal. It will not prevent the Emperor from marrying any person of lawful age, before our daughter comes to mature years; as he will only be bound to take her if he be then at liberty. Our daughter will be of age before the French king's, and will be a more advantageous match than the other, by possibility of succession. This alliance should be concluded before other particular conventions; for if we delayed it till after the league with the Pope, and the convention for stricter amity with the Emperor, they might demand unreasonable things of us, which would lead us into war and intolerable charges, bring us into suspicion with the other confederates, and help them to play their game, leaving us alone; but having the bond of alliance, we shall be encouraged frankly to declare ourselves, and do all we can in behalf of our said brother.

We are willing that the dote and dowry be appointed in the treaty; and it is to be considered that she is now our sole heir, and may succeed to the crown; so that we ought rather to receive from the Emperor as large a sum as we should give with her if she were not our heir; but if we have an heir male hereafter, we are willing to give with her as great a dote as was assigned to our sister Mary, which did not exceed 50,000*l.*; provided the money due to us by the Emperor for loans and otherwise be counted part of the dote. If they demand as great a dote as we promised to give with her for her marriage in France, you may say that as we should not have disbursed any money for that dote, which is assigned upon the redemption of Tournay, it would not be reasonable to demand so large a sum; but if they insist upon it, we are content to give the same dote promised to the Dauphin. As to the jointure to be given her by the Emperor, considering the greatness of his possessions, it ought not to be less than the yearly value of 20,000 mks. If they say that is larger than the dowry, you may reply that the French king has bound himself by a treaty apart to pay to us during our life, and after our decease to the Princess and the heirs of her body, a larger pension than was ever paid to any of our predecessors, which we have taken in place of her dowry. In the assignation of the jointure, the same provisions should be made as in the French treaty; that it may be redemanded if she survive the Emperor, &c.

As they think your commission too general, we send you a special and full one to conclude this alliance and matrimony. Their objections to the minute of the bond sent by you for the acceptance of our daughter are remedied by the articles which you sent, with some additions made by us. This treaty must be passed, sealed, sworn and interchangeably delivered before you proceed to any other conventions, and must not be stopped for lack of the Pope's dispensation. We send you for the present no particular instructions about the defensive league with the Pope, what we shall do for the entertainment of the Swiss, the assistance we shall give to suppress the rebellion in Spain, and the new interview to be had between us and the Emperor on his passage into Spain. You are to try their minds on these subjects, what they will demand; and on receipt of your letters you shall have full answer. But, to be plain with you, it would be great folly in this young prince, not being more surely settled in his dominions, and so ill provided with treasure and good councillors, the Pope also being so brittle and variable, to be led into wars for the sake of one or other, for his ministers'

1521.

private advantage. It is, therefore, not advisable in the league to enter into stricter bonds with the Pope than at present, nor to bear any charge for the Swiss, nor to send any embassy to alienate them from France, nor to give any assistance against the rebels of Spain; seeing that the Emperor may be sufficiently reimbursed by confiscating the lands and goods of the rebels. As for the interview, though it will be expensive to us and our nobles, yet if all else is well passed we shall not object to it.

We have always told the ambassadors of the Emperor, as they have themselves owned in presence of our council, that we would not enter upon any of these particulars until the bonds of alliance were fully concluded. As to the instructions to you for a treaty for recovering the things detained from us and the Emperor by the French king, we are willing that in the treaty of alliance bonds be devised for that purpose; and that in case our daughter shall be really married to the Emperor, we be both bound to invade France, and not desist till by mutual consent we have recovered our rights, hoping that by that time both we and the Emperor shall be better able to make the attempt. These matters, however, had better be treated by commissioners before our daughter comes of age, or by ourselves, at the interview. The surmises made about words spoken to hinder the sending of the Pope's commission, or that we did not wish the state of the Emperor to be more exalted, are without foundation. We desire nothing so much as to keep the matter secret; and but few of our privy council have any knowledge of it. If we had meant to hinder the sending of the Pope's commission, we would not have sent our own; and if the Emperor's own councillors do not demean themselves better than hitherto, we have done more than they for his exaltation. Both at Canterbury and Calais, when communication was had of this matter, the Emperor was willing then to have concluded the alliance, without any dispensation from the Pope; and we are led to suspect that they are now seeking a delay till they have learned from the ambassador of France, now sent, what offer shall be made on the part of Francis. As we understand that the Emperor lately blamed Chievres and the Chancellor for neglecting the affairs of England, and charged them that they should write nothing to England without his express knowledge, if you see no better towardness in them than hitherto, repair to the Emperor himself, and show him our mind, noting his answers, and how he seems disposed; for we doubt not, when he has weighed the nature of this bond, and the advantages of the match, he will make no further difficulty. Lastly, if the Emperor's council be intractable, you shall tell the Emperor secretly, and as of yourself, that for the old amity between England, Spain and Burgundy, there is no prince whom you regard more, except ourselves; and are induced for his own sake to tell him what is likely to happen if this alliance do not take effect. If the match go on between Mary and the Dauphin, and he become king of France, and, in her right, king of England, the navies of England and France will shut him out of the seas. If he make his abode in Spain, the Low Countries will be in danger; and the French king, having these two realms and the duchy of Milan, might do him great mischief in Naples, and soon attain the monarchy of all Christendom. Whereas, by this alliance the Emperor might get that power to himself, and put France in such perplexity as to be no longer able to trouble him; so that he should rather labour himself to break this marriage with France, than we to make any overture for the same. When you have said this to the Emperor you should notify this to Chievres and the Chancellor, and such other of the council as you think good, "aggrieving the dangers thereof accordingly, which be manifest, proceeding of very truth, without any contriving or feigning."

Draft, pp. 40, mutilated and imperfect.

1521.

1151.

GRANTS in JANUARY 1521.

Jan.
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GRANTS.

2. Ralph Porrett, stockfishmonger of London. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 2 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

2. Ralph Thomson. To be comptroller of the customs and subsidies in the port of Kyngeston-on-Hull, during pleasure. *Westm.*, 2 Jan.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 4.*

8. John Parkyns, jun., of London, son of John Parkyns, of Guldeford. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 8 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 21.*

9. Richard Tandy, clk. Presentation to the church of Shrawley, Worc. dioc., vice Wm. Blakden, clk., resigned. *Westm.*, 9 Jan.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14.*

15. Sir John Lisle, Rob. Cosen, and John Skewys. Grant of the presentation to the next vacant canonry in the collegiate church of St. Mary and St. George in Wyndesore Castle. Greenwich, 9 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 15 Jan.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

19. Th. Laton, of Sexo, York. Exemption from serving on juries, &c. Greenwich, 24 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 19 Jan.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 18.*

20. Ric. Parker, groom in the office of the Butlery, and Ralph Cotton. Grant, in survivorship, of a tenement in the parish of St. Margaret Patent, London, in the King's gift by the death of Th. Oram and Geo. Vanhorn, who held it by grant of Hen. VII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 10.*

20. Ph. Connar, *als.* Conway, of London, brewer. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Eltham, 7 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 Jan.—P.S.

21. John Appariz, the King's tailor, native of France. Denization. *Westm.*, 21 Jan.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.*

22. John Bekke, of the parish of St. Nicholas, Bristol, fishmonger. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berneys, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 22 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

23. Th. Jacson, of Sudbery, Suff., "corser." Pardon for all counterfeits and clippings of money. *Del. Westm.*, 23 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 27.*

23. Th. Westfeld, of Fyllnygham, Linc. Licence to alienate possessions in Glentworth, Linc., to Sir Rob. Dymmok. *Westm.*, 23 Jan.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 6.*

23. Sir Wm. Tyler. To be keeper of the New Park of Istelworth, *alias* the New Park of Richmond, Midd., with 3d. a day out of the issues of the manors of Shene *alias* Richmond, Petershame and Hamme, Surrey. *Del. Westm.*, 23 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

23. James Vavasour, kinsman and one of the heirs of Wm. Langdale, viz., son of Matilda, daughter of William. Livery of lands in Waltham and Hatclyff, Linc. Greenwich, 3 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 Jan.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 30.*

23. John Hercy and Eliz. his wife, and Walter Moyle and Isabella his wife. Livery of lands in cos. Staff., Warw. and Derby; the said Elizabeth and Isabella being ds. and hs. of John, s. of Sir Humph. Stanley. Greenwich, 6 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 Jan.—P.S.

25. John Jonys, of Exeter, capper. Pardon for killing Rob. Wygars, of Conwyk, "brasyer," in self-defence. *Westm.*, 25 Jan.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 6.*

25. Recognizance cancelled. Sir Ric. Woderove, of Wolbeley, Ric. Beamount, of Whitley, Ric. Lasty, of Halifax, and Wm. Hynchelyff, of Peniston, York, made 30 Nov. 22 Hen. VII. to Sir Th. Lovell, Sir Ric. Emson, Sir John Husee, Edm. Dudley and Th. Lucas. Greenwich, 25 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

26. Th. Floure, chaplain and vicar choral of Lincoln cathedral. Presentation to the chantry of one chaplain vicar in the choir of the said cathedral at the altar of St. John the Baptist, with a salary of 6 marks from the dean and chapter, and 40s. from the farm of the city of Lincoln, vacant by the cession of Th. Plankney. *Westm.*, 26 Jan.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14.*

26. Romeo Chabarte. Licence to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine or Toulouse woad, computing 8 bales of woad as one tun. *Del. Westm.*, 26 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

28. Sir John Normanville. Commission to Thomas abbot of Selby, Wm. Elson, Ralph Rokesby and Thos. Beverley, to make inquisition p. m. in co. York, with respect to the lands and heir of Sir John Normanville. *Westm.*, 28 Jan.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 13d.*

28. Sir Giles Alyngton, late sheriff of co. Cambridge. Pardon for the escape of prisoners from Cambridge castle, especially of John Gower, convicted of a felony at Crawden, Camb. Greenwich, 15 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 28 Jan.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 19.*

28. Th. Marbury, haberdasher, and Edm. Bonethen, citizens of London. Licence to import 150 gross of caps and hats, notwithstanding the statute. Greenwich, 27 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 28 Jan.—P.S.

28. John Gryffyn, of Ippiswich, Suff., "sherman" *alias* "clothman." Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 11 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 28 Jan.—P.S.

1521.

Jan.
—
GRANTS.

30. Matthew ap Thomas. Lease of the toll of the market on Tuesday, and of the three fairs in the feasts of SS. Edward and Ciricus, in the new town of Kiddlewen, in Kerrye, parcel of the earldom of March; for 21 years, at the annual rent of 24s. *Del. Westm.*, 30 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. — S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 19.*

30. Sir Ric. Weston. Lease of lands belonging to the manor of Hanworth, Midd., for 21 years, at the annual rent of 6*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*, and 12*d.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 30 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. — S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 14.*

R. O.

1152. INSTRUCTIONS to SIR WM. FITZWILLIAM, ambassador to the French king.

After delivering his credentials, he is to thank Francis for his demonstration of affection by the reports of his ambassadors and by sundry "sovenances and remembrances of goodly pleasures," and to assure him that it is a great comfort to the King to hear frequently of his prosperous estate. As the King has licensed Jerningham to return, he has commissioned Fitzwilliam to supply his place as ambassador resident at the French court.

Draft, in Ruthal's hand, p. 1.

1 Feb.

R. O.

1153. MONEY OWING TO THE KING.

Money owed to the King, and recovered by commissioners, 1 Feb. a^o 12, over and above 17,315*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* paid away.

Wm. Carewe, 1,100*l.* Thos. Curson, 1,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Sir John Hussey, 2,318*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* Wistan Browne, 600*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* Wm. Sandes, 926*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Earl of Wiltshire, 4,407*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* Lord Audeley, 2,700*l.* Duke of Buckingham, 1,655*l.* 10*s.* John Norton, 600*l.* Griffith Res, 500*l.* Robt. Poyntz, 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Lord Hastings, 1,700*l.* John Berret and Lewis Herpsfeld, for Lord Willoughby, 1,400*l.* Laurence Bonvix, 5,000*l.* Earl of Shrewsbury, 3,280*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* Edw. Guldeford, 1,133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Lord Broke, 3,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Divers others, 5,180*l.* Total, 38,520*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*

Estimated total of the King's recognizances, as well by obligations of Henry VII. as the present King, 1 Feb. a^o 12, 100,000*l.*

Obligaciones excuntes, 1 Feb. a^o 12. The king of France, 96,055*l.* Nicholas Wadham, 2,000 mks. Wm. Breton, 1,000*l.* John Kyme, 10,000 mks. Alfred Rawson, 2,000*l.* Laur. Ayelmer, 1,000*l.* Laur. Bonvix, 6,000*l.* Fras. de Barde, 4,500*l.* The Emperor, 20,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Fras. de Barde, 1,354*l.* John Cavalcant, 8,000*l.* Wm. Broune, 1,000*l.* Lord Ferrers, 1,200*l.* Others, 20,091*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Total, 170,534*l.*

Casual obligations, 1 Feb. a^o 12. Lady Marg. Pole, 2,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Nic. Warley, 939*l.* Ric. Fermer, 1,100*l.* Lady Catherine, countess of Devon, 1,200*l.* John Saymour, 500*l.* The abbot of St. Mary's, York, 2,048*l.* Earl of Surrey, 300*l.* French queen and duke of Suffolk, 23,900*l.* Wm. Pierpoynt, 2,000*l.* Edw. Grevill, 800*l.* Robt. Sheffield, 8,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Edw. Guldord, 1,000 mks. The cofferer, 7,000*l.* Others, 24,312*l.* Total, 75,432*l.*

Sale of wards of the King, and profits of his lands, 40,000*l.* In crowns remaining at Calais, 8,000*l.*

Total thus far, 432,485*l.*

Pp. 5. Endd.: Summæ obligationum domini Regis.

1 Feb.

1154. For ST. MARY'S, SOUTHWIKE.

Assent to the election of dom. Wm. Noxton, late "solarius" of the monastery, as prior, on the death of Th. Kent. *Westm.*, 1 Feb.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 8.

1521.

2 Feb.

R. O.

1155. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]. (*In cipher.*)

"Please it your grace to understand that the 24th day of January I wrote my last letters unto the same, and the Sunday following, the 27th, in the cathedral church, by the cardinal Sedunensis, was celebred the mass of the Holy Ghost, there being the Emperor arrayed with a rich gown of cloth of gold furred with sables, with five Electors and many spiritual lords, the which after the accustomed order kept their rooms, and the cardinal of Salseburg as Archbishop amongst the other prelates, who was not suffered to have any precedence by reason of the cardinality. And as to the other temporal princes, because they could not agree together of their places, none of them all sat; signifying unto your grace that divers councils hath been kept for to concord them, and after found no means that I know of, and seeing no remedy in the matter it was said ever of them should stand to all assemblies on their feet unto they agree. At the which solemnity, the elector of Saxon to and fro did bear the naked sword before the Emperor; and the self day at the afternoon all the said Electors and Princes went to the court, and in the great hall appointed for the same the Emperor sat upon a seat of three degrees, under a rich cloth of state, the Electors being of both sides with other as before.

"And there the cardinal of Salseburg made the preposition, giving con-dign thanks to them for his promotion to the Roman empire, showing also that for the performance of his promise his majesty was come within the year, and leve (left) so many realms as it is known; and though some of them be not at this in the due order, yet his majesty is totally determined to employ all his whole power and person in all those things that shall be thought the augmentation and exaltation of the said empire, desiring them likewise on their side to do the semblable and counsel and assist thereto, as he hath entire confidence in them, their experience and prudence; with many circumstances for that purpose. And, after, the Emperor spake certain brief words in Almain, containing the semblable effect; whereunto Nicholas Segaler on their behalf made an answer full of good will, honor, praise and louanges, towards the Emperor, taking a day to common together and to bring a resolution to his majesty, not doubting that he and all his should be well pleased and satisfied therewith.

"Since, I am informed, three principal points been that the Emperor demanded and desired of them: first, that no prince may defy another or break with him for any cause or color, without the matter be first known before the council of the empire, with their declaration of the right of the party:

"Secondly, that the sentences given by said council been executed and obeyed without resistance or contradiction:

"And thirdly, that the country may be surely occupied, and the custom of robbing remedied and extineted.

"And as to many other their old particular quarrels and differences, the Emperor requireth that by way of amiable composition, or by the right of the law, they be content to have definitive, persuading what great good shall ensue unto them and all the empire of such reasonable proceeding.

"The affair between Branswik and Lonenburg goeth by the rigour of the law, and those of Branswik have showed letters of their adverse party to the French king, whereby appeareth the intelligence and conspirations they had with him against the empire, willing according to his desire to have joined with him with a great army about Covalence, and obtained the election by force in the default of good will; the which letters during their war were by the dukes of Branswiks intercepted, and so treason is laid to the duke of Lonenburg, and by the proctor general of the empire demanded the requisite penalties and confiscation, wherein nothing can help him but the Emperor his misericorde and remission.

1521.

"The Landgrave, with the counts of Nassau, is in hand to give them a recompense, and it is thought they will agreee.

"Of any other matters I understand not that there hath been spoken, nor that the princes or towns on their sides have as yet made any petitions, as it is supposed they will do.

"I have written heretofore unto your grace, upon credible reports, the inclination that generally have the said princes of the going into Italy, proceeding above all of the great hope of lucre, grounded in part of the persuasions and promises to them made by the duke of Bari, the cardinal Sedunensis and other of their secta and state, the which been deprived of their country and goods, and can be by war or trouble in no worse case than they be; whereunto the Chancellor is greatly minded and forbeareth nothing for advancement of the matter, as it is openly known, especially amongst the Spaniards; signifying unto your grace, in confirmation thereof, that the lord Fonseca showed me yesterday how the day before he was called to the council for the business of Spain, and for to have letters to speak of some particular affair, he anticipated the hour to him appointed, and found the lord Chievres in his chamber with the Chancellor, who called and showed him to be advertised from the lord Montagny of the provision made for all manner of victuals and gunpowder that shall need for the army to go into Spain, and also that the King's grace offered to the Emperor assistance and favor for the same; and tarrying Fonseca in saying anything to it, the lord Chievres said peradventure he believed it not. Then he answered at his coming hither he had passed three realms, Castile, Portugal and England; how in none of them there is such opinion, and therefore it should be no marvel for him to have any doubt thereto; declaring, moreover, in case the performance and accomplishment thereof do not ensue, that the whole charge shall be laid to the said lord Chievres, showing also the unremediable inconvenient that will grow of it. Whereunto the Chancellor said, if he should be of that imputed, and thereto suspected, what might be done upon him accusing himself clear contrary to like going.

"Whereupon the lord Chievres desired him to show the reasons that induced him to the same opinion and mind; and for the first, he alleged the Emperor is bound and must go to Roma, and how the whole empire will have him so to do, and to pay for that voyage as many men as he can desire.

"Item, that by the reduction to his obeisance of divers dominions belonging to the empire, his power should greatly increase, and the business of Spain the better and lightly be appeased.

"Item, that from Spain he might not take such journey, considering that many electors and princes of the empire must be present with the corone of Charlemagne, the which will never consent to go thither, and if the Emperor should go only with the power of Spain that there is no men sufficient nor experimented for the conduct of an army.

"Fonseca said the particular affection on one side, and the evident peril wherein the realm of Castile standeth, without any further consideration compelled him to admit none of the said reasons; wherefore he would not answer to it, except the last point concerning the lack by the Chancellor esteemed, he had of captains or men able for the conveyance of an army; saying Castile had conquered the realm of Granada, divers cities in Africa, the realm of Naples, with sundry victories against the Frenchmen, that had in Italy the duchy of Milan and all the remnant for their friends, and might with great commodity and surety send succours thither by land, and Spain was forced to purvey to their necessity by the sea, and put all in the arbitre of the wind, not forbearing the conquest of Navarra; for the which consideration and remonstrances effectually appeareth the contrary of the Chancellor his conjects in that matter.

"Going after Fonseca to the council upon the news that were come

1521.

SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

out of Spain, as be specified in a memory that I send with this to your grace, the duke of Alba and he spared nothing to show to the Emperor how necessary it was to leave apart all other enterprises for this time and go into Castile ; who with a faithful heart, promised and declared he would do it ; to the which words they trust more than to all those of his council, and *successivè* unto the King and your grace, your good persuasions thereto, as the same that loveth sincerely their sovereign lord his subjects, and been spollied of all particular interresses.

“Moreover Fonseca saith the lord Chievres told him he would write for the great ship of Denmark, and for the carrack of Diego de Vera, that is in Catalonia.

“The Governor of the duke of Bari showed me the Chancellor beareth marvellous good favor to his master, and that he hath lent him money upon his pension that he receive of Fillinger, who put him in good hope, saying the Emperor may not into Spain but by Italy, and that with the self costs and expenses made for Spain he should go thither.

“Item, that all the princes of Almayne be minded to that enterprise, for the which the subjects of the empire and their own shall pay the charge, and they win by it, *de prima facie*, beside the future hope.

“Furthermore, the said Governor sayeth the cardinal of Salzburg hath promised to lend to the Emperor 100,000 florins of gold for that journey, affirming he shall lack no mean and shifts for the same. For my part I cannot tell if his great desire thereof deceived him, thinking no wise man should begin war upon other men his purses, and without first be well purveyed. I have also spoken with the bishop of Twie, and with good color enquired of him as far as I could of the premises ; who in effect sayeth the Emperor is minded to go into Spain ; howbeit that God and the resolution of the Dieta might order his majesty to the other way, affirming in such case nothing shall be done but with your participation, and by your good consent and satisfaction.

“And as to Lutero (Luther), he esteemed that matter of great importance, and very difficile to be remedied and extincted.

“He showed me likewise that the elector of Saxon is well assured and pleased of the alliance of marriage between his nephew and heir and the Emperor his sister ; and thereby I suppose by procurations of both parties the matrimony hath been contracted *per verba de præsentì*.

“Other news I cannot, nor have of any demanded of such as I was accustomed in the time past, because having been without going to the court a long season, I would no man should suspect that I advanced myself further than appeareth to be your pleasure ; and, well examined and considered in my mind the little that I have heard and seen, I think the Emperor shall go into Spain, and whatsoever be the deliberation of the diet, the execution thereof cannot be done so suddenly, but with a convenient time, the which dilation cannot suffer the disposition of Spain, and otherwise I wol not say so, notwithstanding that no wise man should counsel with other men’s money with such eminent danger and doubtful end to leave the certain for the uncertain.”

The meeting with the King of Hungary is little talked of, and will probably come to nothing. The duke William of Bavaria and his two brothers have arrived and been honorably received. The Elector of Brandenburg is expected in two days. Has shown this letter to the Master of the Rolls. This morning the Emperor with all the Electors went to mass at Our Lady Church with great pomp. All but the Electors “stood in the choir on their feet, for the variance that they have of their rooms ; and going by the streets they agree.” Worms, 2 Feb. 1520.

Hol., pp. 8. Cipher undeciphered, all but the last paragraph, which is in ordinary writing.

1521.

4 Feb.

1156. FRANCIS I.

R. O.
Rym. xiii.
738.

Appointing John de Sains, lord of Marigny, his ambassador now in England, to arrange for the delivery of four of the eight hostages, of whom four have been delivered already, to be replaced by four others, namely, James de la Haye, son of lord de Hoto, John Gerard lord of Bazoges, Lewis du Bellay, son of lord de la Forest, and Lewis de Sercus, son of lord de Sercus (*ejusdem loci*). Romorantin, 4 Feb. 1520.* *Signed*: Robertet.
Latin, vellum.

6 Feb.

1157. FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D.viii.9.
B. M.

On Tuesday, 4 Feb.,† I arrived at Emorantyne, where the French king now lieth. I was met without the town by the bailiff of Caen, Memorance and Moye, who brought me to my lodging, where Jerningham lay. Next day the same persons accompanied me and Jerningham to the King, who received me with great familiarity in the midst of his chamber. I delivered to him the King's letters and yours, and in the presence of Jerningham declared my charge in everything, according to my instructions, which he listened to "marvellous amiably," as appeared by his countenance and answers, alleging that the treaty of peace between him and England was not so deeply rooted as the entire love which he bears to the King's highness. The King, his mother and the Admiral were all well pleased with my coming, and sorry for the departure of Jerningham, whom they greatly commend. Touching his passage over the mountains to see his duchy of Milan, Francis replied "that it is th is lately comen into his hands, and that he hath same but in time of war, and for that cause in time of peace, inwardly minded and desirous and see his said duchy, and to show himself [to his] subjects there. Howbeit he will make no gr[eat haste] thitherwards as yet, as he saith; for first [he meaneth] to take his journey into High Burgonne, there and see such towns as he hath of new for from thence to repair unto Lyons, where he [will make] his abode for a season, at which place he s[hall] may have knowledge and word, as well out [of] Almain and Spain, as also out of other p[laces], except he see some cause that he must of n[ecessity] for the surety of his said duchy and the s[aving of] his honor, he woll not take the said voyage upon him." As to the interview between the King and the said French king, he says that though he were in Italy, if the King sent him word where he wished it to be held, he would gladly ride in post to come, if it might do him pleasure.

As to his crossing the mountains, the King's mother and the Admiral made the same answer that the King did. The former said his going into Burgundy would occupy a considerable time, and that at Lyons he intended to remain for another space, in which time many things might change. I think they will rather not go if the Emperor come into Italy; but they make ready everything, so that at Lyons they will shortly set forward. I do not write the manner of his going and the ladies', as Jerningham has already informed you thereof.

I declared to Francis the King's pleasure touching the article of Scotland. He replied that, according to the order taken at Arde, between Wolsey as ambassador for the King, and Francis's mother and the Admiral for France, he had sent Mons. Dalbeney (D'Aubigny) into Scotland, and since that time another, who visited Wolsey on the way. He doubts not

* 1521 in Rymer.

† The 4th of February was really a Monday in 1521.

1521.

FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to WOLSEY—*cont.*

these two ambassadors will urge the Scots to keep their promises, and if they do otherwise he will not break, for his part, the amity with England. He, however, urges the King to consider that his nephew is but young, and the kingdom divided, and not to be [severe] upon them, saying "that they b[e the most] meshent people that ever he knew; for the more h[e besought his] brother, the King's highness, for them, and he is always agreeable to the same, the more unreasonable they [were. And] whereas all Christian princes as now be in peax [and] tranquillity, yet that notwithstanding they daily [seek] one to destroy another, amongst themselves."

The Admiral said there was no other thing in the King his master's mind than that the Scotch should perform their promises to England, that Mons. Dalbeney was sent thither, not as lieutenant to the duke of Albany, but against his will, and in manner in despite of him; that it has cost his master this year above 50,000 fr. to keep Albany away; more for the sake of England than for the Scots.

I hear from Jerningham that the King has issued orders to the sea coasts to allow the wheat that was arrested to pass. I have thanked the French king for licensing his subjects to export wheat to England in this year of scarcity. I have declared your pleasure touching the ambassadors to the Admiral, who says that he hath both written and sent to you by Carew his mind in that behalf. He complains that the ambassadors of the king of the Romans were allowed precedence before his master's, the day your grace sang mass. I said I was present that day myself, and, so far as I could see, the French ambassadors had precedence; "for he with the Pope's ambassador brought the King's highness to mass, and had their seat and place appointed them within the chapel, whereas the Emperor's ambassador came in about the midst of the mass, and had no place appointed unto him. For which cause he repaired into the closet, and there stood all the mass while." The Admiral said the Emperor's ambassador had pre-eminence at dinner. Explained that by arrangement of the officers of the household, the Pope's ambassador had been set at one table with that of the Emperor, but without the King's approval. With this he appeared partly satisfied, but said that "unto such [time as] the Emperor had fetched his crowns, and was a[uthorized] by the Pope's holiness so to do, the King his [master] would not be contented that his ambassador should [have] place and pre-eminence, but said that that da[y it] was the King's pleasure to speak with the one of the[m, the] other might be absent." The day I spoke with the French king Robt. de la Marche had been with him. It was the first day of his coming. Prices are increasing; both horse meat and man's meat are growing dear as they do in England. What might have been bought for three "sowes" 12 months ago, now costs five. *Armorantyne, 6 Feb. Signed.*

Pp. 7. Add. : To my lord Cardinal's grace.

8 Feb. 1158. MONASTERY OF ST. MARY, SOUTHWIKE.

Writs to the escheators of Hants and Sussex, for restitution of the temporalities on election of dom. Wm. Noxton as prior. Westm., 8 Feb.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 8.

10 Feb. 1159. CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

As dom. Parcher is starting to England with some horses for the King, sends him a horse which he procured from a Roman noble by the advice of Gregory Casali. Rome, 10 Feb. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.

1521.

1160. FITZWILLIAM to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Since my coming, the King "has taken great pleasure to devise with me of hunting," and has sent the seneschal of Normandy out with his hounds with me and Jerningham, so that I saw their manner of harboring and of hunting the hart with force. They seem to hunt well and skilfully, but I like the English manner as well, especially in harboring. "Nevertheless I assure your grace they know their deer right well, as well by his view, feeding, and feumyshing, as also by such other tokens as a woodman should have. Signifying unto your grace they have apposed me upon the sight of the view, and also upon all other properties, how to know an hart; and it fortuneth so that they well perceived that he that taught me was a master; which I showed them was your grace, as it was indeed, for sithence I was ten years of age I have ever been with your grace." The King says he is very glad of me, and "that ever when he goeth a field I shall go with him, and have one lemer and he another."

I have spoken in Penyston's matter, and have as good answer as possible. The wild swine, and the painter and gilder shall be sent speedily, as Rochepot says. An Almain count came in post yesterday, and spoke with the King secretly. Do not know who he is, but probably shall know before Jerningham departs, which will be in two days.

At the foot, in Fitzwilliam's hand:—A note to [Wolsey], that the above is a copy of his letter to the King, and that he writes to Henry because Francis wishes him to know the manner of his hunting.

P. 1.

11 Feb. 1161. FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The French queen has been ill with a rheum in her cheek, and did not come abroad till last night, when I gave her the King's letter, and your message. She said she was glad to hear of the King and the Princess, "and could show me of all her virtues, as much as I knew myself. Also please it your grace, the King commanded me to be at his dressing, and I assure you he had a great stroke, and the same will not be whole yet these 10 days." When it is so, he will go towards Burgundy and Lyons. I shall not be able to send often to you when he is so far, especially if he goes on to Italy, as my servants cannot speak the language. It would be well if I could have an officer of arms or messenger who can speak the language, for in matters of importance it will not be suitable to send a man who cannot speak. I want a cipher also. Yesterday a count of Almain came here, and spoke privately with the King. I do not know who he is, but expect to find out before Jernegan goes, which will be in two days. The King takes great pleasure in talking to me of hunting, and says I shall be lodged near him and hunt with him every day; which I mean to do, unless I hear from you to the contrary, because by being much with him, I shall learn more. Armorantyne, 11 Feb. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

1162. TUNSTAL to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. xx.

185.

B. M.

"Abstracte* of letters sent from [the Master of] the Rollis unto the King's grace."

On the . . . of last month received his letters dated 20th ult. with a [paper] drawn by the cou[n]eil, and a commission to treat of matrimony with the Emperor [under] the great seal. Deciphered them speedily, and desired admi[ssion] to the Emperor to communicate thereon. Had

* Apparently a decipher, or literal copy.

1521.

TUNSTAL TO HENRY VIII.—*cont.*

audience next morning. Declared to him, in French, Henry's resolution upon the difficulties between Tunstal and the Emperor's council, and trusted the Emperor would now be satisfied. He replied he would appoint Chievres and the Chancellor to commune further with Tunstal, "axing hertely afterward of your helth, and where ye were." Went next morning to Chievres and the Chancellor, and declared Henry's resolution on the points in dispute between them; viz., his consent to their substitution of the words, "per matrimonium per verba de presenti contractum" for "by matrimony perfected and consummate" in the article securing the Emperor's marriage with Henry's daughter when she should be offered to him, provided he should not be joined to a woman of full age by "matrimony perfected and consummate," and to their request for a settlement of the dower and other expenses of the marriage. They then asked him if he were ready to communicate on their demands, as the entertainment of the Swiss, the league defensive, the aid of Spain, the recovery "of both your rights" from the French king, and the interview. Replied, that though Henry needed not to make further amity with the Pope, or to commence war with France for the recovery of his possessions, yet, seeing that the Emperor's dominions are not so thoroughly at peace as he could wish, and considering the French king's enmity against him, and the Emperor's want of money in case of war, he would be content, after the alliance made, to consent to their demands, rather for their profit than his own. They then insisted on the necessity of promptitude touching the Swiss and the Pope; saying, had they not written to the viceroy of Naples to get ready 4,000 footmen for the Pope's assistance when required, he would have before this joined France; that the Emperor could not enter any communication "with his honor," without the Pope's dispensation, which the Pope's ambassador had, but was commanded not to deliver except the Emperor first accomplished his demands. They "stakke moche" to these matters, saying that the realm of Naples being of the fee of the Church, and the Pope's favor being useful to them in many things, they must at once "entertain him [for the] good that he may do unto them." Similarly with the Swiss. Replied that the [sooner] this alliance was concluded the sooner communication [could] be entered upon the premises. Finally it was agreed that the Chancellor and Tunstal should meet the same evening, and communicate further on articles required in the alliance.

Went to the Chanceller in the evening, and showed him Henry's last commission to Tunstal, which he said was "good and large;" and if Tunstal would treat as largely with them as it gave him authority, they would soon be agreed. Said that at present Henry could not consent to any other contract tha[n con]ditional, "which ones well parfit a clear contracte th[ere-]after were like to ensue of the same," and that [if] Henry were free, which he was not, he would as gladly as they enter on a close contract. On his shewing the first two articles reformed as they desired, the Chancellor remarked on the words "vel quocunque alio tempore citra in sponsam, &c.," that they bound the Emperor to take the Princess not only if she were offered when of full age, and he unmarried, but also not to refuse her if she were offered in a year or two, but wait for her till she came of age; so that here the article was not reciprocal, for he would lose his liberty, and yet be not sure of her by reason of her nonage. Tunstal replied, "if that point were given up, "the promise of the residue of the alliance of full age were of small effect and of a hope far to come;" that it was reciprocal, as the King gave up, after offering her to the Emperor, all other chances for her. Nevertheless, "he made a great stikking at the said words," as he had done before, and as Tunstal has written to Henry. Tunstal said this was not the difficulty they stuck at before. He replied they had written to their ambassador to stick at it also. Told him plainly that upon these

1521.

difficulties he had yet the papers, "which were showed to him, lest should be omitted that he was contente with them; which papers I have yet in dede;" and desired him to go forwards, and not backwards in finding obstacles.

The Chancellor then read the second article; and when he came to the words binding the Emperor and Henry, by virtue of former treaties, to give mutual aid and declare war on the French king, he said the particular treaties must be specified; and he insisted on the validity of one made in 1516, speaking *de possessis et possidendis*, between Henry VIII., Maximilian and the present Emperor, *pro heredibus et successoribus*, though denied at Calais to be valid; and that the oath made at Canterbury contained it in effect. He said further that Henry was not bound by this article to offer his daughter, unless the French king made actual invasion, "as by other treaties, though he should break his treaties with them or with you otherwise, making no invasion. In which case, he said, Henry was as much at liberty if the French king broke promise in any other way French king might break promise with you yet ye should not offer your daughter the know[ledge] aunce should be but slender." Tunstal replied that he made no diffi[culty] at the words before, and that the valid treaties between them were known well enough; that the bill of Canterbury referred all to a further agreement to have been made at Calais between Wolsey and Chievres, which did not ensue; that the treaty "of the sixteenth year" was made between three persons jointly, one of whom was dead, and that "the reason that moved you then to make it three, remained not now betwixt two yet living." It was not the time to discuss these things now, but to make first a good foundation by the new alliance. He said they had written to their ambassador to stick also at this point; and finally, that if the empire declared the fee of the duchy of Milan void, and the Emperor thereon entered in right of the empire, it could not be called invasion contrary to treaties between him and Henry. Tunstal replied that he thought the Chancellor and others of the council too wise to advise invasion for a time, his affairs not being settled, though there were no treaty to prevent it.

Then discussed the dowry of the Princess. After first offering 200,000 cr., Henry would give 50,000 cr. more, which made 50,000*l*. The Chancellor said the king of Portugal had offered a million ducats with his daughter, far above Tunstal's offer. Showed him it was far below, seeing the possibility of succession, which is above many millions, and demanded for the jointure 20,000*l*.; which, he said, was far too much, the jointure not usually exceeding one tenth of the dowry. Would take no less then, dwelling on the chance of succession, which could not be valued; afterwards made overtures of a penalty of 100,000*l*. and obligation of censure to be inserted in the treaty, and a penalty of 100,000*l*. to be incurred by the Emperor and Henry to a third p[arty] that neither of them should hinder the o[ther] from the dispensation; and said it would be requisite to insert an article preventing either of them from concluding any treaty with the Pope till he had granted a dispensation. He said these things were strange, but put them down to show the Emperor, and know his pleasure. He said Henry by this alliance tried to make the Emperor break with France immediately, he himself being at liberty as long as he pleased. He thought consent would not be given to this by the Emperor and his council, saying that Henry wanted to do with the French king and the Emperor "as a man that hath two horses, rydyng on the one, and ledyng the other in his hande." Tunstal told him they would not break with France in making this alliance, seeing, as they had often declared, they were clear of all promises between themselves and France. The day following being Candlemas Day, and the Emperor having much business with the Electors on the affairs of the empire, he asked three

1521.

TUNSTAL to HENRY VIII.—*cont.*

or four days' respite for the Emperor to take advice, as he had not yet heard his ambassador's letters read.

This past week sent Richmond to Chievres three times to remind him. He always answered that the Emperor had been so much occupied receiving the Princes of the empire lately come, as the elector of Brandenburg, the duke John of Saxony, brother of the elector, and his son, who is to marry the Emperor's sister, that he had not been able to take a resolution. The Chancellor yesternight sent to him to come this morning, which he did. He told Tunstal the French king [had] written to all the Electors, decl[aring] [his] right to the duchy of Milan by reas[on of] a daughter of the duke of Milan, married [to] the duke of Orleans, which daughter was [made] heir to the duke of Milan in the fee [of the] duchy by the Pope, the empire being then vacant, and the right to do so resting in the Pope; notwithstanding which, Lewis late king of France, whose heir male he is, who had possession of the duchy, obtained investiture of it of Maximilian; and that if the Emperor will take his crown at Rome, he will give him passage through the duchy, as a vassal of the Emperor, and assist him with all his power, trusting he will not use force to come there. The French ambassador here gave the letters to the Electors, not "making them privy before." The Emperor's affairs were well. One thing requiring great consideration was the leaving a vicar and lieutenant-general of the empire in the Emperor's absence; some persons, as the Count Palatine near the Rhine, and the duke of Saxony in his quarter, claiming it as their right by inheritance for their territories; some advising them to leave Don Ferdinando with a council. He then said the Emperor had had the letters of his ambassador there in Latin read to him, and because [he understands] not Latin well, commanded them to b[e translated] into French. This was not don[e] yet. The Bishop has omitted to answer the chief point of his charge; viz., that the Emperor desired to have all matters treated jointly together. He said therefore he thought the resolution of the King's [Emperor's?] council, not yet taken, would be to the effect that this question of alliance might be treated with Henry along with other matters, and when all were settled, "then first the alliance, and the other things thereupon," or else to defer the alliance till the meeting. Tunstal replied, that if they deferred the alliance for other matters they would be acting against themselves; for they might be assured that Henry, after the knitting of that knot, would be more inclined to listen to other demands which were to their profit, and not to his; otherwise, he would look to his own advantage as they did to theirs. As Shrovetide is at hand, and a solemn just of nobles and gentlemen, is not like to have answer for some days. On Ash Wednesday, when all the triumph is over, will again solicit Chievres to know the Emperor's resolution. Thinks they will delay till they see how the Electors are inclined with regard to assisting the Emperor. If they be favorable, expects some difficulty. If not, perhaps less. They delay in their own affairs also for the same purpose. The Chancellor observed that Henry had not yet said what aid he would give the Pope, nor what he would contribute to the entertainment of the Swiss. Replied he would do that when he knew their demand. He said the Pope expects a garrison about him at once, to which the Emperor and Henry must contribute *pro rata*. Replied that he did not see what the Pope wanted with a garrison unless he were invaded. He said the Emperor and the Pope were each to contribute 30,000 duc. to the Swiss, and Henry at least 20,000. Replied, it was a large sum, seeing the small advantage to Henry from their entertainment, but that it might be treated after the alliance was made. He said they had written to the Pope for his commission for the league defensive, which was not yet come.

Copy, mutilated, pp. 18.

1521.

- 12 Feb. **1163.** For the DEAN and CANONS OF ST. MARY'S and ST. STEPHEN'S, WESTMINSTER.

Licence to rebuild their tenements in le Wolstaple, Westminster. The boundaries of the tenements are described. Westm., 12 Feb.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

- 12 Feb. **1164.** For TH. DUKE OF NORFOLK.

P. S.

Grant, in tail male, of the manor of Sheldon, Warw. Greenwich, 6 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 12 Feb.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 20, and p. 2, m. 28.

- 13 Feb. **1165.** TREASONABLE WORDS.

R. O.

Examination held before Robt. Willoughby lord Broke, Wm. Carrant, esq., and George Twynyoo, justices of the peace, and the mayor of Shayftisbury, at Warder, 13 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.

Alen Turell, Rauf Turell, John Bowiar, Wm. Tailor and Peter Swasshe (?), of Shayftisbury, say they were in the house of Thos. Blacker, of Shayftisbury, on Candemas Day, and heard John Brode, of Shayftisbury, call John Williams, of Shayftisbury, "a vacabunde" and thief; when Williams said he was no vacabund, as he had served King Henry in his wars. Then Brode said, "A, sir, have ye ben with Maistre Henry Kyng? A noble act ye did ther! Ye spent away my money and other mennys, like a sort of vacabunds and knaves!" And so they departed, and would no longer tarry in his company.

P. 1. Endd.: Against John Brode, of Shaftesbury, for unfitting words.

R. O.

2. Robert Wylughby [Lord Broke] to Wolsey.

Transmitting the above examination. Hoke, 1 March. *Signed by Willoughby and Will. Carent.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

- 14 Feb. **1166.** FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Credence for Jerningham, the bearer, who is returning to England. He has conducted himself wisely and honorably. Romorentin, 14 Feb. *Signed. Countersigned:* De Neufville.

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

- 15 Feb. **1167.** CLAUDE QUEEN OF FRANCE to HENRY VIII.

Vesp. F. III.
23.

B. M.

Has received his letters "par votre conseil[ler et] am[bassa]d[eur] le] fitz de votre viadmiral." Is glad to hear of the good health of the King, Queen and Princess. Has commissioned Jerningham, who is returning to England, to give him all the news here, and of her son the Dauphin. Romorentin, 15 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

- 18 Feb. **1168.** FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VIII.
13.

B. M.

The Almain count whom I mentioned in my last letter as having come by post was the duke of Leunbrough, whose daughter has married the duke of Gueldres. He has been twice or thrice to the King secretly, and the Admiral has also gone to his lodgings. I can hear nothing of his errand, and neither the King nor the Admiral speak of him; but it is said they think he and Gueldres will "make some business to the Emperor." Robt. de la Marche has gone home after being well entertained here. "The driver of his coming hither" is one of the gentlemen of the Chamber, who is always sent about such business, and for his labor had Welbrem's (Villebresme) room. I make him great cheer, that I may get as much from him as possible; and he told me that De la Marche will make war upon the Emperor's lands, because he suffered Emery to take one of his

1521.

FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY—*cont.*

castles. Many adventurers will follow him ; I suppose, because they know their master's pleasure. Floranges, his son, will follow him shortly. The King has told me nothing of this, nor Jerningham either, as far as I know ; but I perceive that they wish to break with the Emperor, and they say that he gives them cause.

It was reported here that the bishop of Liege was dead ; and the French king immediately gave the bishopric of Chartres to Mons. Beuleue, one of Messrs. Robert's sons, and despatched him to the electors of the bishopric of Liege, to g[et it] if possible ; which they would reckon a great thing ; "for then they [would] go out of France to Messer Robert's country, and [then] to Liege, and so to Gelderland, and come in none of the [Emperor's] countries. Howbeit, now there is a saying he is al[ive]. I assure your grace they let as they were very sorry." The King is within ten leagues of the I will ask the Admiral that I may see him, to advertise my master of his good health. The duke of Leunbrough's son is to [marry] one of the king of Navarre's sisters, and help him to recover Navarre. It is said the French king will aid him also. The French king [makes me] very good manner when I come to him, and [is] well amended, but not all whole. My Lady goes to Paris on pilgrimage next Thursday, and does not return again these twelve days. The King will hunt a hart till she come back, though it is Lent, and [will then] set forward to Burgundy. It is said there was [a] pyke between the Pope and the French king, for the leg[ateship] here and other matters. If true, Wolsey knows the cause. Sayne Marshawe, whom the King trusts greatly, was sent to the Pope, and [is back] again. It is said all is now well, and the Pope has consented that the Bishop of Liege shall not be Cardinal, though the Emperor greatly desired it. I hear nothing of these things from the French king, my Lady or the Admiral, and will not speak of them unless commanded so to do. Ammorantyne, 18 Feb. *Signed.*

This is my third letter to you.

Pp. 3. Add. : To my lord Cardinal's grace.

1169. [WOLSEY to DACRE.]

Calig. B vi.
129.
B. M.

Has received his letters dated at the castle of Norham, the 8th of this February, stating the order he has adopted with the commissioners of Scotland for the prorogation of the truce, and the indentures interchangeably delivered betwixt the two, and authority for the ambassadors of Scotland to be sent to England for the peace.

Has shown the council his letter, in which he desires to know whether he shall come up to answer such surmises as the Scots will make, and the charges of Mons. Daubeny and the other orator of France, and how he shall order himself "in making garre gariable ayenst the Scots" if they break their appointment. The King is well satisfied with his circumspect demeanor and able defence of the Borders, which things his grace will not put in oblivion ; but if the Scots break their appointment the King cannot overlook it, but must appoint garrisons, and make "garre gariable ayenst the said Scottis, specially now att the sowing of their barley, as ye right discretely write," and enforce them to regard their promises better. They may be greatly annoyed by a small power. The King desires his advice upon it ; for if taken in time, more harm may be done to them than in one month by a great puissance in three. If they thus continue to violate their promises from year to year, and obtain a truce to the King's prejudice, it will redound to his dishonor in Europe, as if he had been compelled to it. Hitherto, from proximity of blood, he has abstained from severity. He is to be in readiness for his journey to England as soon as the ambassadors enter the realm. Sends herewith a safeconduct for David Home, laird of Wetherburn, and Alexander his brother.

Draft in Ruthal's hand, much corrected, pp. 2.

1521.

1170. [WOLSEY to DACRE.]

Calig. B. iii.
106.
B. M.

Has received his letter dated Norham, 8 Feb., with an account of the measures he had taken with the commissioners of Scotland by virtue of the King's commission for prorogation of the truce, and fixing a time for the coming of the ambassadors to England, and what answer he is to make about harboring rebels, and the overtures made by Daubeney (d'Aubigni) to the council of Scotland, &c. (*As above. The rest is added in Ruthal's hand.*)

Has represented to the King the folly of queen Margaret in leaning to her enemies, and departing from her husband, notwithstanding [Dacre] has written to her already; yet, as she is inveigled by the persuasions of Albany, [Dacre], at the King's desire, is to write to her again, and tell her, if she persists in her dishonorable course, she can expect no favor. The premises to be declared by word of mouth, with a letter of credence, by some discreet person, who can substantially declare the same.

Draft, corrected throughout by Ruthal, pp. 10.

Memorandum on the dorse, in Ruthal's hand:—"A placard to be sent to Ireland for aid and assistance to be geven to the King's lieutenant, with strait commandment, &c."

19 Feb.

1171. SCOTLAND.

Calig. B. vi.
237.
B. M.

Indented minute made at Heespethgait, 19 Feb. 1520, in accordance with a commission directed to Thomas lord Dacre on one side, and Thomas abbot of Kelso on the other, bearing date Edinburgh, 24 Nov., whereby the said Dacre and Andrew Ker of Cesford met at Heespethgait, and filed four bills. On Ker's objecting the disobedience of Andrew Ker, laird of Farnihurst, it was agreed that Dacre should demand his submission of the council of Scotland, whereupon the aforesaid, with Adam of Otterburn, met at Reddam, 30 Jan., and agreed by indenture to an abstinence from the 1 January to the last of June. Proclamations made to this effect. Thereupon Otterburn showed a letter dated Edinburgh, 25 Jan., commanding obedience to the warden of Scotland. The wardens met on Monday 11 Feb., without effect, Cesford alleging that he could not command obedience; whereupon Dacre demanded an indenture embodying these declarations. Meanwhile the Potts,* Rothirfurds, Douglasses and Robsons, with their sleuth hounds, came to Killham, spoiled the town, and took away 500 sheep, "and spoilzit the poir men and women folloing ther gud," and chased the warden serjeant who had been sent to Dacre. *Signed:* "Andro Ker, of Cesford."

P. 1.

20 Feb.

1172. LORD DARCY to SIR WM. SANDES, Treasurer of Calais.

R. O.

Is sorry that the matter between Sandes and his own cousin, Sir Bryan Stappellton, took no better effect; "for and ye had be all my kin in one person, of my faith, I could have done no more therein, ne dryffe it no longer than I wrote. Surely, brother, after your offers and articles contained in your writing sent by John Burton, and his credence, no manner of man of worship in these parts, my said cousin ne none other, will meddle; therefore more I cannot therein." Wishes his niece to be as well bestowed to his (Sandes') and her comfort as any daughter that ever he had. Is credibly informed by folks of worship, by means of Mr. Magnus, that his cousin Stappellton this week past has been offered above 1,200 marks ready gold, and 100 marks land to him and his heirs, for his son and heir, and yet he trusteth to have more. Was not able to send 24*l.* 9*s.* to London

1521.

LORD DARCY to SIR WM. SANDES, Treasurer of Calais—*cont.*

by Candlemas last, as he desired, to pay for the wines that John Burton brought, as it was Candlemas before the letter arrived. Lyster shall pay it where and when he appoints by this bearer, with 1,000 "geremars" for his great pains taken in his behalf. If he has any good French wine, would like to have two tuns sent to Hull, but no more Gascon wine. Mr. Lyster shall pay for that also. 20 Feb. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.*

20 Feb. **1173.** For the SUB-PRIORESS and CONVENT of HIGHAM, Rochester dioc.

Congé d'élire on the death of dame Anchoreta Ungothorpe, late prioress. Westm., 20 Feb.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 24.

P. S. b.

2. Their petition for the above. They have appointed John James, the bearer, their procurator. 13 Feb. 1520.

20 Feb. **1174.** BONNYVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

He will learn, from the Chancellor and Treasurer of queen Mary now returning to England, what they have done touching her dowry. They have acquitted themselves admirably, especially the Chancellor, and to the satisfaction of Francis and his mother. Romorantin, 20 Feb. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Mons. le cardinal d'Yort, legat et chancelier en Angelterre. *Endd.*

22 Feb. **1175.** ROBERT STUART [LORD D'AUBIGNI] and JOHN DE PLANIS to DACRE.

Calig. B. III.

137.

B. M.

Desiring him to obtain for them a safeconduct to pass through England, on their return to France, to avoid the danger of a long sea passage. It is required only because d'Aubigni "is born of Scotland." Edinburgh, 22 Feb. *Signed.*

P. 1. *Add.* : "To my lord Dakers warden of ye merchis of England."

22 Feb. **1176.** FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VIII.

15.

B. M.

Last night the duke of Leunbrough's son was insured to the king of Navarre's daughter, in his father's presence. Till then he had only private audiences. Cannot learn whether the king of Navarre intends to set upon his realm, and whether he will have aid from the French king, as reported. The person whom he mentioned as the driver of Robt. de la Mark's coming here, is sent off to him, and will remain for a time. He told me before he left that Messer Robert would have 8,000 foot and 1,200 horse, 2,000 of the foot being Swiss, other 2,000 Gascons, and 4,000 French adventurers; that Floranges should have his retinue of horsemen, 50 spears, and that La Palice would lend him 50 [more] spears, and that many young gentlemen would go of their own adventure. He thought those men would renew the Emperor's sore, for if he advanced an army against them they would retire to their homes, and when the army retreated they would burn and rob. It would cost Messer Robert little. They would have but half wages with him, and all that they could get free. I said Messer Robert could lack no money, as he was the King's servant here. He replied that Francis did not aid him with a penny; which I did not believe a whit; as, though it is called Messer Robert's act, it is done by Frenchmen, and at the King's charge. His son Floranges has gone after him. It is expected they will begin the war immediately. If this matter be mentioned to the ambassador of France, I think you had better not name my informant or

1521.

me. "Sir, this man that showed me all this Shatylyon, that is in England with the King my master, and by Maister Jerningham, had an acquaintance of him," who can show that no man is better informed. I spoke with the Admiral for seeing of the [prince], and he spoke with the King. They were well pleased that I desired it.

Yesterday the [King spoke] with me, a long hour, of his hunting and of the battle of Swiss. Amongst other things he told me [the King's grace] should have his wild swine shortly, and he would send him some every year. He thought Henry should make a park of half a mile or a quarter in the thickest ground he can find, and leave them there till the sow had young. He bids me come to him as I do to the King my master; "because I am not of the chamber, I come not so familiar[ly as] Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Jerningham did, but every other [day I see] him, and I never come but I am very welcome to him by h and they that be about him ask me why I come not ev[ery day]." Still he never speaks to me of the Pope or Emperor or of Messer Robert, and I am half afraid to write lest it be not true, but so it is rumored. They still say the King is going into Burgundy and on to Italy, but I see no likelihood of his going as yet. I send a letter delivered to me by the Admiral for your grace. Armorantyne, 22 Feb. Signed.

Pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

23 Feb. 1177. For JOHN ABBOT, and the CONVENT of ST. SAVIOUR'S,
S. B. FAVERSHAM.

Mortmain licence to acquire lands, &c. to the annual value of 10*l.*, in consideration of their granting certain land in Bride Lane for the enlargement of the ground for the King's buildings in the parish of St. Bride, London. *The position of the land is fully described. Dcl. Westm., 23 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 26.

25 Feb. 1178. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Thanks Wolsey for his attachment to the Holy See, of which the bishop of Ascoli, his auditor and nuncio, has written to him. Desires credence for the Bishop, to whom he writes on other points. Rome, 25 Feb. 1521, 8 pont. *Countersigned: Bembo.*

Lat. Add. Endd.

25 Feb. 1179. LEO X. to the TREASURER OF LEIGHLIN CATHEDRAL

R. O.

For the admission of Patrick Machostella, *alias* Nogola (?), priest of the diocese of Kildare, notwithstanding that he is a priest's son, as monk of the Cistercian monastery of Rosglas, with power, if the Treasurer see fit, to give him the administration of the monastery, and to unite therewith the rectories of Lega and Kilbrean, Kildare diocese. Rome, 5 kal. Mart. 1520, 8 pont.

Lat., mutilated and defaced.

26 Feb. 1180. For PATRICK FYNGLAS.

S. B.

To be chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, with 40*l.* of silver a year. *Dcl. Westm., 26 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.*

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27.

1521.

26 Feb.

Galba, B. vi.

140.

B. M.

1181. G. DE CROY (LORD CHIEVRES) to WOLSEY.

The Emperor has sent Berghes, the governor of Bresse, De la Roche, Philip Haneton the audiercer, and John de Salice to England to treat for the interview with Henry VIII. Bruges, 26 Feb. 1520. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add. and endd.

26 Feb.

S. B.

1182. To TH. EARL OF SURREY, High Admiral of England and Lieutenant of Ireland.

Commission to call a parliament in Ireland to consider the following

articles :—

i. As perjury and false verdicts often go unpunished because few persons within the four shires have sufficient lands to pass in attain, that every one seized to the annual value of 10 marks in fee simple, fee tail, &c. shall henceforth pass in every attainder ; and that the judge have power in any case of attainder to examine the jurors at his discretion, whether there be more sufficient persons in the county or franchise to make up a pannel of 24 jurors, and, if there be not enough, to award process to the sheriff or other officer of any adjoining county for as many jurors as need be impannelled, in like manner as if the sheriff of the county, liberty, &c. where the attainder was summoned had returned that there were no more sufficient freeholders in his county unreturned.

ii. That whereas since a parliament holden before Sir Edward Ponynge, 10 Hen. VII. and long before, various acts have been passed, which are now lost or forgotten; and as it is thought that many of them might be prejudicial to the King as to his inheritance of the earldom of Ulster, and to his subjects; be it enacted, that all such acts as have been passed since 20 Edw. IV., which cannot be shown before the feast of SS. Philip and James the Apostle next ensuing, shall be null and void ; and that all shown shall be subscribed by the lieutenant, chancellor, chief justices, &c.

iii. That an act be passed making it high treason to burn corn in ricks, or to set fire to houses.

iv. That an act be passed against the exportation of wool or "flokis."

v. That in order to enable the King to reform and relieve the church, an act be passed granting the King the first buying and selling of all the salt imported into Ireland, and forbidding the purchase of salt at first hand, except from the King's factors, and that the quantity imported and the prices shall be certified by the customer ; the salt to be sold by the King's factors at 9d. a bushel. This act to endure seven years.

vi. That whereas the King's revenues have been greatly diminished by divers grants of the present and former kings, so that in the time of Henry VI. the King's lieutenants, Sir Th. Stanley and others, as appears by the records of the Exchequer, received for the defence and keeping of Ireland 4,000 marks a year, at which time the subsidy on every plough-land now charged 13s. 4d. was only 3s. 4d., besides which there has been since granted the subsidy called poundage, which is of the annual value of 100 marks, yet the King's whole revenue in Ireland does not exceed 2,000 marks a year, Irish money ;*—an act be passed resuming all grants made since Edw. II. of any custom, cocket, fee-farm, subsidy or poundage, except grants in aid of religious houses.

vii. That an act be passed that no merchant shall buy any tithes or corn in the fields, but that merchants shall only be allowed to buy in the market enough for their household expenses.

viii. That an act be passed repealing one passed in parliament before Sir Edw. Ponynge, the King's deputy, 10 Hen. VII., giving the treasurer of Ireland the same powers as the treasurer of England.

* "of money of this land." The Patent Roll reads "of any of this land."

1521.

ix. That an act be passed exempting students at universities having licence of their ordinaries and students of law in the Inns of Court, from the operation of the statute of Absenters.

Westm., 26 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 31 and 32.

27 Feb. 1183. FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. viii.

17.

B. M.

Today the Admiral asked me if I had received any letters from England. I told him no; and he then said he had heard from their ambassador there "that he had as good words of your grace as was possible;" at which the Admiral seemed pleased. He told me you laid three points to him concerning Scotland, of which, if any one were true to his master's knowledge, "he would lese both his een:"—1, that Daubeney was sent to be governor for Albany; 2, that he was to treat for a marriage between the king of Scots and one of the French king's daughters; 3, and for the renewal of the amity between Scotland and France. The Admiral assured him that Daubeney went only to carry out the order taken at Arde by my Lady and Wolsey, and would not remain in Scotland if the King gave him 40,000 francs a year; and that Francis had twice refused to renew the old amity when the Scots had sent to seek it. Daubeney has written from Scotland that some of the nobles were willing to send an embassy to England, and some made [a difficulty] in it; howbeit, he trusted they would be ordered by reason. He said also that the King asked him whether word was come that the Scots [would send] their ambassador to Henry, and the Admiral told him of this letter. The King answered again, "The day [draweth] on, wherefore dispatch a post straight to Mons. Daub[eney], and bid [him] make diligence in this matter that they keep their [promises]." My Lady has been sick of the colic, and is now better, but not well. T[he King] has almost recovered of his hurt, and goes now sporting in the fields.

It is reported the king of Navarre will set upon his realm, and that the duke of Leunbrough will help him with a great number of Almains, that Francis will allow as many as please to aid him, and that there will go a great many to help him; some say 700, some more. Spoke of this rumor to the Admiral, to see what he would say; and he said the going of the King of Navarre was only to see his grandfather, an impotent man, fearing that he might give his goods to his younger brother; but he confessed he thought if the King of Navarre came to any hurt, he would try to gain his realm again, for [Charles] had no right to hold [it], and had promised [Francis] to deliver it; but he would neither say that the report was true, or that it was not. One Mogorn is gone into Dauphiny, where captain Bayard and he will assemble a number of foot. I hear they will also muster adventurers. It is said Francis has given the duke of Leunbrough a castle, called Shattew Neffe, and 4,000 cr. a year. They say Robt. de la Marche goes on with his war, but no news has come of what he has done. Armoryntyne, 27 Feb. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace. Endd.

28 Feb. 1184. FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. viii.

19.

B. M.

Met the Admiral this morning in my garden, who proposed to walk with me, and told me news of the king of the Romans going in person to the funeral of Chievres' nephew, "which," said he, "me think was no honor to him, and a great dishonor to Mons. Chievres." I soothed him, and said I thought the same. He said they would have set the Electors above the French and English ambassadors, which Tunstal and their ambassadors would not suffer, but went away. They intended to stir the Electors to choose Don Fernando king of the Romans, which he thought they would not consent to; "and he said he heard say how there began some matters

1521.

FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY—*cont.*

to brew amongst the Electors that he thought they would not be of one accord." As he heard, the affairs of Spain went ill. Humoured him, as he seemed to be communicative. He told me of the good words Wolsey had given to the French ambassador, and said there was nothing his master desired so much as the continuance of this amity. He then cursed [the Scots], and said if they would be ordered by reason, they would have no cause to be jealous of England, but he [hoped] they would be so ordered, and he was sure Mons. d'Aubeney would do what he could, and that he would not remain, for three or four reasons. My Lady and the Admiral cannot give the King too much praise. I think they speak what they mean. They say if they have peace with England, they care not for all the world. The Admiral asked me if the King was fitting out any ships. I said, no. He said he heard from French mariners that the King was preparing ships to send to Ireland; but as I said I had heard nothing of it, he supposed it was untrue. Armorantyne, the last day of Feb. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. *Add.* : To my lord Cardinal's grace.

1185. DIET AT WORMS.

Vit. B. xx.

194.

B. M.

"A memory of diverse matters provided in the present Wormys convoked by the F in the yere of our Lorde mccc[ccxx].* after the] maner of England."

1. Divers princes, &c. [to make] their oaths, fealties and homage to the Emperor more

2. For the satisfaction of the majority of the se [to] make some ordinance that no man, without consent of the Emperor [and] Electors, shall, "by any pe[rsonal] quarrel or of other," presume to d[eclare] war, as in times past. On this the cities and town are determined to stick fast.

3. To see that the right pretended by the duke of Saxony to the duchy of Juliers is founded on patents "of promission of the s[aid] duchy] in default of heirs males to him in such case absol[utely] granted by the emperor Frederic, though that sin[ce] the Emperor] Maximilian consented to the duke of Juliers decea[sed] marry his daughter to the duke of Cleves w of the land, against the constitutions * * * * fall to some composition."

4. "[The diff]erence between the archbishop and the city e, who pretends to have the total eral dominion."

5. The langrave Van Essia refuses to obey a sentence of the empire to restore to the city of Nassau a strong castle on the Rhine.

6. The count Palatine Elector demands of Nuremberg restoration of three walled towns, which they got of his father, being under the curse of the empire for the war between him and duke Albert of Bavaria.

7. The marquis Casimir of Brandenburg and his brother are in contention with Nuremberg for a toll he demands, worth 12,000 gold fl. a year, which was granted to him against their privileges by Maximilian, and has been suspended by Charles.

8. The dukes of Brunswick are in debate with the duke [of Lun]emburg for two towns which he took of theirs; and the king of Poland "to recover diver[se] religious the which hath been usur[ped]."

9. "The duke Wm. of Bavery and his b[rother] accomplish nor continue to duke Octo h of the count Palatine the composition that the Emperor [hath] made between them."

10. "To agree the bishop of Vertisburg with [the city]."

11. "Item, the bishop of Constance with the city."

12. "Item, the bishop of Banbarg with the city."

* Dated in a marginal note before the fire, 6 Jan. 1521.

1521.

13. "It is showed me that there be above 30 bishops [at] variance with temporal lords for their jurisdiction, whereof in the dieta shall be spoken."

14. The Emperor must provide a vicar and lieutenant in his absence. If the duke of Saxony will not take the charge, there will be great difficulty in finding one who will please the generality, the enmities are so numerous.

15. The diet will take notice of the "bo[oks and] descriptions made by frier Martine Lutero a s[chismatic] against the courte of Rome, and the . . . d caused the said bookes to be brynned . . . and Maience, yt is sette but litell by, and . . . and more in prynte, having curse (course?) amongst . . . ons, withoute eny fere or estimations of the [Pope's c]urse; the whiche frier Martine of the elector of [Sax]son and other princes of this contre is favored."

Pp. 4, mutilated.

1186.

GRANTS IN FEBRUARY 1521.

Feb.
—
GRANTS.

1. Ric. Decons, of Litlington, Beds. Exemption from serving on juries, &c. Greenwich, 26 Dec. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Feb.—P.S.—*Pat.* p. 1, m. 5.

1. Wm. Draper, of London, mercer. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 11 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Feb.—P.S.

1. John Hall, bachelor of laws (*in decretis*). Presentation to the perpetual chantry at the altar of Saint John the Baptist, in the chapel near the parish church of Aldermary, London, Canterb. dioc., void by resignation of Th. Thorne-ton, who has exchanged; the said Hall having been nominated by Clement Browne, S. T. P., rector of the said church, and Th. Melmerby, Rob. Skargell, and Ralph Forman, churchwardens. Greenwich, 27 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Feb.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 17.

1. Geoffrey Middelton. Custody of lands in the King's hands by the minority of John, a. and h. of Rob. Laton, on payment of 21*l.* 4*s.* Signed: T. Lovell, R. Weyston. *Del. Westm.*, 1 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 20.

2. Commission of the Peace *Herefordshire* :—Th. cardinal of York, G. bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, C. bishop of Hereford, Edw. duke of Buckingham, Walt. Devereux lord Ferrers, Sir Lewis Pollard, John Fitzjames, Sir Wm. Uvedale, Sir Griffin Rice, Sir Th. Cornwall, Sir Edw. Crofte, Jas. Baskerville, Peter Neuton, Geo. Bromeley, Th. Lynon, Wm. Rudhale, Ralph Hakelet, Th. Monyngton, John Breynton, Th. Bodenham, Wm. Clynton, and Roland Moreton. *Westm.*, 2 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 3*d.*

4. John Haywod, the King's servant. Annuity of 10 marks, as had by Th. Farthyng, deceased, out of the issues of the manors of Makesey and Torpull, Northt. *Del. Westm.*, 4 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 26.

4. Th. Nott, of London, grocer. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 4 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

5. Ric. Mytton, of London, draper. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 5 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

5. To John Webbe, the prior, and the convent of the cathedral church of St. Mary, Coventry. Writ to admit John Mountague to a corrody in their monastery, on surrender of letters patent under their common seal, granting the same to Wm. Coke, at the request of king Edw. IV. Greenwich, 30 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 5 Feb.—P.S.

6. Recognizance cancelled. Sir Gilbert Talbot, sen., and Sir Gilbert Talbot, jun., both of Grafton, Worc., 25 Feb. 8 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 6 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.—S. B.

8. Justices of Assize. *Midland Circuit* :—John Jenour with Sir Humph. Conyngesby and John Carell.

Norfolk Circuit :—Th. Fitzhugh with Sir Rob. Brudenell and Sir Ric. Broke. *Westm.*, 8 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 6*d.*

8. Recognizances cancelled. Sir Humphrey Banaster, of London; John Wyngfeld, of Esthargholt, Suff., clk.; Oliver Pole, of London, clk.; Sir John Audeley of Sofham, Norf.; Sir Anth. Wyngfeld, of Letheringham, Suff.; and Sir William Paston, of Castr. Norf., 16 May 9 Hen. VIII. Greenwich, 8 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

8. John Castell and Miles Forest. Wardship of Francis, s. and h. of Ric. Pulter, of Northburgh, Northt. *Del. Westm.*, 8 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

11. Commission of the Peace. *Somerset* :—Th. cardinal of York, R. bishop of Winchester, Edw. duke of Buckingham, Hen. earl of Wiltshire, the abbot of Glastonbury, John Bouchier lord Fitzwaren, Wm.

1521.

GRANTS in FEBRUARY 1521—*cont.*

Feb.
GRANTS.

lord Stourton, Hen. lord Daubeney, Sir Wm. Hody, Sir Ric. Eliot, John Broke, John Moyn, clk., Sir Wm. Compton, Geo. Speke, Sir Edw. Hungerford, Sir Hugh Loterell, Sir John Trevilian, Sir Nich. Wadham, John Fitzjames, Wm. Carraunte, John Horsey, John Brent, Geo. Rogers, John Brytt, Baldwin Malet, John Wyldecombe, Ric. Blewet, John Fitzjamys, jun., John Porteman, Th. Jubbes, and Wm. Vowell. Westm., 11 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 1, m. 3*d.*

11. Sir Wm. Skevyngton. Wardship of Rob., s. and h. of Wm. Belgrave, who held of the honor of Leicester, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster. *Del.* Westm., 11 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.*—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 15.

12. Justices of Assize.

Western Circuit:—Th. Elyot with Sir Ric. Elyot and John Broke. Westm., 12 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 1, m. 6*d.*

Home Circuit:—Simon Fitz with Sir John Fyneux and Sir John More.

Oxford Circuit:—Rob. Brudenell, junr. and John Weste, with Sir Lewis Pollerd and John Fitzjames.

Westm., 12 Feb.—*Pat.* p. 2, m. 5*d.*

12. Sir Hen. Guldeford. Custody of the manor of Ledes, and appurtenances, (described,) in the town of Ledes, Kent, and of the lordship of Langley near Maydston, Kent; for 40 years, at the annual rent of 27*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, on surrender of *pat.* 28 Jan. 4 *Hen. VIII.* Also release to the said Henry, Sir Edw. Guldeford, of Halden, Kent, and John Crowmer, of Fogylston, Kent, the said Henry's bail.

In margin, a note, signed by Rob. Blagge, states that "the aforesaid farmer found security before the barons of the Exchequer." *Del.* Westm., 12 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.*—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 8.

12. John s. and h. of Wm. Pennyngton and Anne his wife, d. and h. of Geo. Martyndale. Livery of lands. *Signed*: T. Lovell. *Del.* Westm., 12 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.*—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 7.

12. John Turner, yeoman of the Guard. Lease of the demesne lands of Orleton, "Stakemedow, Millemedowe, and Ladymede," and a water mill called "Overmylle," Heref., late of the earl of March; for 21 years, at the

annual rent of 7*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* *Del.* Westm., 12 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.*—S.B.

13. Commission of the Peace. *Notts*:—Th. cardinal of York, Geo. earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, John Carell, Sir Th. Lovell, Sir Hen. Wyloughby, Sir Wm. Meryng, Sir Wm. Perpoynt, Sir John Markham, Sir Ric. Rokeby, Th. Meryng, Ric. Stannop, Wm. Clerkson, Anth. Babyngton, Rob. Broun, Rob. Nevell, and Nich. Strelley, *senr.* Westm., 13 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 1, m. 2*d.*

13. Sir Wm. Skevyngton. Wardship of Anthony, s. and h. of John Coly. *Del.* Westm., 13 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.*—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 27.

14. Commission of the Peace. *Beds*:—Th. cardinal of York, Th. prior of St. John's, Sir Rob. Bradenell, Sir Ric. Broke, Sir John Seynt John, Sir Geo. Harvy, Sir Hen. Grey, Ric. Dycons, John Mordaunte, Geo. Acworth, Simon Fitz, Nich. Hardyng, Michael Fysshier, Wm. Gascoign, Walt. Luke and Wm. Marshall. Westm., 14 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 1, m. 2*d.*

14. Wm. Drury and Eliz. his wife, and John Constable and Joan his wife. Livery of lands of Hen. Sothill and Eliz. Sotehill, widow; the said Eliz. and Joan being ds. and hs. of the said Henry, and kinswomen and hs. of the said Eliz. Sotehill. Greenwich, 11 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.* *Del.* Westm., 14 Feb.—P.S. *Endd.*: Marmaducus Constable. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 29.

14. Ric. Floure. Licence to enfeof Th. Brokesby, Th. Palmer and Th. Kebell, of 100 acres of wood in Burley, to hold to them and their heirs for ever. Westm., 14 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 2, m. 28.

14. Th. Fraunceis, of Newington, Surrey, minstrel. Pardon. Greenwich, 7 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.* *Del.* Westm., 14 Feb.—P.S.

20. Edw. Knyvet and Anne his wife, executrix of Rob. le Straunge. Wardship of Hugh, s. and h. of Sir Geo. Hastynges. Westm., 20 Feb.—*Pat.* 12 *Hen. VIII.* p. 2, m. 21.

28. Wm. Chaundeler, B.D. Presentation to the church of Howbye, Linc. dioc., void by death. Wanstead, 25 Feb. 12 *Hen. VIII.* *Del.* Hampton Court, 28 Feb.—P.S.

4 March. 1187. [CAMPEGGIO] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 83.

B. M.

Received his letters of the 21st Jan. His new office, "ad justas supplicantium preces subscribendas," is a most important one. Assents to what Wolsey proposes, and must try to do his duty impartially. The matter of the bishopric of Badajos has, at his wish, been referred to the next consistory. When he first proposed to have it expedited, difficulties

1521.

were started in the consistory against so many sees being held in *commendam*. Campeggio had urged that Wolsey's wish should be complied with. Will not omit to do in the matter of the bishop of Worcester what he and the King desire. The Spaniards, as he wrote in his last, who crossed the river separating Naples from the March, attacked the town called Ripæ; were defeated, and have since decamped. Rome, 4 March 1521. *Signature burnt off*.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 3. Add. Endd.: Literæ d. car. Campegii, &c.

5 March. 1188. PACE to WOLSEY.

Titus, B.1.288.

B. M.

St. P. 1. 9.

The King has received Wolsey's letters; perceives by them that the Emperor is like to lose Spain. Chievres is a bad counsellor. He intends to revoke the Master of the Rolls. If the vicar of Croydon "had used Mr. Almoner's way (who preached the same day in the morning in the King's hall to the household), he had departed hence without trouble. For the said Mr. Almoner, in his sermon, brought in the ballads: "*Passe tyme wyth goodde cumpanye*," and "*I love unlorydde*." Newhall, March 5th.

Hol. Add.

5 March. 1189. CLERK to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Came to Dover on Friday, where the last tempest had broken down a part of the town wall, "as long as half your gallery." The rest will be in danger at the next high spring, if the weather be rough. Remained at Dover four days unable to sail, the tides being so low that the mariners could not float their ships, till at last they made trenches and brought him next day to Calais. Calais, Tuesday, 5 March. *Signed*.

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal. Endd.

6 March. 1190. DACRE'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Calig. B. vl.

235.

B. M.

Dacre to James V.

Complains that he cannot obtain redress from the laird of Cesford, because his authority as warden of the Marches is disobeyed. Harbotell, 20 Feb.

Copy, pp. 2.

Ib. 227.

ii. James [Beton] chancellor of Scotland to Dacre.

Has despatched his letter dated Harbottle, 20 Feb., to the King, stating that he had made an abstinence with the laird of Cesford till the 30th June; but the latter can take no redress, as he was not obeyed;—that he has appointed another meeting with the warden, who has given his brother George Car as a hostage, on the 5th March. Cesford has a commission under the Great Seal, by which he may compel obedience. The council is away on their devotions "agane this haly tyme of Lentren;" the King is too young to determine for himself. Begs Dacre will use his efforts to keep the peace. "At my ciete of Glasgw," last day of February.

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Dacre, &c.

Ib. 228.

iii. Dacre to the archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of Scotland.

Has received his letter. Complains that restitution advances no further than making of bills. Lately, when his lieutenants lord Graystock and Sir Christopher Dacre demanded redress of lord Maxwell for injuries done at "the Faldes upon Esk," he answered that he had given up the wardenship, and no redress has yet been obtained. Has sent a safe-conduct as requested. Wishes to know who is to be his ambassador upon this Low Sunday, and by what March he will enter, as he wishes to go

1521.

DACRE'S CORRESPONDENCE—*cont.*

home, where he has not been for six nights together this 12 months. Harbottle, 6 March.

Ib. 228 (b.) iv. Dacre to the queen of Scotland.

Had advertised her of the King's pleasure by his servant William Hatherington. His highness was sorry her dues were not paid according to the contract between the two Kings, expressing no doubt that the arrears should be paid by means of his grace, who is greatly displeased that she made no answer except by word of mouth. Begs a favorable audience for her old servant, the laird of Barrow, whom he now sends.

Ib. 230. v. "Instructions yeven by Thomas lord of Dacre to his trusty and well beloved servant, the laird of Berrow, to be showed to the queen of Scotland. At Harbotell, the 6th day of March."

1. That she should state, by the ambassadors about to be sent from the King her son, her complaints about disobedience and the arrears of her "conjunct fee." 2. That Albany deceives her with fair words, and paid her part of her duties to make her think he is not answerable for the breach of the contract that she should be obeyed and answered of her conjunct fee, made at her last entry into Scotland, and signed by him. 3. He claims the fourth part of that fee, viz. the earldom of March, as his inheritance, and wishes to exclude her from the new peace. 4. Her inclination to Albany is thought marvellous, as she opposed his coming into Scotland, "seeing the sudden departure of the prince her son," and that the Duke's father usurped the kingdom against his elder brother. 5. The King her husband would never acknowledge the duke of Albany. 6. The King is informed her grace is "departed from the earl of Angus, contrary to the agreement made with that virtuous father, frere Henry Chadworth;" and the talk is her grace left Edinburgh by night, and was met outside the town by Sir James Hamilton, her lord's deadly enemy, and conveyed by him to Linlithgow. 7. It is thought she has been induced to this by the fair words of Albany. 8. Her father married her into Scotland for perpetual peace between the two kingdoms. 9. It is suspected, with reason, that her son is a prisoner, as all persons about him are appointed by the Duke. 10. She should remember of what family she is, and who are her true friends. 11. She cannot expect any real help from England while she thus disregards her own interest.

iii. iv. and v. are copies by Dacre, pp. 6.

1191. WOLSEY to SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM.

R. O.

Has received his three letters, with copies of such as Fitzwilliam has written to the King. "And assured ye may be that not only his grace and I be very glad to understand and perceive how roundly ye do fall to the matter, not doubting but within short time ye shall attain to perfect experience." Desires him to keep the King and him informed of all that occurs. Is glad Francis speaks to him so familiarly, and likes his company. Hopes he will use the opportunity to find out news. He may send his letters by the French posts to the French ambassadors here, when there is no great secrecy. "If hereafter ye shall perceive by the French king's journey through Burgundy towards Lyons, that it shall be convenient and expedient that ye have a pursuivant and also cipher, being advertised thereof, ye shall not fail to be furnished accordingly." Is to tell the French king that Henry "not only loves him above all other princes, most esteeming his amity and constant dealing, but also cannot be quiet and contented in his mind till he shall eftsoons attain the sight of his person by a new, secret, loving and familiar interview."

Draft, in Wolsey's own hand, pp. 2.

1521.

7 March. 1192. WOLSEY to [HENRY VIII.]

R. O.

Has received this day two letters from Sir William Fitzwilliam in France, which he sends. "And very glad I am to see the towardness of this young man, which in mine opinion and poor judgment falleth right well to the matter," and indites his letters to good purposes. Wrote to him yesterday to commend him on the King's behalf. After the King has read the letters, wishes to have them returned. Will write as news occurs. "From your house of Hampton Court."

Draft, in Wolsey's own hand, p. 1.

8 March. 1193. WARHAM to [WOLSEY].

Calig. B. vi.

171^o.

B. M.

Ellis, 3 Ser.

1. 239.

Has received letters from Oxford, stating that the university is infected with Lutheranism, and many books forbidden by Wolsey had obtained circulation there. Regrets this should have happened in a place where he was brought up, and of which he is now chancellor. The university desires him to be a mean to Wolsey, that such order may be taken for the examination of the suspected, as that it incur no infamy. Thinks it a pity that a small number of "incircumspect fools" should endanger the whole university with the charge of Lutheranism; a thing pleasant to the Lutherans beyond sea, and a great encouragement, if the two universities—one of which has been void of all heresies (Oxford), and the other boasts it has never been defiled (Cambridge)—should embrace these heretical tenets. It would create great slander if all now suspected were brought up to London; desires, therefore, some commission may sit at Oxford, to examine, not the Heads, but the novices. The university, will be glad if he will request the bishops of Rochester or London to draw up a table of Lutheran writers who are to be avoided, and send it down to Oxford. Knoll, 8 March. *Signed.*

Pp. 2.

9 March. 1194. SIR RICH. GRESHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Ellis, 3 Ser.

1. 237.

Begs him to write to lady Margaret to reimburse the writer for losses sustained on certain cargoes of wheat which Gresham had bought three months since in Brabant, considering the scarcity in England. The said Lady, after allowing him to ship the wheat and freight his ships to Zealand, had countermanded the order, and compelled him to discharge the grain. As the price has now fallen he has incurred a loss of 400 marks or more. London, 9 March 1520.

Will bring with him eight pieces of cloth of gold for hangings of his closet at Hampton Court.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: My l. Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

10 March. 1195. SIR WM. SANDYS to MR. LYSTER.

R. O.

Desires him to deliver to the bearer the sum of 24*l.* 9*s.* which lord Darcy has appointed to be paid by him. This letter will be sufficient quittance. Will be glad to do anything he can for him. Calais, 10 March. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add. Endd.

13 March. 1196. JAMES [BETON], chancellor of Scotland, to DACRE.

Calig. B. vi.

229.

B. M.

Received his letter on the 12th, dated Harbottle, 6 March inst. Is sorry attempts should be made to the injury of the realms. Will do what he can to prevent them. Never heard of Maxwell's resignation. Thinks he would not have done it without the consent of the council. Will suggest the best remedy when the council meets. He knows probably, by Adam Otterburn and Hadryntoun his servant, that the lords appointed to go into

III.

F F

1521.

JAMES [BETON], chancellor of Scotland, to DACRE—*cont.*

England had declined. Begs Dacre to use his influence for the prorogation of the truce. Desires restitution, as he himself had been robbed of horses, malt and sheep. Glasgow, 13 March. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add. : "To my lord Dacre," &c.

16 March. 1197. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O. Thanks him for his zeal against Luther and the newly revived heresy
St. P. vi. 67. of the Hussites, and for forbidding the introduction of their books into England. Was informed of Wolsey's conduct by the letters of Hieronymus bp. of Ascoli, the nuncio in England, for whom he desires credence. Rome, 16 March 1521, 8 pont. *Signed: Ja. Sadoletus.*

Lat. Vellum. Add.

1198. [FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. viii.
21.

B. M.

Master Dean of the chapel* arrived here on Sunday morning, 17 March, about 9 o'clock, and went the same day to the King's presence. The Admiral had ridden out and came home the same night, and the Dean spoke with him next morning, and made the King's recommendations and yours. The King's manner continues as good as can be. He has not been out hunting or hawking, except one day, without sending for me. Last time he talked with me of many things, and said the rebels of Spain were still together, and were never so strong, for they are now 18,000, and would not break till their King came, when they would make certain constitutions, "which, he said, he had as lief be no King as consent to." One was that no money should go out of the country; another, that promotions should only be given to Spaniards. He thinks that Chievres will go no more into Spain, "and I assure your grace by his words that man is nothing in his favor."

Francis also spoke of his ships; and, if it be as he says, he has a goodly fleet: first, a ship that is to be ready by Midsummer, somewhat bigger than our ship, then the great ship of Scotland, and to the number of 16 sail in his realm, the smallest of 400 tons, or at least above 350, "and three great galleons that I never heard of such, for they draw so little water that he will bring them so near the shore that he may land out of them without a boat 500 footmen and horsemen, and he will have a bridge that shall be ever ca[rried with] them, so as when they be aground they shall op[en] . . . and the bridge shall be put forth and so they shall land." He says also he will make galleons to sail with low decks, not to board but only to shoot. Does not hear that he intends doing any naval feat. I think he spoke to me as Vice-Admiral, and asked me how I liked them; and I praised them enough. One John Francisco Day Stamp is here, who was born in Milan, and would never come in to the French king. They say he is one of the best captains, and has done the King here great displeasure. It is said he desired money of the Emperor, and the cardinal of Seo said to the Emperor, "Sir, let not th[is man] go from you for nothing, for rather than he should, [I had] liefer give 10,000 fl. Yet he is come hither, and shall have a great [pension], and they be very glad of him. I have not heard the King or the Admiral speak of him.

Francis has sent to the king of Denmark 1,500 foot with victuals and wages for three months, and six great pieces of ordnance, to help him to win the realm of Sweyth (Sweden), with presents of bards, harness, plumes, &c. for six men. When the men were landed in Denmark, on their return they robbed certain merchants of Denmark and Lubeck, for which the king of Denmark took their captain, the brother of the grand seneschal of Normandy, and

1521.

bade him pay the money that his men had taken, by a certain day, on pain of losing his head. There was an Englishman living at Hull, who owned the ship the king of Denmark had taken for his wars, and had received money for her. Hearing that this French gentleman was to die for 400*l.*, he said, "there was too great a friendship between their masters that he should die for that," and paid the money at once. This the King and nobles here speak much of. When the wars were done, the king of Denmark sent home the Frenchmen that survived without a penny in their purse, "whereof I am never a whit sorry, for I would there were never a whit greater amity between France and them. Sir, this gentleman and the merchant both showed me that the king of Denmark sayeth he will have war with the King my master, which I believe never a whit." Has ordered the merchant on his return home to report to Wolsey what he heard. Has heard a report that the Pope [is levying] 10,000 Swiss, and that there will be war between [him and] the duke of Ferrara. It was certain Francis would take no part with the duke of Ferrara. Asked the Pope's ambassador if the rumor were true, who said he heard nothing of it from Rome, though the report was current here. Francis looks very lightly upon the Pope's [ambassador]. Whether there be any pique, I know not. Perhaps it is that the Pope's ambassador is not the most pleasant man to devise withal. *No date or signature.*

*Pp. 4.***17 March. 1199. DACRE to WOLSEY.**

Calig. B. I.

11.

B. M.

Has received his letter from Westminster of Feb. 22. Had sent, before the receipt of it, to the king of Scots a minute indented between himself and the warden of the Middle Marches, to which the chancellor of Scotland made but a slender answer. Sends copies. In his letter to the Chancellor had required to know the names of the ambassadors coming from Scotland to England;—received for answer that they had excused themselves from the alliance. The Chancellor had begged further prorogation of the truce without restriction. Sends copies. Advises compliance with their desires to the last of June, or else sharp annoyance to compel them to keep their word. Angus and the Homes will be of great service. Proposes to place 300 men, at 6*d.* a day, in divers holds along the Marches. The captain of Berwick must let him have 300 men of his retinue, and can have in their place 100 of Wolsey's tenants in Hexhamshire, and 100 from Morpeth. As the abstinence breaks up on the 9th April, will provide to lie at Wark and on the Middle Marches without any bruit. The person that comes down for the trying of the said 300 men must be in Yorkshire by the 7th. Has written a letter of credence to the queen of Scots, with certain instructions to his servant. Sends copies. Her complaint is not true that Angus holds her lands from her. He had only a house of hers, called Cowpersepeth (Cockburnspath), of five marks sterling. Great "combe" in Scotland from the death of the bishop of St. Andrew's. The prior of St. Andrew's, who¹ should have been bishop before, and the Duke put him down," has entered the castle of St. Andrew's. The earls of Arran and Lennox are disputing for the abbey of Dunfermline. Harbottle, 17 March. *Signed and sealed.*

*Pp. 3. Add.***18 March. 1200. CALAIS.**

R. O.

Declaration of the money received by William Brysewood, surveyor of the works in Calais, from 25 Oct. 7 to 5 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII.; viz., from Sir Hugh Conwey, treasurer; the lord of Saint John's, Poyninges and Sandes, commissioners at Calais, 10 March 7 Hen. VIII.; Thomas Prowde

1521.

CALAIS—*cont.*

and Thomas Botte, farmers of Mark and Oye; and from Sir William Sandes, treasurer. Total, 4,782*l.* 19*s.* 5½*d.*

Payments for repairs at Calais:—To Robert Fowler: for repairs on the castle of Guisnes; the “counter muring” of the north side of Calais; to Sir William Skevyngton, master of the ordnance. Total, 4,696*l.* 5*s.* 6¾*d.*

Five indentures for receipts, and seven books of payments, were delivered to Mr. Tamworth on 18 March 12 Hen.VIII., put into a bag, “and laid on his shelf by mine other books in his writing house.”

Paper roll. On the back are the signatures of Sir Robert Wingfield and Richard Weston.

20 March. 1201. CUTHBERT TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The bearer, Master Semer, Wolsey's old servant, has been admitted to the Emperor's service with the entertainment of a gentleman's room, by recommendation of the King and Wolsey. He has now leave to revisit his friends, and he wished Tunstal to tell Wolsey of this, lest he might be wrongly informed of the cause of his departure. The Emperor and Council are well pleased with him. Worms, 20 March. *Signed.*

P. l. Add.: To, &c. the cardinal of York, [legate] de latere and [chance]llor of England. *Endd.*

21 March. 1202. FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VIII.
23.

B. M.

Received his letter dated Hampton Court, 6 March. Is glad the King and Wolsey are pleased with his services. Hopes to keep up his familiarity with the French king, and observe what is worth the marking. Sends by the French post, as Wolsey desires, whenever he knows of its going. The Admiral has ordered that he shall be informed when they send, but he is sometimes beguiled. Begs to have a pursuivant in case the King go further than Degyon. Would be glad to have a cipher, and wishes his servants re-dispatched as soon as they arrive. Has ordered three men and three horses to go continually between himself and Wolsey. Spoke today with the French [king], and said Henry would not be contented until he obtained a sight of his person by [some] secret and loving meeting. Francis replied, “a foy day gentelhommes there was] no man living he loved better;” adding, “and I shu[ld not] rejoice of this amity that I have with my brother, I [know not] whereof I should rejoice, for I cannot be allied to [so great] a man in this world, for there is no King to him . . . they be childer, or men that be not worthy [to be] esteemed like him. He is worthy to be a king a[lonely] but for his just dealing and his virtue. Let him but send me word to meet him at Calais, and I assure you, in what place soever I be, I shall come to him in post; and if he will, no mo but Rochepott with me, or as many mo as it shall please him to appoint. And as for my lord Cardinal, I pray you recommend me unto him, and show him that I trust no less in him, and assure him he is the man I first founded me upon to keep the amity betwixt the King, my brother, and me.” Francis has commanded that now, in the Queen's absence, I shall be lodged in the house where he lies, and says he will not have me ordered like an ambassador, he will use me like one of his chamber. Today the Queen and my Lady go to Paris to do their pilgrimage. The King goes towards Burgundy, but where they will meet no man can tell. Thinks he will not go over the mountains this year, though some say he will. Has been told my Lady “made her sicker than she was indeed,” that the year might pass till it was too late to go. Nansee, 21 March. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

1521.

26 March. 1203. For the EXECUTORS of SIR EDWARD BELKNAPP.

R. O.

Release to his executors, Sir Edward Ferrers, William Shelley, justice of Common Pleas, brother of Sir Edward Belknap, and to William Clerke, vicar of Wolston, from all receipts, wastes, and sales. Also pardon for all destructions of houses and inclosures made by Belknap in the manor of Dorsett, *alias* Clepyng Dorcett and Brytton, Warw., contrary to statutes of 4 Hen.VII. and 7 Hen.VIII. His titles and offices are fully set forth in this grant.

Draft, Lat., pp. 17. Endd.

29 March. 1204. SIL. BISHOP OF WORCESTER to PACE.

Vit. B. IV. 84*.

B. M.

Wrote a few days since. Sends a pamphlet just composed by a learned man against Martin Luther. The Pope will comply with Pace's wishes in his matter, and in those of Linacre, the King's physician. They shall be sent "a v. s. sotto el Reverendo nuntio." Rome, 29 March 1521.

P.S. in Worcester's hand:—Desires his commendations to the dean of Ely when he arrives.

Ital., mutilated, p. 1.

"D. Ricardo Paccio, Chri. Angl. et Franc. regis primati secretario, &c., London."

. *The following memoranda occur in Pace's hand on the back*:—
 "..... dum auxi Credit Rex quod a d[ominis culpabilis in]venietur et attaynte. D. B†; et pro ea re et Hyberniciis convocabit[ur] parliamentum. Vulgar' milit[es] mittendi. Monachus et Dalacon[ur] ad Turrim Lon'. Arcturus Po.‡ exp[er]it[ur] ab aula. D. Leo.§ confessus est quod A[returus] rogavit ipsum ut scriberet [de] incarceratione ducis; ne[ga]vit; ivit tamen ejusdem rogatu ad H.|| fratres, ut in se. p[oneret] Pole quem non invenit. De D[omina] Sarum res in disc[eptatione] propter nobilitatem et bonitatem illius."

29 March. 1205. WARHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

I have made abbreviat of the depositions of the fellowship of Merton College in Mr. Rawlyns's cause, and send them with the originals. The matter rests on five articles: (1.) Whether Rawlyns has been intolerable in the College? (2.) Whether he has been unprofitable? (3.) Whether he has diminished its state in things moveable or immovable? (4.) Whether he has duly observed the exercise of learning? (5.) Whether he has diminished the number of the fellows. Ten of the fellowship have deposed against him in every article, giving various reasons which you will see from the abbreviat. Five try to excuse him. Croydon, 29 March. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: My lord card. of York and legate de latere.

29 March. 1206. FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VIII.

25.

B. M.

This afternoon Francis called me, and bid me tell my master how he had been in hand with the duke of Albany, and told him plainly he was displeased with the Scots for not sending their ambassadors to England, which he thought was owing to the Duke;—that Albany had replied, as he was a true gentleman, he had done the best he could by his writing to make them send an embassy; and that when the Duke was in hand with him for his going into Scotland, Francis told him if he went he should lose everything he had in France, and never be in favor again while he lived. Francis requests the King to make a new truce for five or six months, like

† Dux Buckinghamiæ.

§ Leonard Grey?

|| Henton?

‡ Pole.

¶ Deprived Sept. 1521.

1521.

FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY—*cont.*

that made last year, and he doubts not the Scots will send an embassy ; and that Albany has promised to do his best in the matter. He has also sent to Mons. Dawbeney to remain there, if he have not left already, till this is brought to pass. The Admiral told him they would beseech the King to have this truce for a year, "and also [that they] have been these three days abouts to bring Albany to pass, for he would none other way would into Scotland, for he would not else save hi[m-self] . . . when the King would say to him, as I have written, [then he] would answer and say : 'Sir, ye have penssans of my [wife's] lands that be in France, and now of my life, and I had as lief ye took my life as to keep me here.'" He said they of the country [would never be] content unless he came ; they had such debates among themselves, which only he could pacify.

I think the King should grant this truce, only if it be for his own advantage ; "for Scots will never do good to England [while] the world standeth. Please it your grace, nature [compelleth] me to speak somewhat roundly against them ; bu[t they] slew two of my brothers." The King and Wolsey can see a thousand times further than he. Wishes to know the King's pleasure about this before his ambassador come. I have sent you two letters this week, one dated this day. I had sent off my servant before the King spoke to me. I would not, for more than I am worth, that I had done to the duke of Albany as I did on Shere Thursday, as you will see by my other letters. I will hear from the King's grace and you before I give him so much as good even or good morrow. Saussard, 29 March. *Signed.*

Pp. 3. Add. : To my lord Cardinal's grace. Endd.

30 March. 1207. CAMPEGGIO to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. iv. 86.

B. M.

Commending the appointment of Longland to the see of Lincoln, of whom the Pope had spoken very highly in a consistory held on the 20th. Rome, 30 March 1521. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. Add. in modern hand.

30 March. 1208. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 85.

B. M.

Congratulates Wolsey on [Longland's] appointment to the see of Lincoln. Has written less frequently of late, as there has been no news. News of the Lutheran heresy has come to Rome ; it has been condemned there in a synod. Sends him a copy of the decree. Will be glad if the King will write to the Emperor, as the Pope has done, to crush this pestilence entirely, and that Wolsey would write to Chievres to the same effect. Rome, 30 March 1521. *Signed.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. Add.

1209. [CARD. DE MEDICI to ———.]

Vit. B. iv. 90.

B. M.

By his last of the xx[vijth?] The French had proceeded to their dishonest craft ; the King's lieutenant with all his horse and foot had taken possession of [Reggio] under a pretext of getting possession of the Milanese exiles there, and taking the city out of the hands of the Pope, but did not succeed, as he had stated in his last, which he supposes his correspondent has shown to the King and Wolsey. Had received his letters of the 25th of the same month, stating he had written on the 20th, which last the writer had not received. Had heard from the Salviati staying at Lyons that the courier was taken prisoner near Paris, his guide slain, the letters taken from him, and a rumour circulated that it was done by robbers.

1521.

In his letters of the 25th, he states that Henry is attempting to settle amicably the differences "inter Cæsarem et G[allum]";—the Pope thinks this has proceeded from the good nature of the King. It will, however, only encourage Francis, who ought to be restrained, as he has often disturbed the peace of Christendom. Has communicated with his Holiness, but as there was no suitable place for negotiation out of the town, did not utter a word of this. As they [the French] could not win over the Pope to their purpose, they had recourse to irregular means by seizing one of his towns. This insolence must be chastised, or they will proceed further. The Pope has resolved to liberate himself at all hazards from this intolerable slavery, and hopes that Henry will show the same good mind towards the Pope and his confederates that he has always done. Wolsey may secure the honor of England and his own reputation, and recover for the Emperor his own, by promoting this design. He is to tell Wolsey that this design is set on foot, not merely for the liberation of the Holy See, but of Italy, from the fangs of the wolf; and is to thank him for what he had done in urging the King no longer to write for the bishop of Worcester. The Pope has resolved not to promote him

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

1210. [CARD. DE MEDICI to ———.]

Vit. B. iv. 95.

B. M.

As to Wolsey's complaint that the powers he had received from Rome did not allow him to burn books of Lutheran pravity, and so show the devotion which England has always had to the Holy See, the Pope thinks that he has sufficient power to put in execution the papal decrees in which those books have been already condemned. Has ordered the writer to send to his correspondent the original bull, with certain authentic copies to that effect, requesting him to have it published in England, and condemn the works of Luther. Sends him the copy of a book put out by that damnable heretic, for which not the book but he should be condemned to the flames. Is to urge Wolsey to satisfy the Pope in this matter. He desires nothing more than the suppression of Lutheranism, and wishes the King to send an ambassador to the Emperor to urge him, *vivâ voce*, in this good cause. The King is the more bound to this, as he is more powerful than his predecessors. Is to press it strongly, knowing the great authority of England with the Emperor and the German princes. The Pope commends Wolsey's design of not suffering those books to be imported or sold, but thinks that remedy would not be sufficient, as so many have already got abroad, and they can be circulated by other means than the booksellers. A general bonfire would be more satisfactory.

II. "Ex literis antiquis, viz., de mense Februarii, in substantia."

The Pope complains of some of the imperial ambassadors, who, for their own private ends, talk of the Lutheran heresy as if it concerned the Pope alone, and not all Christian princes. He commends Wolsey's design of burning the Lutheran books, and hopes he will drive them all out of England.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

31 March. 1211. SIR JO. PECCHÉ to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Received a letter from Gerard de Plancq, sieur de la Roche and Philip Haneton, requiring instant passage. They were last night at Dunkirk, and intend to be at Calais this day. Calais, 31 March. *Signed.*

P. 1. "My lord cardinal's grace, [leg]ate a latere and chancellor of England."

1521.

1212. HENRY VIII. to SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM.

Instructions to be declared to the French king.

R. O.

The King is much pleased with "the diligent and substantial acquittale that he hath used" in declaring the charges committed to him, and in informing him of all the news in France. Desires him to continue in the same discreet manner, using always the most pleasant words to the French king in the declaration of the King's fraternal love. After "affectuous recommendation" to Francis on the King's behalf, is to thank him for his kindness in sending "loving writing, pleasant presents and goodly sovenaunces" from time to time;—for the interest he takes in Henry's affairs;—his promises to do nothing of importance without Henry's advice; all of which he has heard of by Francis' letters to Marny, the ambassador here resident, and by the reports of Fitzwilliam and others;—the sending his ambassadors to Scotland to persuade them to keep the duke of Albany in France, and promise of assistance if the Scots continue in their perversity. He will find Henry like-minded towards himself; for Henry will take no steps concerning Scotland without his advice. Thanks him also for the Scotch news; which, however, he had already heard from the warden of the marches.

Although during the minority of the king of Scots many outrages have been committed on Henry's subjects, under pretence of a truce, which should have been revenged, from time to time, but for the intercession of Francis; and although numerous truces have been broken by the Scots, who promise to send ambassadors, and do not (as, of late, they desired a truce for six months, and promised to send ambassadors within fourteen days after Easter), as Francis has heard; still, notwithstanding this opportunity of making war by sea and land, the King has postponed it, considering the trouble Francis has taken to bring them to order, and feeling sure that he will abandon the Scots if they continue in their perverse purposes. Fitzwilliam is to report Francis's advice on this matter. If he offer to write to the Scots, advising them to send ambassadors to Henry, Fitzwilliam is not to oppose it, but say he has no further commission, except to learn his advice, and supposes the King will be agreeable in this and other matters, not doubting that his said brother will ponder his honor in that behalf. That Fitzwilliam may better understand the King's intentions, the King does not wish to make war on Scotland now, although it has given him much occasion, because, owing to the many quarrels between Francis and the Emperor, an invasion by one party seems inevitable; and in that case the King must assist the party attacked. He would then have to maintain armies in Scotland, Ireland and on the continent; an insupportable expense, considering the scarcity of victuals. For these reasons he does not wish to invade Scotland till the variances between the Emperor and Francis are appeased; and, therefore, he would be glad if any way could be found whereby ambassadors might be sent to him from Scotland for peace, provided it were done without the expression of a desire on his part. He would even agree to a truce till St. Andrew's Day, by which time it will be known how the matters between Francis and the Emperor will be concluded. These matters must be secretly handled, that there may be no appearance of a desire for peace with Scotland, but rather the opposite. This will induce the French king to persuade the Scots to peace; because, in case of war, he would be compelled to assist one, and so lose the other, which he would be loath to do, the matters in Christendom standing as they do. Fitzwilliam, therefore, is to endeavor to persuade Francis to keep Albany in France, who is the cause of all the disturbances, and whose presence in Scotland would be very dangerous for the young King, as he is next heir. Francis can easily do this, by putting the Duke in danger of all he has in France if he leave, and by putting all the Scotchmen in fear of their pensions. Fitzwilliam may

1521.

also say that the Duke may be compelled to remain in France at his own expense ; " for albeit it is said he is not subject, yet he is and always hath been at the French king's commandment, as he will ever be."

The premises considered, the ambassador has good grounds and reasons to induce the French king not only to write to Henry for prorogation of the truce, but also to cause the Scots to sue for peace, and to retain Albany in France ; for if any casualty of death happened to the young King, Albany being in Scotland, it would be ascribed to him, and consequently to the French king for allowing Albany to go thither. Henry would be much displeased if this should happen, as it would be contrary to the French king's oath. Finally, " taking opportunity of time, and calling upon the resolute advertisement of the French king, what he wold advise the King's highness to do in that case, and how he will join with his highness if they contemptuously refuse to follow his counsel, as they have heretofore expressly said to his ambassadors that they would not take peace at his hand, when they might pursue to the King's highness, and more thankfully get it there than by his means, and also putting them in remembrance of the violations of their promises now of late made," Fitzwilliam will have good opportunity to drive the French king to write to Henry for prorogation of the truce, that meanwhile deliberation may be taken for further proceedings to repress the temerity of the Scots, making always a demonstration of actual war to be attempted forthwith, and taking care that no desire for peace be shown. For the furtherance of this matter, the King has caused the Cardinal " so to behandle " Marny, by making demonstration of war against the Scots, " and in so sore manner aggreeving the same," that he will write to his master to the same effect.

He shall also show to the French king that Henry, through his ambassador, has persuaded the Emperor to forbear " his voyage to Italy with puissance," because by so doing he would cause war among the greatest princes of Christendom, and he can honorably attain his crown by other peaceable ways ; telling him that the advice and promises of the Almain was only for their own profit, and advising him rather to pacify the disturbances in Spain than go to Italy, leaving those regions in danger. It was also expressly told him that, if he attempted any thing against the French in Milan, the King would be bound to assist the French ; and he hears now, from his own ambassadors and the Emperor's resident here, that, in accordance with these reasons, and on account of the divisions at the diet, and the excessive demands made by the Almain princes, the Emperor has changed his purpose, and intends to go to Flanders soon after Easter. Henry, therefore, hopes that the attempt of the young king of Navarre to recover his realm, and the invasions of the Low Countries by the duke of Gueldres and Robt. de la Marche, which are said to be done by the French king's assistance, will be stopped by him, as Henry would be compelled unwillingly to assist the Emperor in case of any like attacks ; and this would hinder the fraternal love between England and France. The ambassador must desire Francis to abstain from invading the Emperor in any of his lands, " in avoiding the inconvenients that may ensue of mutual succours as above." As the Emperor and French king are joined to Henry in amity and alliance, he will refuse no labor in pacifying any variances between them. Fitzwilliam is to send a particular account of Francis' answers. Wolsey sends a calendar of ciphers for future correspondence.

Pp. 24. Draft, corrected by Ruthal.

1213. [WOLSEY to HENRY VIII.]

Vit. B. xx.

222.

B. M.

Has received letters in cipher f[rom his ambassador] with the Emperor, the cont[ents of which he has] had deciphered, and sends. The King will see the final answer [made to] the said ambassador upon his charge, which

1521.

[WOLSEY to HENRY VIII.]—*cont.*

is "far discrepant from g[ood] and congruens, fownded and contrived onely [for] delaye, whereby they be lycke more to losse than [your grace] shall, and gret sympylnes and lacke of good re[membrance] may be arrectyd to them, thus to use so wyse a[nd] expert a prince in his afferys as ye be; allegyng [that they] cannot treat of the alliance purposyd by your g[race], the honor of ther mastyr sayd, except the Po[pe] do dispence with their oath made to Fraunce; wheras both at Calyse and also Cantyrbury, they wold actually have concludyd maryage, yf your hyghnes wolde have ben therto agreeable, without makyng any mencion of any such dispensation. And whereas your grace in th^eEmperor's prevy chambber at Calyse objectyd that th^eEmperor was bowndyn by the contract made with the dowghter of Frawnce, by cause he was of full age, natwithstand[ing] she was nat at lyke age, yet the Chancellor exs[pressly] denyd the same; and thow your grace seyde accordyng to trowgth a[nd] the lawe, yet by ther denyall yt manyfestly apperyd, th[at] they rekonyd ther mastyr solute, nat nedyn any suche d[ispensation] as that they nowe allege; and much the les[s that this] promyse by your grace demawndyd importe nat so [much as an actual and real contract, whereunto at all times they have shewed themselves to be agreeable, to the intent that thereby your grace] shulde breke with Fraunce nat so do.

"And where as the [lord Chievres] hath fownde a newe invention, wherein [he thinketh th]at your grace should be pleasyd, that ys to say, that a dyet within [your real]me should be holden at Calyce betwyxt comyssioners [to be s]ent thither on both partes, and that they shuld [treat] as well of the said alyanace as of all other matters I can not see to what purpose that dyet shulde serve, [or] what good effect shulde come thereof, but onely thereby ye shuld be browght in suspicion with Fraunce, and by [t]he collar of the same, the Emperor the sooner and rather shuld make hys hand with the same. Wherfor, seyng thys ther untowardnes, and that thys answer is their fynall [r]esolution, yt shalbe in myn poore oppynyon well done, that the mastyr of the [R]ollys do no further prese them in this behalf; but after a lytell taryng ther to know what conclusion shalbe takyn in thys gret assemble of the astates of Almayn, and usyng to the Emperor's own person suche wordes as be conteynyed in his last instructions, he shall take hys leve and departe. And I assure your grace, may be or long to they shall on their handes and feet seke onto your highnesse; for if the French king and they be at pycke, as your grace shall perceyve they be ryght lycke to be by the copy of suche letters as the French king now wrytyth to his ambassador, which I send onto the same herewith, Spayne also contynuyng in rebellyon, they [sha]ll nat onely have nede of your favor, socor, [and] assystens, but also yf they attempt any thyng by [hosti]llytee, your grace nat consentyng thereto, they shall be [utterly] undone. Howbeyt in thys contraversy betwext thes two princes yt shalbe a me[rvelous great prayse] and honor to your grace, so by your hye wysdo[m and authority] to passe betwen and stey them bothe, that ye be nat by ther [contention and variance brought] onto the wer, whych as I perceyve by the latter clause of the [French king's] letters, he trustyth ye wolbe in cas th^eEmperor sh[ould] inter it to Ytelly, and so p[lucke] the crown imperial] at Rome with a great army; whereupon I dowghte nat but your grace wole take good delibe[ration] and be well advysyd, consyderyng what ye be bowndyn to do by [virtue] of such treatys as be passyd betwyxt you, or y[e] shall make any promyse to the seyde Frenche kyng in that behalf.

"I send onto your grace herewith as well letters from Sir Thomas Spynell as from Sir Wm. FytzWilliam (your ambassador with the French king),* all whych forseyd letters, aftyr your grace shall have rede them, yt

* These words are crossed out with the pen.

1521.

may lycke the same to remyte them to me agayn at your good pleasure, and yf your grace thynkyth my poore oppynyon good towchyng answer to be made to the master of the Rollys, your pleasure knowne I shall nat fayle to followe the same accordyngly as our Lorde knowyth."

Draft in Wolsey's hand, pp. 3.

Vit. B. xx.

251.

B. M.

2. Fair copy of the preceding, corrected by Wolsey, also mutilated, but supplying some of the lost words of Wolsey's own draft.

1214. WOLSEY to TUNSTAL.

R. O.

The King has received his letters dated at —* containing the final resolution of the Emperor to Tunstal's proposals, and marvels that difficulties proceeding only of untowardness should now be made, since the ambassadors here resident had declared far otherwise. If they had not expressly said that the Emperor was ready to conclude the bond of alliance demanded by Tunstal, before entering into any other treaty, no such instructions would have been sent. Whatever Chievres and the Chancellor assert, the King expressly told the said ambassadors that he would hold no communication either for the defensive league with the Pope, the entertainment of the Swiss, assisting to repress the rebellion in Spain, or a new interview, unless the alliance was first passed, as the Emperor's ambassador here resident has constantly admitted, and which he says he has often reported to his master. Considering this refusal to a proposition which redounds more to the Emperor's profit than to his, the King's pleasure is that they shall not be further pressed to it, but that after declaring his last instructions Tunstal shall take leave of them and return to England.

The King will not consent to hold a diet at Calais, as nothing can come of it, except to make him suspected by the French king, "and the Emperor to the King's prejudice should the better and rather make his hand with the same." He is surprised that the Emperor's council should think that any ambassador sent to Calais could do more than Tunstal in the conclusion of those things committed to his charge, and supposes therefore that the said diet was devised only for the purpose aforesaid. His pleasure therefore is that Tunstal shall return as soon as he can, leaving Sir Thos. Spinelly as resident to report news. "Written from Hampton Court at the King's commandment."

Draft, corrected by Wolsey, pp. 3.

March.

1215.

GRANTS in MARCH 1521.

GRANTS.

4. Sir Hen. Wyatt. Grant of the advowson and patronage of Melton church, Kent, he being proprietor of the manor of Melton near Gravesende. *Del. Westm., 4 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 20.*

4. Andrew Grenehill, of Cheltenham, Glouc. Lease of a tenement called Bery-house on the east part of Hasildeyn, and a water mill called Bery Mille, late in the tenure of Wm. Warde, in the lordship of Ridmerley Dabittot, Worc., late of the earl of Warwick; for 21 years; rent 40s., and 40s. of increase. *Del. Hampton Court, 4 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 2, m. 27.*

4. Vincent Warmester, of Hereford-Est, draper, flashmonger, vintner and chapman. Protection for two years; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Newhall, 27 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court, 4 March.—P.S.*

5. Chr. Arundell, of Blommenbury, Midd., alias of London, innholder. Protection for one year; going to prosecute certain pleas, complaints, &c. for the King, in divers courts. *Del. Westm., 5 March. (No date of year.)—S.B.*

5. Sir Edw. Nevile, the King's servant. To be one of the King's sewers, with 50

1521.

GRANTS in MARCH 1521—*cont.*

March.

GRANTS.

marks a year, and the King's harbinger (to appoint lodgings for attendants on the King in his great voyages and progresses), with 20 marks; on surrender of patent 24 Feb. 5 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Sir Wm. Vampage, now deceased, and Sir Wm. Kyngeston, in survivorship. Greenwich, 11 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 5 March.—*Pat. p. 2, m. 25.*

5. Sir William Tiler, of the Privy Chamber. Annuity of 50 marks. *Del. Hampton Court*, 5 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

7. Wm. Martyn, of London, and John Man, yeoman of the Chamber. Lease, for 21 years, of a watermill in the lordship of Erleslane, Heref., parcel of the earldom of March, lately in the tenure of Henry Eliottes; rent 26s. 8d., and 13s. 4d. increase. *Del. Westm.*, 7 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 26.*

8. Geo. Warcope. Lease, for 21 years, of a messuage in Persebrigge, called Esthall, parcel of the manor of Gaynefford, York, lately in the tenure of John Stevenson, and a watermill called Gaynefford Mill; rent 5l. 13s. 4d., and 6s. 8d. of increase. *Del. Hampton Court*, 8 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 27.*

12. Sir Ric. Cholmeley, Rob. Shurton, clk., and Th. Watson, of Berwick. Lease of the fishery in the river Twede, called "New Water," from "Crabbe Water" to the sea; for 21 years; rent 40s. *Del. Hampton Court*, 12 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 27.*

13. Sir Rob. Drury, Sir Edw. Belknap, Anth. Fitzherbert, serjeant-at-law, and John Salter, deputy justice of N. Wales. Grant to them, their executors and assigns, of the annual rent of 100l., which was to be paid to the King by [Edw. Su]lton lord Dudley, for custody of the possessions of John Grey late lord Powes, granted to him by patent 30 Dec. 11 Hen. VII., during the minority of John Grey, son and heir of the said lord Powes; to hold the said rent from 30 Dec. 11 Hen. VII., during the minority of [Edw.], son and heir of the said John Grey, son of the said lord. Also, custody of the said possessions and wardship of the said Edward Grey lord Powes. *Del. Westm.*, 13 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. (*defaced.*)

17. Sir Ric. Cotes, clk., minister of the Chapel Royal. Grant of the pension which the bishop elect of Lincoln is bound to give

to a clerk nominated by the King till he be appointed by the bishop to a competent benefice. Greenwich, 17 March 12 Hen. VIII.—P.S.

20. Th. Pykyll, of the parish of St. Michael, Wood Street, London, and of the parish of St. Mary Somerset, London, merchant tailor, *alias* fustian-calenderer; and Wm. Estykke, of St. Sepulchre's, in Faryngdon-without-Newgate, and of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, fustian-shearer or "sherman." Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 20 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

20. Robert Everton, of London, merchant tailor. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Newhall, 28 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 March.—P.S.

21. John Wellysburn, groom of the Privy Chamber. Custody of Joan Lynd, daughter and one of the heirs of John Lynd, of Stokelynd, Oxon., and of her possessions, during her idiocy. *Del. Westm.*, 21 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

23. Robert Laward, *alias* Lord. To be receiver and feodary of the honor of Walyngford and St. Walleric, parcel of the duchy of Cornwall, on surrender of patents 19 Nov. 7 Hen. VIII., and 24 Jan. 2 Hen. VIII., granting the said offices to Geoffrey Dormer. Greenwich, 17 March 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 23 March.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 21; and p. 2, m. 24.*

29. Wm. Wyse, page of the Privy Chamber. Annuity of 10l., in the King's gift by the death of Th. Carvanell. *Del. Westm.*, 29 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

29. Roger Radclyf, gent. usher of the Chamber. Annuity of 20l. *Del. Westm.*, 29 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

30. Sir Wm. Kyngeston, knight of the Body. Grant in fee of three tenements with shops, cellars, and gardens in the parish of St. Martin near Ludgate, London, tenanted by Th. Sonnyff, Wm. Charsay and Edm. Snewyn, and in the King's hands because Scolastica Esterfyld, of Bristol, widow, deceased, bequeathed them in mortmain without licence: to hold in free and pure socage at the rent of a red rose. *Del. Westm.*, 30 March 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 22.*

1521.

1 April. 1216. LEO X. to WOLSEY.R. O.
Rym. XIII.
739.

Had granted to him and Campeggio the right of visiting monasteries exempt and non-exempt. On Campeggio's departure had granted the same powers to Wolsey sole for a year; then for two years. Extends the privilege for two years longer, with authority to appoint certain officers, legitimatise bastards, and other dispensing powers. Rome, 1521, kal. Aprilis, pont. 9.

Vellum, sub plumbo.

1 April. 1217. JAMES V.Rym. XIII.
739.

Commission to Thomas abbot of Kelso, Andrew Ker of Cesford, and Adam Ottirburn of Auldham, to meet the commissioners of England, and arrange for an abstinence of war. Edinburgh, 1 April 1521, 8 James V.

Lat.

3 April. 1218. WARHAM to WOLSEY.R. O.
Ellis, 3 Ser.
1. 247.

Thanks the Cardinal for the friendly spirit in which he has received the present the Archbishop had sent him, as well as for the costly jewel the Cardinal had sent to the shrine of St. Thomas. Has received by Dr. Sampson the Lutheran books, and the MSS. of Wicliffe, containing no less dangerous and pestilent heresy. Will examine them at Otford, and the day after his return to Lambeth, 11 April, will consult with the Cardinal. Rejoices that England has so orthodox a sovereign as Henry VIII. From my house at Canterbury, 3 April. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. Add.: Card. Ebor. archiep. apost. sedis a latere legato. Endd.

4 April. 1219. HENRY VIII.Calig. D. VIII.
27.
B. M.

Commission to Wolsey to receive the four hostages named by Francis in lieu of the four now remaining in England. 4 April 1521.

Copy, pp. 4, mutilated.

7 April. 1220. PACE to WOLSEY.Lamb. MSS.
602, p. 59.

The King has commanded him to send letters received this day out of Ireland. He in no wise likes the news, and therefore desires Wolsey diligently to ponder the said letters. The King is content to accede to the wish of the council in Ireland for the preferment of the prior of Conall to the see of Lymbryke. Wolsey will receive by these such news as the King has had out of Almain, "which his grace had not read till this day after his dinner; and thus he commanded me to write unto your grace, declaring he was otherwise occupied; i.e., in *scribendo contra Lutherum*, as I do conjecture." Greenwich, 7 April.

Hol., p. 1. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

10 April. 1221. RICHARD DE LA POLE.

R. O.

"Articles of misdemeanors and unfitting and suspicious words committed and said by the parson of Baddesworthe and John Goghe otherwise called John Strydley, within the county of Lancaster," for which they have been arrested and sent to the King by order of Edw. Stanley lord Montegle, who beseeches his highness to take such order therein as may stand with his pleasure, "for, as far as I perceive, they intend to use themselves unthrifly."

1. At the beginning of Lent they came to Manchester with a young woman of 18 or 19, whom the parson openly treated as any one else would

1521.

RICHARD DE LA POLE—*cont.*

his wife. 2. John Goghe openly said in various places that he had been in Rouen where he spoke with Ric. de la Pole, of whom he had good cheer, and whom he declared to be a valiant man, worthy to be a great captain; and that De la Pole had 900 ducats allowed him by the French king. When some of his hearers objected that De la Pole could have nothing from the French king, as there was peace between France and England, Goghe said he had 900 ducats assured him by the town of Rouen wherever he went. 3. He added that he would go beyond sea to get his living, for he knew the manner of the country. 4. The parson also said he would go beyond sea, but would be sorry to put my lord Monteagle in danger, for he was called his son. 5. When told that he could not go beyond sea without the King's licence, he said "he would make him a russet cloak like a palmer, with two keys before him and two behind him, and a staff in his hand as a pilgrim going to Rome." 6. Goghe said, in the house of Thos. Longton, Esq., in presence of divers persons at dinner, that it was no great business to get money in London. Being asked how, he said that in a tavern in London a man came to him and desired him to kill two men, saying that he had seen him do well in such a place, and he should be well rewarded. He desired their names to be written down, and where they dwelt, and on receiving the writing threatened to tell my lord Cardinal, so that the man was glad to give him 20 nobles to keep his counsel. Information of these facts having been given to lord Monteagle he ordered them to be arrested. Dated 10 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Signed*: "Per me, E. l. M'Egle."

Pp. 3. Endd.

10 April. 1222. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 89.
B. M.

As the bishop of Worcester is dying, begs that he may have the see upon the vacancy. It is now four years since he was made cardinal, and he is no better off than when he was simple bishop, having but 1,000 crowns (*aureorum*) a year. Worcester would be enough for the present, with the hope of Salisbury, on obtaining which he would resign the other. By the privilege granted to cardinals residing at Rome he would have no expenses in the despatch of bulls. The Pope would have written in his favor, but he declined his intercession, being sure of Wolsey's friendship, and unwilling to press him too strongly. If the King prefer another candidate, and wish to oblige the Pope, he might confer it on the bishop of Ascoli, the nuncio in England. Rome, 10 April 1521. *Signed*,

Lat., pp. 2. Add. in modern hand.

Harl. 6989,
f. 3.
B. M.

2. Duplicate of the preceding. *Signed*.

Pp. 2. Add. and endd.

11 April. 1223. SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Vit. B. xx.
224.
B. M.

"Please it your grace to understand I wrote my last letters unto the [same] ambassador the master of the Rolls showed me that the King's pleasure is he should return home, and leave me [in] his place for to advertise daily of the news occurrent his commandment and the semblable he had to the Emperor, the lord Chievres and to other of the council." Will acquit himself to the best of his power, referring Wolsey, however, to the Master of the Rolls. A gentleman of the duke of Bari told him that the son of the bishop of Toy had expressed great regret at the inclination of Chievres to the French. This was considered the Bishop's own sentiments.

"Moreover I signify unto your gr[ace]"

1521.

..... ay except that to him appeareth by divers
allage of oone underth houses, haith the better counsel than the Emperor with
so many realms and dom[inions, concl]uding to me his first desire at this
time is the meeting between the King's highness and his majesty, not doubting
[that] matters shall be ordered to the reason, and as the [confi]dence of the
Emperor in the King required.

"[The g]ret beginning of Messire Roberto de la Marcha is dissol[red]
with small effect, and make many in this curte suspect it [shou]ld be
grounded for to bring the Emperor to appaz (a peace) with France . . .
now groweth again the army the French king sende into Navarre in
eschewing like occasions true or feigned that they be.

"The King's highness, under your grace's good correction, should be
plain in the matter with the French king, and by virtue and according
to your treaty require him to desist of all breach and invasion; and so
doing I trust the evil counsel, lacking of colours, shall not be able to endure
the Emperor to any new bargains, if his good renown and fame he hath
amongst the generality is veritable, as it is to be esteemed, and specially not
having as yet seen the contrary.

"[For] as much as I hear by sundry reports the Pope maketh [con-
tin]ually instance to agree with the Emperor and for his going [into I]taly,
saying in default thereof he cannot choose [joi]ne with the
French king; the which proceeding by some
..... his holiness hath none other(?) conveni[ent]
..... which may not be without a cruel
and almost an irremediable breach, and this is his principal conject . . .
... come to it, he shall be in surety of their correction, and might with
less regard perforce ambition for no reason of the world wol
being content with his own, he should fear any op[osition] as one of the
contrahents of your treaty and peace, nor that he looketh for any profit of
the Emperor's presence in Italy, if he wolle consider by the past experience
the dissensions ensued betwixt the Roman church and the Emperors at all
times they came thither."

On the second the archduke of Austria arrived with 300 horse in the
Emperor's colors, "and 9 puges upon coursers, and great horses, with coats
of velvet crimson bordered with [cloth] of gold." He was received by the
Emperor, the electors, cardinals, and others, two English miles beyond the
gates. He takes precedence above all others.

"As for the place where [he] shall accomplish his marriage, it is
..... [wi]th the bishop of Samora and his company en
and overthrow them with great his person hurt. Never-
theless the constable of more solito writeth for the Emperor his
short going."

The French are in little favor with the Swiss. Their answer to the
Emperor's embassy is shortly expected.

"Written thus far, the provost of Caselles showed me that he is appointed
to go in Viertenberg, and there assemble the estates of the country for the
reformation of certain things concerning the justice, and also for to desire
an aid of money by them offered heretofore for the recoverance of revenues
mortgaged for the defence of the duchy, and amongst our* other devices he
demanded of him what he heard or thought of the affairs with France, and
by whose hands and means [they] be ruled. He answered me, there is
nothing so clear as to [be]lieve the lord Chievres is totally to a concordie
minded if [he c]an bring it to pass, resuming that he sayth dai[ly] that the]
Emperor is well with France, and shall be well with every man
to the ministers for the performance thereof rnor

1521.

SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

mete for such charge as * * * [a whole line lost] * * *
 provost shall have the bishopric of Luke, with
 whom he is agreed for e And after the accustomed
 manner I have the premises related to your ambassador the m[aster of the
 Rolls], who by such and other his knowledges, secret communications, and
 answer, may better by writti[ng] inform the King's highness and your grace
 in the matter than I can." The Chancellor may be trusted not to increase
 the amity with France. Wolsey must manage the bishop of Helna, "dis-
 simuling all, for, as the master of the Rolls perceiveth, not only he writeth
 that he may spy but peraventure more." Has good hope in the Emperor's
 constancy and singular affection to the King's highness, "[as] Armostorf,
 [who is in great] privy favor with his master, affer[meth]. And how he
 was never so bold to speak therein as ye know
 and Fonseca; I do not forbear to show them
 that one of the principal occasions to a new treaty
 with France must be the little mind he hath to go into Spain
 . . . im that having the same alliance no man might meddle in that affair,
 or give to them comfort; and that easily [if he might br]ing the Emperor
 thither they should be compelled to return to the due obeissance and subjec-
 tion, the which [remons]trances they have taken as true, as they be, and
 [moreov]er great thanks given to me. Your grace may be [su]re at oppor-
 tunity the said Duke and Fonseca woll not [be sl]ake to persuade the con-
 trary the Emperor; and that his majesty should do nothing without your
 advice and council; as they have heretofore done. And in effect I know the
 new bargain with France so prejudicial to the Emperor and his friends
 that I make no great difference from that to the war. The resolution of
 the diet is in eodem statu, with good hope and no conclusion." Worms,
 11 April 1521.

The duke of Alba expects an answer touching the salwo con[duct],
 which he desires of the French king by the help of England.

Hol., cr., with decipher by Tuke, lost in many parts by mutilation, pp. 6.

11 April. 1224. CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Desires credence for the master of the Rolls, who is returning to
 England. Wished him to remain longer, as he is a man of zeal and of
 experience in their common affairs. Worms, 11 April 1521. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

12 April. 1225. THOS. LORD DACRE to WOLSEY.

Calig. B. II.

249.

B. M.

There are no sheriffs in Cumberland and Northumberland to serve
 the King's processes, or keep the sessions. John Lamplew, of Lamplew,
 Bennyngton, Wolsey's servant, Thomas Lamplew, of Dovenby, Richard
 Skelton, of Branthuayt, John Skelton, of Armetthuayt, or Christopher Cur-
 wen, son and heir of Sir Thomas, might be appointed for Cumberland. If
 he be allowed the nomination of the sheriff of Northumberland, according
 to indenture, he will appoint Henry Wallas, Wm. Threlkeld, or Christopher
 Leghe. If the King will break the indenture, there are Edward Gray, of
 Chillingham, William Heron, Nicholas Ridley, Ralph Fenwick, and Wm.
 Ellerker. The *custos rotulorum* in Cumberland is dead; there has been
 none this twelvemonth. The King may appoint William Beueley or
 Richard his son. According to Wolsey's instructions in his last, has com-
 municated with the Scotch, and hopes to bring it to pass, but it will require
 time. Wark-upon-Tweed, 12 April. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: "To my lord Cardinal's grace." Endd.

1521.

12 April. 1226. SPINELLY to TUKE.

Vit. B. xx.

228.

B. M.

"Master Brian Tuke, after the a[ll due] recommendation, yesterday I wrote unto you my last letters for the direction of one to my lord Cardinal's grace, and sent it in the packet of the master of the Rolls, who immediately after departed a hereof. Anthony is by the Emperor dispatched again to his ambassador the bishop of Elna. You shall [receive] this by him. The which having said, I would write for my particular affairs. I direct to you, desiring you to show to my said lord that at my coming home yesterday from convey[ing] on his way the master of the Rolls, the duke of Alba declared me that being in council with the Emperor for the matters of Spain, and the provision [that] should be made for the defence and conservation of Navarre, this business was made heavy and perilous; and how, saying the Emperor he doubted not thereof for the special confidence he hath in the king of England, his uncle, that shall not suffer the French king go aga[inst] the treaty, some answered, the reason wold so; nevertheless that, touching Messire Robert de la Mar[k, he] had not made such demonstration as the case did require. And there ended the purpose. Wherefore unto the duke of Alba is thought the King's highness should effectually remedy it with the French king, and write a good letter to the Emperor as far as the treaty and bonds consent, and charge to be to him delivered in his presence and of other of Spain, or upon credence like effect and substance [show]ed to his Majesty, to the intent the said Duke and those of his opinion might more boldly speak. . . the same that saith the going into Spain with the war in and out wold be a doubtful enterprise for to come to the prejudicial peace by them desired. In the which case the Duke and Fonseca surely believe the Emperor shall not come there, supposing his counsellors as well in absence as in presence to appease the insurrection." Chievres will not go thither on any account, but will do whatever lies in his power, sooner than give up his place about his master. "And therefore it nedeth the King's highness and your grace* shall continue your faithful love and good counsel toward the Emperor, thinking if he meet with you he shall follow totally your minds, and take of you such instructions and documents, that the amity shall be for ever established without any more interruption or scruple." It will be difficult for Chievres to change the Emperor's purpose.

As to the Pope, they know† his Holiness procureth the going into Italy, and thake (that) it is only done for to put the war betwixt the two Princes. Signifying unto your grace‡ that Raphael de Medicis is ordered to go to Rome by post. The cause as yet I cannot tell, but I cannot believe he shall depart before the resolution of the diet.

" lordships of the lord Chievres in the realm of Naples hath been ducats, in so much as Belse[r] al shall amount to 200,000 ducats, and odd have received foscoure tousan[d] towns sold the Emperor, and at as thousand of the haide his servant w Settember cannot be had above se ducats, and the remanent within six m[onths].

"And according my former letters, Belser is [bound to] repay the said sums within a certain term, wheresoever the Emperor be, but with a clause that the place shall be to him [declared] so much before, and being appointed to be evermore nigh at the lord Chievres his staring (tarrying) for to know his [determination;] as yet he hath not showed it, except that Sunday last the lord Chievres told him we shall need of the money at Augsburg. And going a little up and down by the chamber, he s[aid]

* Corrected by Tuke into "my lord Cardinal's grace."

† "he knoweth" in Tuke's decipher.

‡ "you" in Tuke.

1521.

SPINELLY TO TUKE—*cont.*

again, Make no ground upon my words, and continue to come to me daily, and I wol tell you the Emperor his p[ur]pose, whereof I shall be incontinently† advertised, and thereby your grace‡ shall perceive somewhat of their i[n]ten[cion] and progress after they have been in Flanders; the which deliberation consisteth upon the . . . of the diet."

The bishop of Toy had given assurances that nothing should be done with France till the Emperor had spoken with the King; nevertheless that if new measures were not taken, things could hardly continue as they are.

Knows not why this bearer was sent to the bishop of Helna. Thinks that a meeting with the King should not be held till the Emperor's going to Flanders, so that Chievres and those who are inclined to France may not advance their object. The Emperor's ghostly father is "introduced in the secret matters" by Chievres, much to the disgust of the Spaniards. Worms, 12 April 1521.

Hol., or., deciphered by Tuke, pp. 4. Add.: [To the w]orshipful maister [Brian] Tuke.

1227. FITZWILLIAM TO HENRY VIII.

R. O.

On the 8th inst., about midnight, I received by my servant Baudewyn Willoughby your letter to the French king, instructions signed by you, and a letter from Wolsey. As to the duke of Alva, he shall have his safe-conduct. The matters of Scotland are answered after your own mind. I have written concerning all other things in my instructions to cardinal Wolsey. Yesterday the King told me he had not all the present ready, as horns and other things, when he sent you the last. He has sent to the Grand Equerry to provide a "gylder" for you. The painter did not do my portrait well, but I hope he will do better in England, as he made mine in haste. Here he is esteemed next to the King's painter, who is sick, and it is feared will not recover. You will have the cross-bows shortly. *Signed.*

P. 1. Headed in Fitzwilliam's hand: "The copy of thow King's letter with thow hanswar to an artykell I had forgoton whan I had closed my letter."

Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace. Endd.

15 April. 1228. [JU. CARD. DE MEDICIS TO WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv. 98*.

B. M.

Is glad of the arrival of Jo. Clerk, to whom he has opened all his thoughts as he has done to no one else, as freely as if he had been speaking to Wolsey himself, from whom he had received an autograph letter. Entirely surrenders his wishes and thoughts to Wolsey, and desires it may be known to those whom they serve, what advantage will arise from this communication of their sentiments. Florence, 15 April 1521. *Signature burnt off.*

Hol., Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

15 April. 1229. [CAMPEGGIO] TO HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. iv. 99.

B. M.

Has written to Wolsey of the perilous sickness of the bp. of Worcester. Begs he may have the bishopric in his place, to be translated to Salisbury when it is vacant. Rome, 15 April 1521. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add. in a modern hand.

† So in text; "continually" in Tuke.

‡ Corrected to "I" by Tuke.

1521.

15 April. 1230. [CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv. 93.
B. M.

Notified in his last, of which he sends a copy, the dangerous sickness of the bp. of Worcester. Earnestly begs that he may have his vacant bishopric, as he can then wait for Salisbury. Has written to the King to the same purport. Rome, 15 April 15[21].

P.S.—The bishop of Worcester has had extreme unction,—is given over, and all things are ready for his burial. D. Johannes Chlerits (Clerk) has arrived at Florence, and is daily expected. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

15 April. 1231. CAMPEGGIO to PETER VANNES.

R. O.

Wrote lately that the bishop of Worcester was seriously ill. His life is now despaired of. His poverty compels him to solicit the King and Wolsey for the bishopric, with leave to resign it for Salisbury when that see falls vacant, especially as he will not incur any expense in the translation, owing to the privileges granted to cardinals living in the court. Asks Vannes' assistance in obtaining this. Desires to be remembered to John Tayler, Æneas, "aliosque Aulicos." Wishes the enclosed letters to be sent to John Penant. Rome, 15 April 1521. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add.: "R. D. Petro Vanni R. card. Eboracen. secretario."

15 April. 1232. HENRY VIII.

Lansd. MS.
i. f. 152.

B. M.

Considering that the revenues of the customs of Dartmouth are scarce half what they were in Henry VII's time, although the ports have been as much frequented, authorizes John Trevanion, mayor of Dartmouth, and his successors, to enter and examine all vessels coming to the port, and demand the customary dues by virtue of the office of water bailiff, which the King has already conferred on the mayors, bailiffs and burgesses in consideration of the decay of the town. All who can show cause why the customs are thus decreased, or who dispute the right of the mayors to demand water bailliage, are to appear at Michaelmas next before the council. Greenwich, 15 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Signed and sealed.*

16 April. 1233. [PACE] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. iv. 96.

B. M.

Ellis, 2 Ser.
i. 286.

At his arrival found the King reading a new book of Luther's, the same as that of which Wolsey had sent a copy written by Pace. On his dispraising the book, Pace presented the Pope's bull and brief, at which the King was well contented, "showing unto me that it was very joyous to have these tidings from the Pope's holiness, at such time as he had taken upon him the defence of Christ's church with his pen, afore the receipt of the said tidings; and that he will make an end of his book within these [few days]; and desiring your grace to provide that within the same space all such as be appointed to examine Luther's books may be congregated together for his highness perceiving." He is agreeable to everything desired by Wolsey, who is to write to the Emperor and the princes Electors. His book is to be sent "not only to Rome, but also into France and other nations, as shall appear convenient. So that all the church is more bound to this good and virtuous prince, for the vehement zeal he beareth unto the same, than I can express.

"As touching the said brief his grace is singularly well contented therewith, and read it every word at his second mass time, and after dinner showed the same unto my lords of Canterbury and Durham, with great praise and laud thereof. As to the said bull his grace showed himself very

1521.

[PACE] to WOLSEY—*cont.*

well contented with the coming of the same; howbeit, as touching the publication thereof he said he would have it well examined and diligently looked to afore it were published. Hereunto I answered, saying that your grace, my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Durham, with others by your grace appointed, should accomplish his mind therein, and that your grace would not publish the same unto such time that ye had made his highness privy thereunto. My lord of Durham would have come unto your grace, but the King would not suffer him so to do, but commanded him to tarry here for the examination of certain things of Buckingham's servants. My said lord sendeth unto your grace a letter written by the King's commandment to such as shall see to the [charge] of the said Duke's house during his [absence]. Greenwich, 16 April. *Signature burnt off.*

"Sir Richard Weston signifieth unto your grace that the King doth well approve such things as you communed with him this morning."

Hol. Add.: To my lord Legate's grace.

17 April. **1234.** LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Rym. XIII.
742.

Has sent letters to Germany against the heresy of Martin Luther, ordering his books to be publicly burned, and himself to come to Rome and revoke his errors. As the same books are circulated in England, thinks they should be burnt, and the reading of them forbidden. Wolsey and others may read and refute them. Pali, Portuen. dioc. 1521, 15 kal. Maii, pont. 9.

Lat. Vellum.

18 April. **1235.** SCOTLAND.

R. O.
Rym. XIII.
744.

Indenture for abstinence of war between Scotland and England from 10 April to 1 June, concluded by Thos. abbot of Kelso, Andrew Ker, of Cessford, warden of the Middle Marches, and Adam Otterburn, of Auldham, of the King's council, for Scotland, and lord Dacre on the part of England, at Carhame, 18 April 1521. On the 20th Jan. 1520, commissioners met at Ridane, when it was agreed that the King should send ambassadors to England before April 9, and that an abstinence should be taken from that day till 30 June. The King has been unable to despatch the embassy, owing to the indisposition of those appointed, and the death of the archbishop of St. Andrew's. *Signed by the Scotch commissioners.*

Endd.: An indenture for abstinence of war for one year.

18 April. **1236.** LORD DARCY to RICHARD LISTER.

R. O.

Desires him to pay the remainder of his daughter's marriage portion to "my brother" Sir Robt. Constabill, and to take a very special quittance, "for he is something trowbillus and dangerous." Templehurst, 18 April 12 Hen. VIII.

Hol., p. 1. Add.

19 April. **1237.** CHARLES V. to the PEOPLE OF GERMANY.

R. O.

Will maintain the decisions of the council of Constance against a single friar, who maintains what is contrary to the belief of all Christendom. It would be great dishonor to him and to Germany, the defenders of the catholic faith, if these heresies continue. Having heard the pertinacious reply of Luther yesterday, will not hear him again, but proceed against him as a notorious heretic. 19 April 1521.

Copy, Fr., p. 1. At the end: Collacioun au vray original, escript de la main de l'empereur. *Endd.*

1521.

21 April. **1238. NIC. BP. OF ELY to WOLSEY.**

R. O.

Announces the death of Thos. Cotton, son and heir to Sir Rob. Cotton, knt., late of Cambridgeshire, deceased, by which the estates descend to the second son. Begs that he may have preference for the wardship, not so much for lucre as for the tender mind he has for the child, now 12 or 13 years old, whom he has had in his keeping for 5 or 6 years. Somersham, 21 April. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add. : To my lord Legate's grace.

1239. FRENCH HOSTAGES.

S. B.

For Chas. duke of Suffolk, Chas. earl of Worcester and Henry Marney, K.G.

Acquittance for receipt from Oliver de La Vernade, lord [de] Labastye, of the following hostages : Louis de Rochechouart, John de Grymault, Adrian de Meleun, Adrian de Hugueville, eldest son of lord de Hugueville, Francis de Montmorency, Anthony de Montpesat, Chas. Medony and Chas. de Morete.

Endd.

1240. FOR PATRICK BERMINGHAM.

S. B.

To be chief justice of the King's Bench in Ireland during pleasure, with the usual fees.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 11.

1241. FOR PATRICK BERMINGHAM, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland.

S. B.

Licence to come to England at any time he pleases.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 11.

1242. FOR PATRICK BERMINGHAM.

S. B.

To be chancellor of the green wax of the Exchequer, Ireland ; lately held by Nicholas St. Laurence, lord of Houth, by letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, with the assent of Gerald earl of Kildare, deputy.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 14.

1243. IPSWICH, Suffolk.

Commission to John abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, Robert lord Curson, Sir Rob. Drury, Sir Ric. Wentworth, Sir Philip Tylney, Lionel Talmach, and John Sulyard, to make inquisition and perambulation as to the metes and bounds of the liberty of the town of Ipswich, and as to those in which the mayor and bailiffs claim liberties.

Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 14d.

1244. HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Letters patent appointing Sir Richard [Jerningham] and Sir William Fitzwilliam the elder surveyors of woods and forests on this side Trent, with power to enclose, to levy fines on widows marrying without licence, to be surveyors of recognizances, &c., to copy all records and acts of parliament for the King's causes, at fee of 100*l.* per annum each, with a diet of 10*s.* a day when travelling. ———, 12 Hen. VIII.

Draft, pp. 6.

1521.

22 April. 1245. FITZWILLIAM to [WOLSEY]

Calig. D. viii.
30.

B. M.

Have heard from the French king; since I wrote last, that count Felix and Mons. de Lene's folks have invaded France, and taken prisoners and cattle, and that Nassau has laid siege to a place of Robert De la Marche's within a quarter of a mile of the French frontier. They are making ready here as fast as possible. They have now at Troyes 24 pieces of field ordnance. I never saw fairer. Eight are great cannons, and eight such pieces as the King won at Terouenne, "which he called his wife," and eight somewhat less. The seneschal of Armagnac, master of the Artillery, says they will have as many other pieces shortly. Francis told me that 14,000 lanceknights had come to the Rhine, against the Emperor's will, declaring they will serve him. He has sent Tavans in post to take 8,000 of them. He will also have 6,000 Swiss, for they have promised him as many men as he likes. Mons. Say is captain of the foot. Moye, Bocarde, Lorge and Payrot Mogerowme are captains under him. Chatillon is sent to Mons. Vandom in Picardy, and Dorval to keep the frontier of Champagne. Cannot learn every man's destination, "for me think the King here looketh somewhat strangely on me now, because he hath no answer of the articles he sent to the King's highness." He had a letter from his ambassador four days ago, saying the King had promised to make answer last Sunday week. They will not be quiet till they hear how the King takes it. I have been asked by the Admiral twice or thrice if I had any word from the King, and I said no. On his expressing disappointment, I told him you had been sick, and that the King would not make answer without consulting you. I wrote from Dijon "how Dom Provot [said, that] and the French king would send Robert Tete, the Emperor would send . . . [to] meet him. Since we came from Dijon "the Chancellor nor Robert Tete c[an] be found;" and I have inquired for them, and they say they be at Dijon [with] Dom Provot." Whether they are treating I know not. Robert Tete never staid behind since I came until now.

Asked the Admiral lately if nothing came of Dom Provot's offer. He looked upon me, and said, "I had as lief lose these two eyes as once to treat with th[em] now;" they have gone too far for that." I have sent to Dijon to learn whether Robert Tete is left there for any such purpose or not. The French king told me my lord of Buckingham was in the Tower, and asked if I had heard of it. I said, no. He asked me what sort of a man he was. I said I thought he was a highminded man, "and a man that would speak s[ometimes] like a man that were in a rage. And he said he judged him for [such a] man, and so full of choler that there was nothing could content him. Then I showed him the King's grace had given him good lessons . . . and so good that, an he had had any grace, he would not have deserved [to have] been there. And he said it was honorably done of the King's grace to give him warning; and then I showed him I knew his grace had given him warning, as well by your grace as by his own oftener than once; and he praised that very much."

Salviati came to Troyes last Friday. I asked him what Saynblanse said to him. He said, he had told him he should be rid there. Then I went to Saynblanse's, and asked what I should do further in the matter. He said the Admiral, the Great Master and he should give me answer after dinner. I asked him what he thought himself; but could get nothing more from him. So after dinner, I came where they were all together, and the generals with them, and they showed me it was never seen that the French king and the generals should be bound all in one band; and the generals said they had sent their obligation into England, and their money was not paid, and they thought it unreasonable to be asked for another bond. "They bade send

1521.

for the bond t[hat] your grace had, and then they would make answer, for they said they w[ould] see that before they sealed any other." I said, if the King would send the ratification, and they this obligation, I would bind myself that they should have the other, and all the money due to them. They said they would never consent that the King should sign that ratification, for it was never seen that the King and they should be included in one bond. I said I desired nothing but what they had passed before; the obligation changed no purpose; and that if Francis meant to keep his word, he ought not to make a difficulty. The Admiral promised me an answer which I might send to you when they came to Dijon five or six days hence. I have caused Bartholomew Salviati to go with Saynblanço "to feel" against we come to Dijon. I fear we shall [have no] answer to your appetite. Mounte Armyne, 22 April. *Signed.*

Pp. 4, mutilated.

23 April. 1246. FITZWILLIAM to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. viii.

29.

B. M.

Two days ago, was told by Francis that Nassau with 15,000 or 16,000 men had taken a hold of Rob. De la March's that was nothing worth, and laid siege to another which he believed was strong enough. Francis had sent for all his captains of ordnance, and 8,000 lanceknights; he will have 6,000 Swiss and 14,000 adventurers of France. Mons. de Sayn-p[ol] will be captain of the French foot, and Mons. de Gu[iche] of the lanceknights. He has also raised anew 600 men-at-arms, so that he will have in all 2,000. This day the French king said he had word that Nassau was within a quarter of a league of his frontiers, and had intended to besiege a French town, which was so well garrisoned that they would not meddle with it, but sent couriers into the country, and took men and women; which has caused the inhabitants to retreat from the frontier. Thus, he says, he can no longer forbear, though he has long done so for Henry's sake; adding, "If Mons. de Nassau tarry where he is a month, it shall cost me 40,000 of my men's lives, and mine own withal, but he shall repent his bargain."

The Queen and my Lady came last night to Troyes. Visited my Lady today, who spoke about her late journey, and at last touched upon the subject of the King Catholic's conduct, saying, "Think ye not verily the breach of this amity cometh of the King Catholic?" Thought it a hard question to answer, and said, "Madame, I am here where [I] hear but the one tale; howbeit, I take the King your son [to be a] prince of his word that I believe that that he saveth, [and if there] be no more than he showeth me I think they be more [to blame than] he." She assured me Francis had shown me nothing but the truth. I told her my master would be glad to hear from the King his brother the occasion of the breach. Then she told me divers of Nassau's men were out of wages for lack of money. Francis also said to me, "[I] speak not this to you to the intent the King my brother should complain on the King Catholic, for I think myself enough to revenge me of any displeasure he can do me, [but I tell] you because I will do nothing but I will first [advertise the] King my brother." Saynblanço arrived last night, and spoke with him. He has bidden me go to the Admiral and Great Master, and doubts not I shall be dispatched in days. Bartholomew Salviati is not yet come, but is expected tomorrow. Troyes in Champagne, 23 April. *Signed.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

23 April. 1247. [CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv.

99°.

B. M.

Wrote to him on the 10th and 15th of the sickness of the bishop of Worcester. He died on the 18th, and was buried on the 19th. On the 20th Jo. Clerk entered Rome, and was waited on by the retinue of Cam-

1521.

[CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY]—*cont.*

peggio and card. Medici. Has nothing to add to what he has said already about the bishopric of Worcester. Rome, 23 April 1521.

Has not yet received his letters from Clerk. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1.

23 April. 1248. TUNSTAL to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. VII.

24.

B. M.

Yesterday I came to Malines, and spoke with the lady Margaret, telling her the King had recalled me, that I had taken leave of the Emperor, and I wished to know if I could do her any service. She hoped that matters not hitherto concluded would be treated, at the Emperor's coming down, to the satisfaction of all parties. I said the King was always willing to do what he could for the Emperor, saving his honor and conscience, and that the Emperor was well inclined also, but would be first assured what the King would do for him, and that I offered that the King would not only treat of their demands, but would consent to all reasonable points; with which they were not content unless all might be concluded forthwith, one after another. I desired her to persevere in her good mind toward the King, and to help the good intelligence betwixt the Emperor and the King; which she said she would do.

As to the wheat for which the King asked, and which was not granted, she said the people here, in Louvain and other towns, had mutinied on hearing that wheat was to be levied for exportation, although the dearth was not so great as heretofore; "wherefore, lest in the Emperor's absence the said mutinery under that pretext should have begun, albeit fain she would have accomplished the King's desire, yet, for entertainment of the people once moved," she durst not grant the quantity asked, and wished me to give this as her excuse to the King. She said this was not feigned, as the commotion of the people was openly known, and desired her most affectuous recommendations to the King and your grace; which the Lord Berges did likewise. Requested Berges to aid the good intelligence between the Emperor and the King, as he had hitherto done. He promised to do so; and said that, although he had made alliance with lord Chievres, yet, if he saw he did not mean well to the said intelligence, he would be plain with him, and do his best to stay him. I leave today for Antwerp, and then homewards. Malyns, 23 April. Signed.

Pp. 3, cipher, with mutilated decipher by Tuke in the margin. Add.: My lord cardinal of York, [lega]te de latere, &c. Endd.

24 April. 1249. CITY OF CANTERBURY.

Inspeximus to the mayor and commonalty of patent 3 Hen. VII., which, by reference to several other confirming documents, confirms charters of 18 and 40 Hen. III., granting the city to the citizens at a fee-farm of 60*l.* a year, and certain privileges; likewise of charters of 21 Hen. IV. and 26 and 31 Hen. VI., being grants of liberties, &c. to the city. Westm., 24 April.

Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3, m. 5—10.

26 April. 1250. DARCY to LISTER.

R. O.

Orders him to pay 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly to Master Mewtes, the King's secretary, for the exhibition and pension of Thos. Darcy. Templehirst, 26 April 13 Hen. VIII. Signed.

P. 1. Add.

P.S. on the dorse, desiring him to send Meautys a warrant for "some morsel of flesh for him and his bedfellow to make merry with," and to ask Arthur Darcy to do the same.

1521.

27 April. 1251. SURREY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

St. P. ii. 63.

Two days after writing his last Sir William Darcy, who had been sent to the earl of Ormond to pacify the Irish, returned. "The said Earl and Sir William have so threatid the Irishmen with a great power coming hither with the earl of Kildare," that they have taken a truce till All Hallowtide. Thinks they will only remain quiet until they see what power comes with Sir John Wallop. Recommends Darcy for the customership of Drogheda and Dundalk. Cormoke Oge desires to become the King's subject, to attend parliament, to be made a baron, and hold his lands of the King. Sends a charter granted to Oge's grandfather by the King's predecessors. Dublin, 27 April. *Signed.*

Add.

1252. INSTRUCTIONS for SIR JOHN PETCHIE, to be declared to the Earl of Surrey, lieutenant of Ireland.

R. O.

St. P. ii. 65.

The King is much pleased with Surrey's resolution, expressed in his letter delivered by Sir John Wallop, to continue to serve him either in Ireland or elsewhere, with small or great number, at the King's pleasure, and will not forget his devotion. Surrey has pointed out the danger of the four shires from confederacies between O'Neil and other rebels and the Scots, who mean to invade Ireland this summer, under Argyle, which the lieutenant is not furnished with sufficient number to resist. He has also pointed out the cause of O'Neil's breach of faith; viz., the earl of Kildare's not being sent to Ireland, and the information he has found in letters written by O'Neil to his friends and others, sent to him by the prior of Maguynes. Surrey is of opinion that there is no remedy but either to send a sufficient force, or to send over Kildare, who would make his adherents good Englishmen, and that the King should write threatening letters to the governors of Scotland to stop Argyle's project. The King knows that Surrey would not have written thus unless there had been some appearance of urgent need. Assistance should have been sent him but for other weighty matters.

The dispute between the Emperor and the French king is likely to become war, in which case the King will be bound to aid the invaded party. If, besides that, he were to send troops to Ireland, and be compelled, as seems likely, to make war upon Scotland on account of the violation of their promises by the Scots, who have allowed the truce to expire, and not sued for further abstinence, he would then have three armies to support. If Wallop's demand for 300 horse and 500 foot were complied with, it is estimated that the King's charges for the old and new armies for the defence of Ireland would amount to 16,000*l.* or 17,000*l.*, and in this hard and dear year he could not expect that Parliament would vote any adequate subsidy, nor could it be levied within three years at least. It would be an intolerable charge to maintain such a costly army only for the defence of the four shires, and at the end of three years he would have to begin the reduction of the land anew, with his own treasure. He shall also tell Surrey, privately, that if the King were as well provided as heretofore with money for three armies he would not hesitate to send the aid desired, but the demand which may be made by the Emperor or the French king touches his honor. Surrey must use policy that his grace be not put to further charge till they know the end of the great matters before touched. Petchie shall here discuss with him what means may be used for the security of the country without further expenditure, and suggest that a bruit might be made both in England and Ireland, that the King was preparing a great army to send thither, and letters might be sent to the nobility and gentry of Cheshire, Lancashire and Wales to get ready a number of horse and foot to go thither forthwith, which army shall be put in such readiness that

1521.

INSTRUCTIONS for SIR JOHN PETCHIE, &c.—*cont.*

if the rebels cannot be otherwise repressed they may be sent over immediately; but Surrey must have due regard to the urgent considerations above mentioned. It would be dishonorable to the King, and much discourage his true subjects, to send over Kildare, who was discharged of his room, and has been long detained in England in prison. On receipt of Surrey's letter the King wrote to Dacre to make espial in Scotland to ascertain about Argyle's intention, and to show that if he made any attempt the King would make war upon them. The King expects an answer daily, and will inform Surrey with all diligence.

Draft, with corrections by Ruthal, pp. 16. On the front page is a short description of the document in Ruthal's hand, in which occurs the following clause: "Item, to cause the prior of Kilmainham and other lords, spiritual and temporal, to do their devoir for the defence of that land."

28 April. 1253. TALLOW.

R. O.

License to Michel Moucheron, merchant of Rouen, to buy in England and export 2,000 lbs. of tallow, on payment of customs. Greenwich, 28 April 13 Hen. VIII.

Copy, Fr., pp. 2. Endd.

28 April. 1254. CHARLES V.

Calig. E. III.
103.

B. M.

Protest by the Emperor against the assistance lent by France to Rob. De la Mark against the imperial subjects, for which the King of England had offered himself as arbitrator. Worms, 28 April 1521.

Fr., pp. 3.

Titus, B. I.
88.

B. M.

2. "The copy of the article delivered to the French king's council," touching the articles submitted to Henry by the king of France, on the part of the king of the Romans, with the French king's answer, for removing the disputes between the two latter with regard to the homage for Flanders and the sovereignty of Naples To bring this to a satisfactory conclusion Sir Ric. Wingfield is to be sent into Germany.

Fr., pp. 4. Note in modern hand, in pencil: "My lord Russell, Mr. Wayt has that of Fitzwilliam signed by Hen. 8."

28 April. 1255. [CHARLES V.] to the PROVOST OF UTRECHT.

Vit. B.xx.231.

B. M.

"Au don prevost de par [l'Empereur].

"Reverend pere en Dieu, chier et feal, nous avon[s] a Richart, et entendu ce quil nons ha dit de bouche d[e par] vous le Roy] tres Cristien vous ha dit quil se tenoit pour defie par ye dela responce faicte a son ambassadeur mesmes a que se messire Robert de la Marcha, ou aultre quelconque comme veoit aucunement guerre ou novellite contre nou[s] pour rompture de traictie, veullant inferer que ces motz quelconque emportent rudes defiances, que nous samble vo les paroles a rebout. Car a bien considerer la substance de nostre motz, ou aultre quelconque se doibuent referer aux aultres po [nom]mez au dit escript, questoient le fiz de Navarre, et mesure Charles de [Gueldres], et ceux qui dependent dudit roy tres Chretien, lesquelz sans son a[yde n'o]seroient entreprendre aucunement guerre contre nous. Et par telz m[otz, quant] oyres il seroient en toute generalite, sans avoir relation aux denno [ne] pourroit pour tant arguer aucunement defiance,

1521.

mesmes que nou bien tenir les traitez pour rompuz. Et a juste cause, sans pource voul ledit roy tres Chretien ne luy commencer la guerre. Et si la cause seroit i non de tenir les traictes pour rompuz, tant par ce que messire Rober[t] contre nous et noz subgeetz, que aultrement lon le peult assez cognoistre sa [dite] def fiance de guerre; laquelle na este en nostre intention, par le contenu du dit Et que avons assez demonstre par efect, daultant que despuis linvasion du [dit] messire Robert, faicte en nostre duchie de Luxemburg, contre noz pays et soubge[tz], navons riens volu attempter contre ledit roy tres Chretien, ses pays et subject; ains seulement contre ledit messire Robert, et ses enfans, comme noz subge[tz] et rebelles; ainsi que justement et par droit faire pouvons, mesmes quant [aux] pieces quilz tiengnent en noz pays et segnuries. Et quant eussions volu de[fier] le dit roy tres Chretien, ce que na este notre vouloir, certes y eussions pr[ocede] daultre sorte, avec lez sommacions et solempnitez en tel cas requises, en[tre les] princes; mes, non estant notre intention de commencer aucun debat, vous [avons] envoye ledit escript, ainsi que lavions fait dire et declairer a son ambass[adeur] estant icy, afin que ledit roy tres Chretien eust cause de retenir que guerre fust commence encontre nous, par ceux qui dependent de lu[y] si le dit roy tres Chretien veult entrepreter noz parolles aultrement [que ne] lentendons et prendre cela pour def fiance ce sera sans notre con[sentement], mais atten[drons] ce que Dieu [e]n envoyera de sorte que Dieu et le monde con[noitront] que] le debat naura commence par nostre faulte.

Et puis que la v ne peult avoir lieu pour preparer la vehue que mad[ite dame a] propose, ne seroit convenable que deussions la estiez mieulx instruit que nul aultre. Et quy navez mestier tions, et savez touz noz affaires. Neantmoins, pour ce que le roy [n]ous a dernièrement adverty, quil sembloieroit voluntiers a [ap]pointer [les di]fferens, si le dit roy tres Chretien desire que les choses soient bien enten[dues, et] que le droit, ou tort, dung chacun soit cogneu, pour mettre une bonne [fin a t]ous les dits differens, et pour nous metre en plus que debvoir, nous serons [cont]ent, que le dit roy dEnglatere, quy est comme allye et amy de tous deulx, [et] que desire la paix dentre nous deux, soit le mediateur pour traicter et mo[y]enner lapoinctement de noz ditz defferens, et que, acest effect, soit prins une journee, en lieu convenable et propice a ung chascun des troys, pour prendre en tout une bonne resolution. Et ainsi le pourrez dire et declairer de par nous audit roy tres Chretien et a madame sa mere; car de ce advertissons aussi le dit seigneur roy dAngleterre, afin quil cognoisse notre bonne intention, et quil sy emploie de sa part, comme savons quil fera volentiers. De Vormes, le 28 de Avril 1521."

Pp. 2, badly mutilated.

30 April. 1256. The EARL OF ARUNDEL to WOLSEY.

R. O.

On Wednesday the 24th a man, probably a gentleman, came to Lyberd's Myll, beside Havant, on foot, dressed in a coat of green camlet, lined with black damask, a coif of silk with a gold button, and a scarlet bonnet, with a sword at his side, and a white stick in his hand. He asked the wife what lords lived thereabouts. She told him Lord Arundel and Sir Arthur Plantagenet. He then asked her for some drink, of which she said she had none; and also offered his coat and a noble in exchange for an old coat of her husband's. She, suspecting him, said she would fetch her husband, who was in the town, meaning to have brought the officers; but when she returned he was gone. Heard nothing of this till one of his servants told him on the Saturday after. Has set a privy watch for him. Encloses a more detailed account from the bailiff of Portsmouth. Donneley, 30 April. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal and legate. Endd.

1521.

Calig. D. VIII.

168.

B. M.

1257. [HENRY VIII. to FITZWILLIAM.]

Has seen his letters to the Cardinal containing the French king's answers to his instructions, news from Almain, the articles sent by the Emperor to don Provost, and the French king's answers, touching the pension of N[aples], the enterprises of Robt. de la Marche, the duke of G[ueldres] and the young king of Navarre, the French king's request for the prorogation of the truce with Scotland, and other matters. Thanks him again for his continued diligence. As the French king continues to show his fraternal love, Fitzwilliam must declare the like to him on our part, desiring him not to believe sinister reports till he have heard the King's declaration therein. Is to contradict the bruits contrived in Almain, and notified to Francis by his ambassador, that Henry would assist the Emperor against France, and hold a new interview with him, of which there seemed to them to be much likelihood from the long communication between Chievres and the master of the Rolls. The King has instructed his ambassador to dissuade the Emperor from any attempt against France, and expressly to warn him that Henry was bound to give aid against invasion. As to the interview, it is true such an overture had been made by the Emperor's ambassador, but it was not listened to for fear of creating suspicion in Francis. The master of the Rolls is recalled, and on his return to England; whom Henry would have instructed to remain, if he had been favorable to the project. The King approves generally of the answers made by Francis to the articles sent to him by the Emperor, but thinks that made to the last article very hard; for though the Emperor went too far in surmising a rupture in consequence of attempts made without the knowledge of Francis, yet as the article is conditional, and Rob. de la Marche has, in deference to the French king, withdrawn his army, there is now no cause of rupture. Is to desire Francis to abstain from invading on such a small occasion. The variances are not so great but they may be adjusted, especially now that a diet is appointed between the o[rators] of the Emperor and Francis, as the King is informed by letters which the Emperor has himself written to his ambassador in England. Is to "touch this matter to the French king," and see what likelihood there is of concord.

The King has consented, at the request of Francis, to prolong the truce with Scotland till the feast of St. Andrew next, notwithstanding the great displeasures done by the Scots, as declared in previous instructions, which Jerningham shall "aggravate" in his best manner. Trusts that Francis will cause them to observe their promises better in future, or join with Henry to repress their temerity.

Draft, pp. 4, mutilated.

1258. ——— to [FRANCIS I.]

Calig. E. III.

f. 121.

B. M.

The King has been informed by the French ambassador, and also by letters from his own ambassador in France, of the good words [of Francis] for the continuance of the cordial friendship existing between them. Thanks him for the gracious answer given to Sir William F[itzwilliam] when he last made overture of certain articles touching Scotland, the grievances alleged by the king of the Romans, and the suit made by don John Manuel for a marriage between that king and the king of Portugal's daughter, "disant que [ledit] roy des Romayns eust peu avoir madam le Princesse en] mariage si] eut volue." The King is glad Francis disbelieves these rumors, and has sent the writer to explain his meaning on each of those points.

1. As to the rumor mentioned by the French ambassador in Germany, that the King had promised to aid the king of the Romans against France, and that a new interview was to take place between Henry and Charles, which the

1521.

ambassador thought likely, considering the long communication that had been between Chievres and the master of the Rolls, it is true that an interview between the King and the king of the Romans was proposed to the former by the ambassador of the latter, but Henry would not listen to it. 2. The King is surprised at Charles suing for a dispensation to marry the daughter of Portugal, as he has always advised him to observe his treaties with France. 3. It is true the king of the Romans has made overtures, both at Calais and since, to marry madame [the Princess]; but the King distinctly refused, on account of his engagement with France. 4. The King has seen the articles sent to Francis by the king of the Romans, and his answer. 5. And whereas the king of England has been informed by the ambassadors of the king of the Romans of a diet proposed between the [French ambassadors] and his.* 6. And as to what Francis has written to the King touching the prolongation of the truce with Scotland.*

Fr., corrected draft, mutilated, pp. 4.

Calig. E. iii.

123.

B. M.

ii. Another copy of the articles contained in the above.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 3.

1259. [WOLSEY] to ———.

Vit. B. x 242.

B. M.

1. "They showed also that the said king of Romans, according . . . gave unto him at their being together in Calais had sent . . . kyng not only to signify unto him that the King his master was [determined to remain] and continue" at peace with him, but also to keep all treaties and promises touching the alliance. Yet the said ambassadors reported tha[t the said] Provost, contrary to his commission and instructions, had made overture of [divers] matters for a new treaty between the king of the Romans an[d the French] king, and for a secret intelligence between them before all other princes; wherewith it is said the king of the Romans was highly displeased, [and is determined] to take care that the Provost shall not in future exceed his charge, nor meddle with like matters of importance; "which overture, I assure you, was contained by express arti[cles] in the instructions of the said Bishop and Mons. Delaroche, and by them uttered at [their] first audience."

2. As for the overture made by dom Provost, the King supposes the king of the Romans will do nothing by new treaties contrary to the old. He knows well enough that the French king will not assent to any practices redounding to his prejudice.

Draft, in Ruthal's hand, mutilated, p. 1. Two paragraphs apparently intended to be inserted in different parts of a despatch.

April.

R. O.

1260. THOMAS LORD DARCY.

Instructions for his steward "to see done to Mr. Lister and Thomas Strey."

Touching his rents; payment of 50 marks to my brother Constabill, before 9 May, "in full contentation of the whole marriage money, 800 marks, by me justly paid to him for his son that my daughter hath married."

"To show Mr. Aylmer, Sir Nicholas's merchant, that I have a primer written, with a silver clasp, of my lady his wife's; it shall be at his pleasure to give it me, or to have it sent."

"To take the water and commodities of Foss, which I have by patent in

* Of these two articles only the preambles are given; the others appear also to be incomplete.

1521.

THOMAS LORD DARCY—*cont.*

fee, 9*l.* &c. *per annum* ;* to take, the same patent not hurted, all the whole water to farm, to use to my best profit, &c. fish, swans, &c., with all other commodities as bishop Savayge had it, paying so, which I think be 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*."

"Md., process came down against me, and I never took it."

For the punishment of accessories to the murder of my officer George Dean. To speak to my counsel and attorneys in the Exchequer to stop all processes "that none come out against me into no shire." "Three bonnets, one choice butt of Malvese of the best that can be chosen, 60 of the greatest Spanish and Sayntumber onions; of ather elyk (alike) many, the whitest and greatest that can be found. John Trumppet and Roye my brewer's wife, can help therein; and 2*s.* in nutmegs, and 12*d.* in setwaylle (citron?). The premises convey with an honest sure carrier, and the wine with an honest man by see, couched under other wines or merchandize, to Hull to the customer or Wymond, to convey to me.† Mr. Lyster and Thomas Strey to remember my arrearages at Catyngham, Kent, and my fines in Devon. That Mr. Lister be of counsel with my lady Curwen as with myself." "To Mr. Lister and Arthur for my lady Vere or other as they can find, ward or other, that is worshipful and profitable." *Signed*: T. Darcy. Dated April 12 Hen. VIII.

In Darcy's hand, pp. 3. Endd.

1261. [THOMAS LORD DARCY.]

R. O.

"Receipts in the 11th year of king Henry VIII. for my Lord per Richard Lister," from Talworth, Calcott, Ormesby, Kent and Devon, with the names of the tenants.

ii. For the 12th year, with addition of Pomfret and Knaresborough.

iii. Payments in the 11th and 12th years;—to Thomas Grice, for loosing of my Lord's plate, 100 marks; a half year's rent of my Lord's house at Sion, 16*s.* 8*d.*; Lister's own fee, 66*s.* 8*d.*; and to various other persons. To the four Friars Observants at Greenwich, Hampton, Richmond and Newark, a half year at Mich., 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* For a ring with a ruby, for the King's new year's gift, 4*l.* To Sir Wm. Sandys, for wine, 23*l.* 9*s.*

iv. Payments to be made for the next half year to Sir Rob. Constable, Arthur Darcy, Wm. Butry, lady Capell and others.

"My Lord, I pray you see how you can ryse the King's payment and loosing your plate, and my lord Cardinal have the rent of Talworth."

Pp. 4.

1262.

GRANTS in APRIL 1521.

April.

GRANTS.

4. Benedic de Opiciis. Licence to export 300 tuns of beer into foreign parts within two years. Westm., 4 April.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 21.*

8. Thomas lord Dacre of Gilleslond, Sir Christ. Dacre, Anne wife of Sir Humph. Conyngesby, John Bone, vicar of Lasyngby, Roland Thirkeld, rector of Melmorby, and John Whelpdall, of Penreth. Pardon for having acquired from Ambrose Craken-thorp, of Howgill, Westmor., the manors of Skyrwith and Ulseby, Cumb., without licence. Westm., 8 April.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.*

8. Walter Devereux lord Ferrers of Charteley, and Mary his wife; and John Kyrtyn, Hen. Tyngylden, Wm. Shelley, John Baker, Wm. Daunson, chaplain, Christ. Rawson, John Nichelles, Hen. Dakers, Hugh Acton, Wm. Copland, John Gunne, Wm. Barnes, John Raymes, John Bounde and Wm. Basset. Pardon for alienating the manor of Chynnour, Oxon., by a fine levied in the Common Pleas in favor of Daunson. Westm., 8 April.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 11.*

8. Sir Ninian Markynfeld, Sir John Normanvyle, Rob. Skargyll, Rob. Gargrave,

* Note, by Darcy: "Arthur to take it, and I to be his assyney."

† Note, by Darcy: "Mr. Lister to pay for."

1521.

April.

GRANTS.

Rob. Calverley, junr., and Geo. Sneath. Pardon for having acquired, without licence, of Sir Th. Conyers, certain possessions (named) in Castell Carleton, Magna Carleton, Parva Carleton and "le Fennes," Linc., to hold to the use of Sir Thos. Conyers of Stokbourn, in co. of the bishopric of Durham, and Eliz. his wife, and their heirs male. Westm., 8 April.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.*

9. Sir Edm. Tame. To be steward of the lordship of Fayresford, Glouc., with 40s. a year. Westm., 9 April.—*Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.*

10. Wm. Horseley, yeoman of the Guard. Lease, for 21 years, of certain property in the lordship of Cropton, York, at annual rents amounting to 4*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, and 2*s.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 10 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 28.*

12. John Burges, B.D. Presentation to the church of Howbye, Linc. dioc. *Del. Westm.*, 12 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

16. Edw. Spence, of London, *alias* of Est Greenwich, Kent, stock-fishmonger, *alias* vintner. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 15 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 16 April.—P.S.

16. John Syer, of Lodyngton Broke, Northt. Pardon for having broken into the house of John Joynour, in the parish of St. Bride, in the ward of Faryngdon-without, London, with knives, and taken a carpet of fine verdure and a "wodeknyf," of the value of 26*s.* 8*d.* *Del. Westm.*, 16 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

17. Wm. Laughton, Ralph Browne, Leonard Morton, Geo. Thomson, Th. Watson, John Burrell, Wm. Gardiner, Rob. Warke, Ralph Warke, Rowland Shorton, Odnell Selby, John Shotton, and Wm. Wallis, of the town of Berwick. Lease of the fishery of "the kynges waters of Twede," belonging to the town, for 21 years; rent, 52*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 20*d.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 17 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 20; and p. 2, m. 28.*

17. Th. Leek, of Sutton-in-le-Dale, Derby, *alias* of London. Pardon. Greenwich, 1 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 17 April.—P.S. *Pat. p. 1, m. 23.*

18. Sir Henry Boyaeton, of Sedbury, York. Exemption from serving on juries, &c. *Del. Westm.*, 18 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

18. John Compton. Grant of the farm, custody and herbage of the castle of Old Sarum, Wilts, with meadows called "Jardyn" and "le Kyngesham," for 40 years; rent 4*l.* 1*s.*, and 5*s.* 8*d.* of increase; on surrender of patent, 6 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII. (the proviso of which rendered him liable to be expelled from the custody if any one offered to pay more of increase than he,) granting the same to the said John at 40*s.* and 12*d.* of increase,

his bail being Wm. Chafyn, of Bulford, Wilts, and Wm. Andrewes, of Ambresbury, Wilts, the same, having been previously granted at 40*s.*, with similar proviso, by patent 28 Jan. 12 Hen. VIII., to Sir Edw. Nevell, knight for the Body, his bail being John Asshe, of New Sarum, and Robt. Roby, of the parish of St. Bride, London, tailor. *Del. Westm.*, 18 April 12 Hen. VIII. *In the margin:*—"Oportet irrotulari a° xij; Gilez."—S.B.

18. Wm. Horton, of Staunton near Corse, Worc., *alias* of Catton, Derby, *alias* of Tomworth, Warw. Pardon for the murder of John Pauncesote. Greenwich, 6 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 18 April.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 23.*

20. Th. Blakford. Lease of the water-mill of Halford, in the lordship of Snyterfeld, Warw., belonging to the late earl of Warwick, with "le yare" belonging to the said mill, with land called "Littellecrosse," at Millefurdend, and the fishery of the Store, from the mill to Halford Bridge, and from that bridge with half the water to the upper end of Aylesyare; for 21 years; rent 36*s.* 8*d.*, and 3*s.* 4*d.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 20 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 23.*

20. John Parker, page of the Chamber. To be keeper of the manor and park of Wanstede, Essex, with 2*d.* a day, on surrender of patent 29 March 3 Hen. VIII., granting the same to Charles Brandon, now duke of Suffolk, *vice* Hugh Denys, deceased. Greenwich, 17 March 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 20 April.—P.S. *Pat. p. 2, m. 17.*

21. Nich. Coke, of Chemmysford, Essex, baker. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 2 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 21 April.—P.S.

21. Chas. Knyvet. Special protection for one year. *Del. Westm.*, 21 April 12 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

UNDATED.

John Haywode, the King's servant. Annuity of 10 marks, during pleasure, out of the issues of the manors of Maxsey and Torpull, Northt., as held by Th. Farthing, deceased; on surrender of patent 4 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII., invalid.—S.B. *Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 20.*

Robert Kirk, yeoman of the Chamber, and John Marshall. Commission, in survivorship, to make inquisition in all counties concerning false weights and measures; with 20*l.* a year out of the fines and forfeitures.—S.B. *Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 13.*

Wm. Romsey, of Byeketon, Hants. Pardon for the homicide of John Weston.—S.B. *Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 16; and p. 2, m. 20.*

Stephen Standishe, groom of the royal Chamber. Annuity of 4*l.*—S.B. *Pat. 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 11.*

1521.

April.
GRANTS.

GRANTS IN APRIL 1521—*cont.*

Hugh Westwoode and Agnes his wife. Lease of the demesne lands of Chedworth, Glouc., part of the late earl of Warwick's lands; for 21 years; rent 4*l.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, ——— 12 Hen. VIII. —S.B.

Th. Wildyng, yeoman of the Ewery. Lease of Burford mills and Upton mill, in the lordship of Burford, and a fulling mill in Burford, Oxon., part of the late earl of Warwick's lands; for 21 years; rent, 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 4*l.* of increase.—S.B. *Pat.* 12 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 23.

13 HEN. VIII.

22. Sir Wm. Rede, Edw. Hales and Th. Rede. Licence to alienate to Clement Rede and Agnes his wife, d. and h. of Th. Halys, of Henley-on-Thames, part of the manor of Gynge, &c., and in default of male issue to Sir Edw. Don, Sir Adrian Fortescue, Wm. Haut, Th. Langston, Leonard Rede, Christ. Hales, Simon Aissherenden and Peter Hayman, to the use of Mary, another d. and h. of Th. Halys, wife of Jas. Hales. *Westm.*, 22 April.—*Pat.* 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.

24. Th. Enman, of Lodbthorpe, Linc., *alias* of co. Northt. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Anth. Ughtredd, knight of the Body, captain of Berwick. Greenwich, 22 April 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 24 April.—P.S.

24. Wm. Wright, of London, salter. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Barnes, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 10 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 24 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P.S.

25. Launcelot Lisle and John Pate, groom of the Wardrobe of Beds. Grant, in survivorship, of the corrody in the monastery of Martyn Abbey, Surrey, held previously by Lisle only. Newhall, 9 March 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 25 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P.S.

26. Rob. Best, gunner. To be a gunner in the Tower of London, with 8*d.* a day, *vice* John Hamonde, deceased. Greenwich, 19 March 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 26 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 3, m. 15.

26. Laurence Egglesfeld. Lease of a water mill, a messuage and land in Birdale, late in the tenure of Th. Glys; a close "juxta fosse," called "le Comyngarth;" a close called "le Ware Closes," near Hoton park, late in the tenure of John Brady; land lately in the tenures of Wm. Brady and Rob. Redhede, and a close called Dompell in the lordship of Sherephoton, York; for 21 years, at various rents. *Del. Westm.*, 26 April 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 16.

26. Rob. Fissher, gunner in the Tower of London. Grant of the office of another gunner with 6*d.* a day, *vice* Ric. Fawconer, deceased, to the intent that he may be the King's gunpowder maker; to make a last of gunpowder for 7 marks, the King finding the materials, and he the implements. Greenwich, 18 March 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 26 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P. S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 20.

26. John Sandforde and John Robynson. Grant, in survivorship, of the office of gunner in the Tower of London, with 6*d.* a day, which Ric. Fawconer, master gunner, deceased, lately held, *vice* Wm. Newport, deceased. Greenwich, 22 March 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 26 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P. S. *Pat.* 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 20.

27. David Williams, of Havêrford West, S. Wales, *alias* of London, mercer. Protection; going in the retinue of Sir Maurice Barkley, lieut.-general of Calais. *Del. Westm.*, 27 April 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B.

28. Somerset and Gloucestershire. Commission to Sir Ric. Eliott, Sir Lewis Pollard, Sir Wm. Compton, and Sir Wm. Kingston to inquire into offences. *Westm.*, 28 April.—*Pat.* 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27*d.*

28. Sir Henry Courteney, s. of Kath. countess of Devon, *alias* earl of Devon. To be keeper of the manor and new lodge of Birlyng, Kent, with other offices there. *Westm.*, 28 April.—*Pat.* 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 26.

28. Adam Thomson, of Southflete, Kent. Pardon for killing Th. Browne at Southflet with a dagger. Greenwich, 18 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 28 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 21.

28. Hen. Webbe, "one of the quere de quere" of the Stable. To be keeper of the King's place called Creselowe, Bucks, in the King's gift by the dimission of James Hurleston. Greenwich, 9 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 28 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 20.

29. Wm. Husey. To be steward of the manor of Tateshall, Linc., which office was granted by patent 15 Sept. 1 Hen. VIII. to Geoffrey Paynell. Greenwich, 7 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 29 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 3, m. 2.

29. John Shukborow, *alias* Sheuxborowe, of London, Lamehith and Hertfordshire. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 5 April 12 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 29 April 13 Hen. VIII.—P.S.

1521.

1 May.

P. S.

1263. For ANTHONY CHABO, the King's surgeon.Annuity of 40*l.*, for life. Greenwich, 24 April 13 Hen. VIII.
Del. Westm., 1 May.

3 May.

Vit. B. iv.

110^a.

B. M.

1264. CAMPEGGIO to [HENRY VIII.]Had written to him in his last of the death of Worcester, and received his letters from Clerk requesting Campeggio to assist him in all possible ways. Rome, 3 May 1521. *Signed.**Lat.*, p. 1, *mutilated.*

3 May.

R. O.

1265. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.Has mentioned in former letters the illness and death of the bishop of Worcester, and the arrival of Clerk with Wolsey's commendatory letters describing him as a most learned man. Will do what he can for Clerk, as he comes by the King's authority. Is anxious to hear the King's decision about the bishopric of Worcester. Rome, 3 May 1521. *Signed.**Lat.*, p. 1. *Add. Endd.*

4 May.

R. O.

1266. The EARL OF ARUNDEL to WOLSEY.On Wednesday last, May 1, one Thos. Jones desired the mayor of Chichester to lay watch for one Sir Wm. Pounder, saying that the day before he had been with the abbot of Waverley, and wished to pledge his chain; which Jones thought was suspicious. Jones did not let the Earl know, or Pounder should not have escaped. Two of his servants have been captured, but Pounder got away with his mail, being better horsed. On Holy Rood Day "came Jasper Owen and one Butler, which Butler had him by the hand, and might a taken him in the city if he had would; so the said Butler went fro him, and took an honest man's horse out of an inn, and rode after him, crying 'Keep the thief,' which made the said Sir Wm. Pounder to make the more haste in his way." Owen and Butler brought a letter to the Mayor from the lord Chamberlain, Sir Hen. Murney, Sir Ric. Weston and Sir Robt. Wingfield, ordering him to deliver the servants and goods taken. They were taken within Arundel's franchise, and if Pounder be "feetyffe," belong to him by inheritance, which he hopes Wolsey will not put him from. There has been great familiarity between Owen and Pounder, as all the country knows. Douneley, 4 May. *Signed.**P. 1. Add.:* To my lord Cardinal's good grace.

7 May.

Longolii
Epist. 213b.**1267.** CHRIST. LONGOLIUS to THO. LINACRE.Thanks him for his present, which as a token of friendship he received this day from Reginald Pole. Would rather have had a letter from him than gold rings or bracelets (*viriolis*). Refers to Linacre's generosity when Longolius was in England last year.

Padua, non. Maii.

7 May.

Calig. D. viii.
33.

B. M.

1268. FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

The French king and the Admiral tell me that the lords Bergevenny and Montague are taken, the earl of Wiltshire fled, and Northumberland sent for. After telling me this, Francis said, "I know the King my brother hath so just title to his realm, and is so wise and well beloved with his servants and subjects, that he shall have no need of my help for this matter; and I pray you think not that I speak this that I will say [to] you now to the intent the King my brother should think I would say it to flatter him. I promise you, as I am a true prince, that an I heard [the] King my brother had need I would not tarry till he sent for me, but he should find me with him or he looked for me, and such a company with

1521.

FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY—*cont.*

[me] that I should be meet to do his enemy displeasure." He also said again eftsoons, "I pray you think not that I speak this for any other intent, but only for the true love I bear unto the King my brother I would not only do this, but also, an it were his mind to speak with [me], and he sent for me to come to him, into what place soever it pleased hy[m] to appoint, look in what place soever I were, so I were not so ny[gh] mine enemies that I could not depart with mine honor, I promise you, as I am a true prince, I would come to him in post, and so [would] I not do to no prince living but to him, for I know there is hono[r and] truth in him." He told me Floranges, son of Robt. de la March, was come, and desired aid of him; that he had shown him how he had made war with the Emperor against his mind, and had raised his subjects contrary to his command; but he neither said he would aid him, nor that he would not. He told Fitzwilliam that the captain of Loyne, the place that Nassau laid siege to, was sick, and they are likely to be in want of victuals. The place besieged by count Felix is in no danger yet. He said further that he that [brought] the Almaines together under count Felix is come to h . . . and will have as many as he pleases. He has had no word from his ambassador in Germany these three weeks, and is sure they have caused his posts to be taken, for which he will stop theirs coming out of Spain. Floranges had told him that, if he would give him 400 men-[at-arms] and 2,000 foot, he would raise the siege. "The King bade him [hold] his peace till he had assembled his men, and that he was st[ronger] than they; and then he said he would speak with them; and as . . . that word scaped him. And then I said to him, to feel whe[ther they] were about any treaty, because Robert Tete is not y[et come] from Dijon nor the Chancellor, Sir, will not the king Catho[lic send] to you to have some good appointment made between you and [him]?" Francis said he received an overture from him at Dijon to speak with him; but, as he told the Admiral, he would never speak with him, except at Henry's mediation.

I have news from the man I sent to Dijon, but cannot learn that the Chancellor and Robert Tet were left there to treat for peace. The Admiral tells me Jerningham [is to] come hither, and Wingfield is to go to the Emperor. Perhaps Jerningham's coming may promote peace. I cannot tell what is to come of the merchants' matter till we reach Dijon, which, they say, will be at seven or ten days at furthest. Francis says he will not go to Italy this year; for the Emperor came into the Low Countries, and could get nothing in Almain. Begs to be recalled, if it were but for a month or six weeks. My letter to the King will show my need. Mychean Levake, 7 May. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace.

1269. OLIVIER DE LA VERNADE, [SIEUR DE LA BATIE,] to WOLSEY.

Calig. E. 1. 85.

B. M.

Immediately on his return to England [received] a post from the King his master in reply to the despatch sent to "[Fitz]willaume" (?), the English ambassador. Begs urgently to have an audience tomorrow, before Wingfield is sent off, or . . . into France. *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, p. 1. Add.: A mons. le Legat.

1270. INSTRUCTIONS to SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD, ambassador to the Emperor.

R. O.

After delivering his credentials, he shall say that the King considers the Emperor as his dear brother and nephew, esteeming his amity above all other princes, and has sent his ambassador by post to tell him

1521.

the King's news, and assure him of his affection, congratulating him on the honor shown him by the Electors and Princes at this diet. The King hopes that, at the close of it, Charles will descend into the Low Countries, where they will be able to hear of each other oftener.

Henry has heard from the French king that don Provost had showed him, on the Emperor's behalf, that if Robt. de la Marche begun war against the Emperor he would take it as a rupture, and act as a prince should do when provoked; and he perceives from the answer of Francis to the Provost, a copy of which Wingfield will take with him, that he considers the Provost's declaration as a defiance and provocation to war, and intends forthwith to commence hostilities. If this happen, Henry will be forced to assist one side or the other, which he is very unwilling to do; and he has sent one of his secret councillors to desire Francis to abstain from war, as Robert de la Marche has recalled his army, and as the Emperor has given no cause of war, except "a word spoken conditionally;" and to say that Henry will not grudge any trouble if he can act as mediator in their variances. The causes which move the King to propose this are, his desire for the peace of Christendom, his disinclination to take either side in a war, both being friends, and his knowledge of the many evils which must follow a contest between two such great princes. He would rather spend all his substance than see war commenced. Considering the dangers of a war suddenly begun, the uncertainty of its end, and its intolerable cost, he thinks it better to follow the ways of peace, and desires the Emperor to do the same, offering to be a mediator for the pacifying the said variances. On these grounds Wingfield is to urge the Emperor to forbear entering on a war, regarding the state of his affairs in Almayne, Flanders, Spain, Navarre and his other countries, and induce him to remit these variances to the King's hands. If he say he cannot honorably incline to mediation, matters being so far advanced, Wingfield must reply that the King is their common friend and confederate, and that the desire for peace comes from him, and not from the French king; so his honor will be saved.

Considering also "such division and business as be raised in his realms of Spain," that his state imperial is not perfectly established, that although there is amity and confederation between the Emperor and the King, the "bands of intelligence" lately spoken of have not yet been firmly concluded, though it is hoped they will be upon his descent into the Low Countries;—for all these reasons the King advises him to accept mediation until further deliberation may be taken for war at some convenient time.

He also asks the Emperor to command lord Nassawte to desist from his raids in Artois and Picardy, of which the French king has complained to Henry, until the said King's mind concerning mediation be known. Henry has sent an ambassador to the French king, with orders to send word of his success to Sir Richard Wingfield. The Emperor may be assured that the King as mediator will look as stedfastly to his honor and causes as he would regard his own.

At time convenient Wingfield shall say, that Francis had told the English ambassador he had certain knowledge from the Emperor's court, that Henry would take the Emperor's part against him, and that a new meeting was fixed between the King and Emperor, to be held at Calais or in England; that by a letter of April 4, from his ambassador at Rome, he had heard that the Pope told him that Don John Mannell had asked for a dispensation for the Emperor to marry the daughter of Portugal; to which the Pope had objected, as they were too near akin; that Manuell then said the Emperor might have my lady Princess, but the Portuguese princess was more suitable in age, and that Henry would not give so much money as the king of Portugal. The King is surprised at these reports, as no conclusion has yet been taken in any of these matters, and they have not been disclosed

1521.

INSTRUCTIONS to SIR RIC. WINGFIELD—*cont.*

by him or any of his. Advises the Emperor to look to the close keeping of his secrets, lest inconveniences arise from the loose handling of such weighty matters. (*This paragraph is crossed out.*)

Wingfield is to write from time to time to Jerningham, resident at the French court, how the Emperor is disposed towards mediation.

Pp. 16, corrected by Ruthal.

R. O.

2. A copy of the latter half, with further corrections by Ruthal.

Pp. 2.

Vit. B. xx.

236*b.

B. M.

3. First draft of the first part of the above, in Ruthal's hand.

Mutilated, pp. 2.

R. O.

2. Mr. Wingfield.† In case the Emperor or his council object that the King's desire to mediate between him and France till the said straiter conjunction be made between Henry and the Emperor is unreasonable, because the delay in making this straiter conjunction proceeded from the King, and there is nothing of importance between the French king and the Emperor, except the marriage of the latter to the daughter of France, which being accomplished, the French king offers to be reasonable in other things; in case also it be said that he has forborne only for the King's sake, preferring to be allied with him rather than with any other; you shall reply that the delay about the band of alliance has proceeded from the Emperor, because, if, as was proposed to his ambassadors, it had been passed before the treaty with the Pope, the entertainment of the Swiss and the reduction of Spain, then the King might have declared himself more frankly, without sustaining any loss with France, and would have complied with all his reasonable desires. "And as to the further assurance of the marriage with France, the King by taking up of this matter neither mindeth ne intendeth to put the Emperor in more necessity nor further bands with France for that purpose, but rather by all politic means to put him at liberty," if the French king may be persuaded thereto. He thinks it best for the Emperor that peace be entertained until his affairs are better established on all sides, and he is more apt for war, "foreseeing always that he enter in no straiter bands with France than he is now."

P. 1, draft in Ruthal's hand.

1271. FRANCIS I.

Galba, B. vii.

367.

B. M.

Memorial of Sir Richard Jerningham, [addressed to Francis I.]

The King has seen the articles lately sent by your Majesty on behalf of the king of the Romans, and your answer. In the King's opinion, your answer is founded in reason, but is rather harsh as regards the latter article about the rupture between you and the king of the Romans; for if the king of the Romans goes too far in attributing that rupture to the attempts of Robt. de la Marche and others, made without your cognizance, as that article was conditional and Robt. de la Marche has at your request withdrawn his army, no cause for rupture remains. The King therefore prays that you will abstain from making war on this account, the other matters not being so important but that they may be arranged. The causes which induce the King to undertake the office of mediator are—(1) The peace of Christendom: (2) The necessity he would be under to give assistance to one or other. He would rather lose a great part of his wealth than see such a war commence, and begs you to accept his services as mediator; for which purpose he has sent his ambassador, Sir Ric. Wingfield, to the king of the Romans. *Signed by Jerningham.*

Fr., pp. 5, mutilated.

1521.

11 May. 1272. FRANCIS I. to ALBERT ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE.

Calig. D. viii.

35.

B. M.

Since his elevation to the throne, has always strenuously exerted himself to promote peace among Christian princes, and especially with the elect king of the Romans, to whom he is related by blood as well as by vicinity, for which reason he has forborne his claim to Naples, although it would have been easy to recover it. Nevertheless Charles has defied him, though he gave him no pretext for war. Hopes therefore the Archbishop will not take part with him. Chatillon sur Seine, 11 May 1521.

Lat., pp. 2, mutilated, copy.

12 May. 1273. LUTHER'S BOOKS.

Fischer, Opera,
p. 1372.

A sermon preached by Jo. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, at Paul's Cross, A.D. 1521, within the octaves of the Ascension (May 12), when Luther's books were publicly burnt. Translated into Latin by Richard Pace, with a letter prefixed by Nicholas Wilson.

In this letter (dated 1 Jan. 1521), Wilson alludes to the rapid diffusion of Lutheranism—the activity and pertinacity of its supporters—the confusion and dissensions occasioned by it. Unequal to the task alone, he says, that Luther surrounded himself with shrewd men, who were at the same time excellent scholars, but more studious of popularity than truth. His influence over them is such that when once they have adopted his teaching, they despise all others, consider themselves the exclusive possessors of sacred learning, and wrest the Scriptures to their will. "When Luther has once rendered them invincible, he teaches them to simulate constancy, frugality, labor, humility, the greatest order and zeal for propagating the glory of Christ, and equal grief and indignation against any who oppose (what they call) sound doctrine;—in short, every virtue which pertains to probity or holiness of life." He admits that Luther is a very learned man, and one who would have been the greatest ornament to the Church of Christ, if his innocence had equalled his learning. But he has now become so insanely arrogant as to claim for himself the exclusive interpretation of Scripture; taxing the fathers of the Church with blindness, inconsistency, and error. He alone is on Christ's side, and all who contradict him are heretics. The letter concludes with the praises of Pace, who is in great favor with princes, not less abroad than at home.

12 May. 1274. LUTHER'S WRITINGS.

Vit. B. iv. 111.

B. M.

Roscoe's Leo X.
vol. ii. ap. 9.

On the 12th May 1521 the Cardinal and the bishops went to St. Paul's, where they were received by the dean, Mr. Richard Pace, and the Cardinal was censed. "Which ceremonies done, there were four doctors that bare a canopy of gold over him going to the high altar, where he made his oblation." He then mounted a scaffold erected at Paul's Cross, and took his seat under a cloth of estate; the Pope's ambassador and the archbishop of Canterbury at his feet on the right side, the Imperial ambassador and the bishop of Durham on the left, the rest of the bishops on two forms "outeright forth." Fisher bishop of Rochester preached the sermon in condemnation of the errors of Luther; "and there were many burned in the said churchyard of the said Luther's books during the sermon."

12 May. 1275. PACE* to LEO X.

Add. MS.

15,387. f. 92.

B. M.

The Pope has laid him under such a debt of gratitude as he cannot even express. Aloysius Gibraleon, my agent at Rome, has told me how promptly your Holiness not only granted to Thos. Linacre, the King's

* Signature in transcript, "R. Parcus."

1521.

PACE to LEO X.—*cont.*

physician, what I had asked, but also added much to lay me under still greater obligations. Can only offer his prayers for the Pope's prosperity. As to the affairs of Luther, has only proved himself a true ecclesiastic. London, 12 May 1521.

Lat., pp. 2, copy.

13 May. 1276. HENRY, PRIOR OF THE CHARTERHOUSE, HENTON, to the
R. O. [EARL OF WORCESTER], LORD CHAMBERLAIN

Having received from Worcester a strict injunction to make diligent inquisition for any letters prejudicial to the King, has charged his brethren to conceal nothing that might turn to the King's displeasure. Encloses all the letters that can be found. Those who know more of Nic. Hopkins than he does, have written what they know in their own hands. Asks that their proctor may return, and that Hopkins may be sent to some other place of their religion to be punished for his offences. Charterhouse, Henton, 13 May.

Hol. Signed also by Dan Hwe Lakoq, Dan Thos. Wellys, Dan Robt. Frey, Dan Anton Ynglych, Dan Thos. Fletcher, Dan Wm. Stokes, Dan Nic. Lychefeld, Dan John Hartwell. One or more signatures cut off.

P. 1. Add. Endd.

R. O. 1277. NICHOLAS HOPKINS, Vicar of the Charterhouse, Henton, to the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

In behalf of a poor child of 14 years of age in their house, who is virtuously disposed, intending to be of our holy religion, when Almighty God send time lawful. Asks Buckingham to "find him to his grammar till he be full 20 year." Charterhouse, Henton.

Hol., p. 1. Add. Endd. Another address on the dorse to the Lord Chamberlain.

14 May. 1278. SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

Calig. D. VIII.

36.

B. M.

Was told by the Admiral, two days ago, they had word from their ambassador in Almayne that the Emperor himself made him answer touching the articles delivered by his ambassador, which Francis sent to England, and by which he considers the peace to be broken. The Emperor said he ordered his ambassador to deliver those articles, but did not mean them in the sense in which they were taken. The French ambassador had desired a safeconduct to return, but Chievres had persuaded him to remain till the Diet was over, which is concluded before now. The master of the Rolls had returned, and their ambassador and [he] had conversed together, but of what matter he did not say. The Electors have promised to aid the Emperor with 24,000 foot, and I cannot remember how many horse; but the Admiral laughed at this promise, and said it would be a long time before the variances in Almain were appeased. Francis had heard from Rome that the King would take part against the French, but had written to the Pope not to believe it, as he was sure of the King, of which he said the Pope was very glad. He told me also that he had 8,000 lanceknights at Langres, and would soon have 6,000 Swiss. He will be ready for battle in two or three weeks. The 6,000 adventurers are on their way to De la Marche's country. It is said here that the French king and the Swiss have made a new league, as strong

1521.

as can be. Neither the King nor the Admiral have spoken of it, but I believe it to be true.

Wishes for news from England, as the King often asks for it, "and if it were not that I can some skill in hunting, whereunto he hath a great appetite, and by reason thereof I come n[ear him], I should know little or nothing; and in like wise in hawking, to the Admiral." La Batye is going to England, but waits for Jerningham's arrival. They will not be quiet in their minds till they know what tidings he brings. It is said the King will raise the sieges of Robt. de la Marche's places, and that men are assembled on the frontier of Navarre. Hears for certain that Francis is making a great army on the sea, and La Artege, Praye John's nephew, will be despatched in two days to equip the great ships. They are nearly ready, and I know several who are appointed captains. The towns in Picardy are still fortified, and men-at-arms and footmen lie on the frontier from Savoy to Bulleyn. The duke of Savoy has taken P . . . Moret, who was in England, as a hostage; some say, because of a variance betwixt him and another gentlem[an of] Pymont; others, to displease the French king, who is very angry at it. Bartholomew Salvat sent me two letters, one for the Admiral, the other from you to the Great Master. Delivered them, and spoke as well as I could to advance the cause, but could only get the same answer as before, but that I should have an answer at Degion, when the generals were come from . . . I then gave Francis the letter from his ambassador, and after reading it he said I should have an answer at Degion. I said I marvelled there should be so much "sticking," for I only demanded what he had promised by a letter signed with his own hand, in which he said there should be no "sticking" in the payment. The ratification was only desired because the days were so long, and the obligation "changed no purpose." He said the matter touched his generals, and I should be answered when they returned; and so went from me; "but I shall stick better to him at Degion, an I have no better answer there."

"Salvat goeth still with Semblance to solicit the matter unto him, and cometh with him to Degion." Francis will keep Whitsuntide there, where the generals will meet him. The cause of their absence is that they have been to Lyons to get as much money ready as they could. It is reported that Loyne, one of De la Marche's places, is won, and all the garrison hanged. They expect Messancourt will not hold out long. Chatillion, 14 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 3, mutilated. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace. Endd.

14 May. 1279. WOLSEY to BOOTH BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

Wilkins' Con-
cilia, III. 690.
Strype's Mem.
1. Ap. 9.

Commanding him to search for all books, pamphlets, and papers composed or edited by Martin Luther, and transmit them to Wolsey within fifteen days after the date of this admonition. My house at Westminster, 14 May 1521.

To this mandate is appended a list of the errors of Martin Luther, to the number of forty-two.

15 May. 1280. The EARL OF ARUNDEL to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Sends a bill "of the saying of a priest and of a woman, which toucheth to the King's grace." They are both in ward. Douneley, 15 May. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

1521.

15 May.

R. O.

1281. MARGARET OF SAVOY to HENRY VIII.

Has received his letter by Sir Richard Wingfield, and has heard his message touching his charge to her nephew the Emperor. Thanks him for communicating so privately matters of such importance between her nephew and himself. Hopes Charles will be ready to comply with the charge of the ambassador, who leaves tomorrow. Brussels, 15 May. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

15 May.

R. O.

1282. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

Hearing from your ambassador that a courier was leaving Rome this evening, I could not let him go without a letter, although there is no news besides what I wrote the other day. Am sorry to hear of your illness. Spoke about the see of Worcester in my previous letters. My necessity has perhaps made me importunate, as your kindness has made me ashamed. Rome, 15 May 1521. *Signed.*

Lat., p. 1. Add. Endd.

Calig. D. VIII.
5.

B. M.

1283. INSTRUCTIONS to SIR WM. FITZWILLIAM and SIR RIC. JERNINGHAM to be declared to the FRENCH KING.

After delivering their credentials, Jerningham shall thank the King for his manifold demonstrations of friendly kindness, of which Henry has been informed by his ambassadors resident in France, and by letters sent from Fitzwilliam. As Francis has often spoken honorable and loving words of Henry, they shall declare, in the best words they can, the correspondence of his determinate stedfastness, and his resolution to live in perfect amity; and that he could not be satisfied without sending one of his familiar councillors to make perfect report of his brother's prosperity. At this point the ambassadors shall pause, and note what answer Francis makes; and "after some interlacing of loving communications and pleasant devices," Jerningham shall thank the King for the audience lately given to Fitzwilliam, and for his courteous answers concerning Scotch affairs, the Emperor's complaints, and the reports that Henry had promised to assist the Emperor against France, and had agreed to a new interview, and that Don John Manuel had asked for a dispensation for the Emperor to marry the Portuguese princess, saying he could have Henry's daughter if he wished. As such sinister practices are devised to break their friendship, he has sent his ambassador to show the plainness of his mind, and to desire him never to believe such reports before he hears the King's own declaration. The bruits contrived in Almain, touching the aid to be given to the Emperor, and the interview, are wholly untrue; for Henry has caused the master of the Rolls, his ambassador, to advise the Emperor to abstain from all enterprises against France "which may in any wise sound to invasion," telling him that he is bound by treaty to assist France in such a case. Touching the meeting, an overture had been made to that effect by the Emperor's ambassador in England, but was not listened to by Henry for fear of creating suspicion and jealousy in France. If he had intended any such thing, his ambassador would have remained there instead of being recalled. The King is very much surprised that the dispensation mentioned had been requested, as he has always begged the Emperor to keep all his promises to the French king. It is true that the Emperor made an offer for the English princess at Calais, and again since that time, but Henry would never listen to it. The King has seen the articles sent by the French king to the Emperor, and his answers. Most of them, he thinks, are reasonable, but the resolution on the last article touching rupture of amity between them is very hard; for, though the article of the Emperor is "too large in surmising a rupture" by the attemptats of Robert de la Marche and others,

1521.

made without the consent of Francis, yet, as the article is conditional, and De la Marche has withdrawn his army, there is no real cause of rupture, except the Emperor's words, spoken conditionally. The ambassadors are accordingly to dissuade Francis from invading the Emperor on such small occasion, remembering the damage that will arise to Christendom by such war. As the matters are not great, Henry offers to mediate in all the controversies touching the recognition of homage, the superiority of the county of Flanders, the affair of Naples, and all other variances in the said articles and answer, a copy of which the ambassadors shall take with them, and he will have as much regard to his brother's honor and surety as he would to his own. The causes which move the King to offer himself as mediator are, his desire for the peace of Christendom, and his knowledge that he will be forced to take part in the quarrel, though much against his wish, both being his friends. He had rather spend all his substance, and suffer great penance, than see such a war commenced; and, considering the many evils that must arise from it, and the uncertainty of its duration and issue, he advises both princes to lean to the ways of peace and allow him to mediate. Sir Richard Wingfield has been sent for the same purpose to the Emperor.

The King has heard from the Emperor's ambassador here that a diet is agreed upon between the French and Imperial ambassadors, and he has been told by Fitzwilliam of the overtures made by Don Provost for a like diet, and for sending Robertet to meet one of the Emperor's council, promising that reasonable answers shall be given for the marriage with France, the payment of the Neapolitan pension, compensation to be made to the young king of Navarre, and also for a meeting between the Emperor and Francis in the French county of Bourgoyne, with the answer of Francis, that if he should "fall to treaty" in this matter, he should prefer Henry's mediation to any diet. Upon this answer they can "ground themselves to cause him to compromitt" the matters in variance to Henry, and must do all they can to bring this about. As to the request of Francis that Henry would prorogue the truce with Scotland till the feast of St. Andrew, they are to remind him of the many injuries done by the Scots, mentioned in former instructions to Fitzwilliam, "and to aggravate the same in their best manner." He intended to make instant war upon them, but at Francis's request will condescend to a prorogation of the truce, hoping he will cause them to keep their promises better, and to send ambassadors to Henry in the meantime; but he trusts that if they continue in their perverse purpose he will assist in "repressing their temerities."

They are to notify Sir Richard Wingfield, the King's ambassador with the Emperor, how Francis receives the proposition for the King's mediation, desiring him likewise to inform them what progress he makes in the affairs committed to his charge.

If the French king say that besides the overture made by the Emperor in the said articles he has actually invaded Artois and Picardy, they shall say that the Emperor's fo[r]ces have very ill demeaned themselves, that the King is much displeased at it, and that if they had laid siege to any castles or towns the King would have made such declaration to the Emperor as he was bound to do by treaty; but as they have done nothing beyond taking prisoners, the attempt may be regarded as an "excorse, like as it is often times seen upon frontiers," for which redress may be demanded.

Signed by the King at head and foot.

Pp. 7, mutilated.

R. O. 2. Draft of the same, with the exception of the last paragraph. Corrected by Ruthal.

Pp. 18.

R. O. 3. Draft of the last paragraph. In Ruthal's hand.

P. 1.

1521.

. ——— to WOLSEY.

R. O.

As Wolsey told him at the More to do all he could to bring to light Chas. Knyvet's affair, has talked with him several times. Finds that he remains in his first mind, and says that he was put away for disclosing certain matters to Mr. Lark, to be showed to Wolsey. Told him he was surprised Knyvet did not complain to Mr. Lark, as it might induce Wolsey "to be his better good lord." He said Wolsey knew something of it already, and had last term sent word to the Duke by his chancellor, "to have himself in awaite;" and though the Duke was accustomed to rail against Wolsey, he would be careful how he used himself towards the King. Knyvet desired to enter the King's service, and if once sworn and admitted would speak boldly; "and further he said, Then wold I speak by Saint Mary, for it toucheth the King in deed. And so, if it please your grace, of likelihood some great matter there is, or else is Charles a marvellous simple insolent body."

The late King would have handled such a cause circumspectly, and have discovered the truth without disclosing his suspicions, as he did in the case of Sir Wm. Stanley and others, whose treason he knew two or three years before he charged them with it. Advises Wolsey to send for Knyvet, and to say that he wonders he has left the Duke, considering the service he has done him, and how near he is of his blood; and, that he has heard from servants whom the Duke has put away, that "in his fumes and displeasures" he often rails against the King and the Cardinal, charging Knyvet on his allegiance to say what he knows, as he has been so secret with him, and assuring him protection against anything the Duke may do. "And yet if he color or stick," then to show displeasure at his concealing what he has already told others, and reciting the writer's statement at More, which he will justify, if necessary.

A bill of articles came last term into his hands concerning the obligations in which Sir Nic. Vaux bound himself to the late King when appointed to the office of Guisnes, which writings and indentures the writer made by the King's orders. Sends them that Wolsey may examine whether Vaux has performed them. May perhaps find the true copies of the indentures and like writings touching lord Mountjoy for the office of Hammes.

P. 1. *Add.*: To my lord Cardinal's good grace.

13 May. 1284. TRIAL of the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM.

R. O.*

i. Commission appointing Thos. duke of Norfolk lord High Steward for the trial, dated 10 May 13 Hen. VIII. *A copy of this commission, in a mutilated condition, is found on Pat. Roll 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27d.*

ii. Indictment found in London at the Guildhall, Wednesday, 8 May 13 Hen. VIII., before Sir John Brugge, lord mayor, Sir John Fyneux, Sir Rob. Brudenell, Sir Humph. Coningsby, Sir John More, Sir Ric. Broke, Sir Thos. Lovell, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir Thos. Boleyn, Sir Wistan Browne, Sir Nich. Vaux, Sir Will. Fitzwilliam, Sir Ric. Weston, Sir John Daunce, and Will. Shelley, by special commission of Oyer and Terminer, dated 2 May 13 Hen. VIII., viz., that Edward duke of Buckingham, late of Thornbury, Glouc., intending to exalt himself to the crown, did, 10 March 2 Hen. VIII., at London, and also at Thornbury, imagine and compass the deposition and death of the King; that on the 24 April 4 Hen. VIII. he sent John Delacourt, then his chaplain, from Thornbury to Henton, Somers., to Nicholas Hopkins, a monk of the Carthusian priory there, who pretended to have knowledge of future events, and having made Delacourt take an oath not to reveal what he should say, he bid him inform the Duke

* See Report III. of Dep. Keeper of Pub. Records, App. ii. 230.

1521.

that he should have all, and that he should endeavor to obtain the love of the community. Being asked how he knew this, he replied, by the grace of God. Delacourt reported this the same day to the Duke at Thornbury, who commanded him to keep it secret. On the 22 July 4 Hen. VIII. the Duke sent letters by Delacourt to Hopkins, who repeated that the Duke should have all; and this was related to the Duke by Delacourt at Thornbury on the 23rd. On the King's passage to France, 26 April 5 Hen. VIII., the Duke again sent letters to Father Nicholas from Thornbury, desiring to know what would be the event of the war, and whether James of Scotland would enter England. The monk replied, among other things, that the King would have no issue male of his body. On the 20 Feb. 6th Hen. VIII. the Duke said to Ralph Nevell earl of Westmoreland, "There be two new Dukes created in England, but that if anything but good should happen to the King, he, the duke of Buckingham, was next in succession to the crown of England."

On the 16 April 6 Hen. VIII. the Duke went in person to the priory of Henton, and put various treasonable questions to Father Nicholas, who told him he should be king of England. To which the Duke answered, that in that case he would be a just Prince. Father Nicholas then said he knew it by revelation, and advised the Duke to obtain the love of the community. The Duke on this gave, then and there, to the priory, an annuity of 6*l.* for a tun of wine, and 20*l.* for the carriage of water to the priory, of which he traitorously then and there paid 10*l.*, and to Father Nicholas 3*l.*, at another time 40*s.*, at another time 1 mark, and at another time 6*s.* 8*d.*

On the 20 March 10 Hen. VIII. the Duke again visited Father Nicholas at the priory, who again told him he should be King; and the Duke told him he had done well in warning Delacourt to keep it secret under seal of confession, saying that if the King knew of it, he should be altogether destroyed.

On the 20 Oct. 7 Hen. VIII., and at other times before and since, the Duke sent Robt. Gilbert, clerk, then his chancellor, from Thornbury to London, to buy cloth of gold and silver and silks, each time to the value of 300 marks, intending to give them to the knights and gentlemen of the King's guard to procure adherents; by reason of which Gilbert, on the 26 Oct. 7 Hen. VIII. and at other times, bought at London cloth of gold and silver and silks to that value, and brought them to the Duke at Thornbury on the 4 Nov. 7 Hen. VIII. and at other times; which cloths the Duke at Thornbury, on the 20 Jan. 7 Hen. VIII. and at other times, distributed to various subjects of the King to fulfil his treasonable purpose.

On the 10 July 10 Hen. VIII., and at other times before and since, the Duke constituted special officers in his lands, more than he had formerly employed, with a view to their assisting him in his treason.

On the 10 May 9 Hen. VIII., and at other times, he sent Gilbert from Thornbury to the King and Council at London and East Greenwich, to obtain a licence to retain certain subjects of the King dwelling in the counties of Hereford, Gloucester and Somerset, and to carry arms and habiliments of war at his pleasure into Wales, with a view of fortifying himself against the King. On the 20 May 9 Hen. VIII. and at other times Gilbert made suit to this effect before the King.

On the 20 July 9 Hen. VIII. the Duke sent Gilbert from Thornbury to Father Nicholas at Henton, to request him to send the Duke word of what he should hear about the said Duke. Father Nicholas sent word in answer, that before Christmas following there should be a change, and the Duke should have the rule of all England.

* Probably an error for "5 Hen. VIII.," as Buckingham's speech refers to the creation of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1 Feb. 1514; but the same date occurs in all the indictments.

1521.

TRIAL of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

On the 20 Feb. 11 Hen. VIII., the Duke at Blechynglegh, Surr., feloniously said to Gilbert, that he would wait for a more convenient time to execute his treason, and that it could be well done if the lords of the kingdom would show their minds to each other, but some of them were afraid to do so. He also said that all that the father of this King had done, he had done wrongfully, and that the Duke always murmured at everything the present King did. The Duke said also that he was so great a sinner he was sure he had not the grace of God, and that therefore he should be punished whenever he attempted anything against the King.

Further, on the 20 Sept. 1 Hen. VIII. the Duke said to Gilbert that he had a writing sealed with the great seal, containing an act of parliament, by which it was enacted that the duke of Somerset, one of the King's ancestors, was legitimate, and that he once intended to deliver that writing to Henry VIII., but he said to Gilbert he would not have done so for 10,000*l.*

On the 4 Nov. 11 Hen. VIII., the Duke said to one Chas. Knyvett, esq., at East Greenwich, that when the King reproved the said Duke for retaining Sir Wm. Bulmer in his service, he thought he should have been committed to the Tower of London; and he said that, if he had perceived it was to be so, the principal actors therein should have little joy of it, for he would have done what his father intended to do to Richard III. at Salisbury, when he made suit to come to the King's presence, having upon him secretly a knife, so that when kneeling before the King he would have risen suddenly and stabbed him. In saying this, the Duke put his hand treasonably upon his dagger, and said that if he were so ill treated he would do his best to execute his purpose. This he swore by the blood of our Lord.

On the 10 May 12 Hen. VIII. the Duke, at the Red Rose, in the parish of St. Laurence, Poulteney, in the ward of Candlewick Street, London, treasonably asked Knyvet what was the general talk in London, and what they said of the King's voyage beyond sea. Knyvet said that many men had fears about that voyage, that the French intended some deceit. The Duke said it was very probable that it would happen according to the words of a holy monk, "because there is a certain holy monk in a certain Charterhouse, who divers times sent to me that I should send him my chancellor, and I sent him John Delacourt; which said monk would relate nothing to John Delacourt until the said John Delacourt was sworn that he would keep everything secret. And then the said John Delacourt was sworn to him, that he would show nothing of the said monk's sayings, except only to me the said Duke; and then the said monk told the said John Delacourt that he had knowledge by the power of Almighty God that neither the King nor his heirs should prosper, and that I the same Duke should endeavor to the best of my power to obtain the love of the community of England, because I the same Duke and my blood should prosper and have the rule of England." Knyvett said the monk might be deluded by the devil, and that it was evil to meddle with such things. The Duke said it could not do him harm, and feloniously rejoiced in the words of the monk; adding, that if it had happened well (*i.e.*, for Buckingham) with the King when he was last sick, the Duke would have cut off the heads of my lord Cardinal, Sir Thos. Lovell and others; also that he would rather die than be ordered as he was.

On the 10 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII. the Duke, walking in his gallery at Blechynglegh with Sir Geo. Nevile, lord Burgavenny, murmured against the King's councillors, and said that if the King should die, he meant to have the rule in England, whoever would say the contrary; and that if Lord Burgavenny said that he had said so, the Duke would fight with him in that quarrel, and strike him on the head with his sword. This he affirmed with great oaths.

1521.

iii. Similar indictment found at East Greenwich in Kent, Monday, 6 May 13 Hen. VIII., before Sir John Fyneux, Sir John More, Sir Thos. Lovell, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir Thos. Boleyn, Sir Nich. Vaux, Sir Wistan Browne, Sir Will. Fitzwilliam, Sir Ric. Weston, Sir Hen. Guildford and Sir John Dauce. The jury were, Sir Thos. Cheyney, Sir John Norton, Sir John Fogge, Sir John Wyllshire, Sir Ric. Walden, Sir John Scott; Edw. Boughton, Thos. Turbervyle, John Moyle, Thos. Sybyll, John Lovelasse, John Shelley, Thos. Judd, Thos. Ferraby, esqs.; Edw. Cobham, John Mayny, Nich. Sibyll and William Harman.

iv. Similar indictment found at Southwark in Surrey, before Sir John Fyneux, Sir John More, Sir Thos. Lovell, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir Thos. Bulleyn, Sir Nich. Vaux, Sir Wistan Brown, Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, Sir Ric. Weston, Sir Hen. Guildford and Sir John Marney, on Tuesday, 7th May 13 Hen. VIII. The jury were, Sir David Owen, Sir Hen. Wyat, Sir Nic. Carewe, Sir Matthew Brown, Sir John Legh, Sir John Gaynsford, Sir Edm. Bray, Sir Robt. Joyns, Sir Edm. Walsingham, Sir John Baker; John Gaynsford, of Blockfeld, Robt. Wintershull, Robt. Gaynsford, Nic. Lye, Thos. Heron, esqs.; Henry Burton, Hugh Warham and Ralph Vine.

v. Similar indictment found at Bedmyster, near Bristol in Somersetshire, before Sir Ric. Elliott, Sir Lewis Pollard, Sir Wm. Compton and Sir Wm. Kingston, on Monday, the Feast of St. John Port-Latin, 13 Hen. VIII. The jury were, Sir Wm. Courtney, Sir Nic. Wadham, Sir Giles Strangeways, Sir John Rodney, Sir Edw. Gorges, Sir Walter Rodney; Geo. Speke, John Sydenham, John Horsey, senr., Hen. Seward, esqs.; Hen. Thornton, John Byrt, Thos. Gold, Wm. Enderby, John Arter of Clopton, John Kenne, Ric. Ayshe, Roger Bythemore and Jas. Percyvale.

vi. Similar indictment found at Bristol Castle in Gloucestershire, before Sir Ric. Eliot, Sir Lewis Pollard, Sir Wm. Compton and Sir Wm. Kingston, on Tuesday before Ascension day, 13 Hen. VIII. The jury were, Sir John Hungerford, Sir Anth. Poyntz, Sir Thos. Berkeley, Sir Alex. Baynham, Sir Christ. Baynham, Sir John Briggess, Sir Edw. Wadham, Thos. Poyntz, Nic. Wykes, Wm. Throkmerton, John Gyes, Thos. Tame, Edw. Mill, Leonard Pole, esqs.; Edw. Skydmore, John Palmer, Wm. Pole, John Huntley, Wm. Werall, and Ralph Butler.

vii. Writs, &c. connected with the above indictments.

viii. Writ of Thos. duke of Norfolk as lord high steward, to William Wentworth, the King's serjeant-at-arms, to summon the Peers to Westminster for the trial on Monday after Ascension day. Westm., 10 May 13 Hen. VIII.

ix. Panel of the names of the Peers; viz. Charles duke of Suffolk, Thos. marquis of Dorset, Geo. earl of Shrewsbury, Ric. earl of Kent, Thos. earl of Derby, Hen. earl of Devonshire, Chas. earl of Worcester, Thos. Docwra, prior of St. John's, Thos. Maners lord Rosse, Will. lord Willoughby, Thos. West lord Delawarr, Henry Parker lord Morley, Thos. Fynys lord Daere, Walter Deverers lord Ferrers, Thos. Broke lord Cobham, John Bouchier lord Fitzwaren, William Blount lord Mountjoy. Against each of these names is added, in Norfolk's handwriting, "*Dicit quod est culpabilis.*"

Harl. MS.
283. f. 72.
B. M.

2. Summary of the depositions against the duke of Buckingham.

(1.) That he had said if other than what happened to the King, he was next to the crown, and should be King. (2.) A monk of the Charterhouse sent him word to get the favor of the commons, and he should have rule of all; whereupon the Duke sent Delacourt, his chaplain, to the monk to know his mind.* (3.) He said, when the King was last sick, that if it had hap-

* "Notandum" is written in the margin opposite this article.

1521.

TRIAL of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

pened well he would have chopped off my Lord Cardinal's and Sir Thos. Lovell's heads.* (4.) If he had had an opportunity, he would have done as much against the King as he could.* (5.) He said he had been such a sinner, he lacked grace, and should speed the worse when he attempted anything against the King, so that he would wait his time. (6.) He had endeavoured to gain the favor of the King's guard, and make officers in his lands for the purpose of retaining men, and had bought cloth of gold and silks, and given them away to win favor. (7.) He had said that if committed to the Tower, when in disgrace about Sir Wm. Bowmere (Bulmer), a friend of his had promised to rescue him with 10,000 men within four days. (8.) That he wished the nobles would break their minds, for few of them were contented, they were so unkindly handled. (9.) The monk told the Duke he should be King; on which the Duke said he would be a righteous prince if it came to pass. (10.) The monk told the Duke another time, that he knew by revelation he would be King, and advised him to get the love of the commons. (11.) The monk confessed he had such familiarity with the Duke that the latter gave the monastery 6*l.* a year for one tun, and 20*l.* for conveyance of water, of which he paid 10*l.*

Pp. 2. Endd.

Harl. MS.
283, f. 70.

B. M.

3. "Confession and deposition of the Duke's Chancellor."

(1.) He heard the Duke say he had a writing sealed with the King's broad seal, confessing the Act of Parliament by which it was enacted that the duke of Somerset, one of the King's ancestors, was made *mulier* or legitimate; and the Duke said he intended to have given this writing to the King's father, but he would not he had so done for 10,000*l.* (2.) He heard the Duke say several times, "that my lord Cardinal was one [id]olater, taking counsel of a spirit how he might contin[ue] to have th[e] King's favor, and that he was the King's bawd, showing him [what w]omen were most wholesome, and best of complexion;" that his life was so abominable that God would not allow it to continue; and that he was so sore against the nobles, that they would be all "in his top," if the King were displeased with him. (3.) He heard the Duke say he had done as good service as any man, and was not rewarded; that the King gave fees and offices to boys, rather than to noblemen; and that he trusted to see the time when Sir Wm. Compton would be glad to give him back the land he sold him. (4.) The Duke has always endeavored to gain the favor of the King's guard, and has often rejoiced to think himself sure of it. Of late he has made many particular officers in his lands for the purpose of retaining men. (5.) The Duke has often caused cloth of gold and silks to be provided for him, to the value of 300 or 400 marks, and given it away, within a quarter of a year, to gentlemen, to get their love. (6.) Lately he gave a doublet of cloth of silver to Sir Edw. Nevell, and boasted to my lord of Bergevenny that he had got Sir Edward's good will, which he was sure my lord of Bergevenny could not take from him. (7.) He had heard the Duke grudge that the earl of Warwick [was put] to death, and say that God would punish it, by not suffering the King's issue to prosper, as appeared by the death of his son; and that his daughters prosper not, and that he had no issue male. The Duke said he would wait for a more convenient time, and that it would be well enough if the nobles durst break their mind together, for few of them were contented, they were so unkindly handled, but they were afraid to speak.* (8.) If the Duke could have had an opportunity, and secured a strong enough party, he would have done all he could against the King; for he said that all the King's father did was wrong, and that he had always been dissatisfied with everything the King had done.* (9.) The Duke said he had been such a sinner he was sure he

* "Notandum" is written in the margin opposite these articles.

1521.

lacked grace, and should therefore speed the worse when he began to do anything against the King, so that he would wait for an opportunity.*

Pp. 2, slightly mutilated.

R. O.

4. On the 26th Oct. 12 Hen. VIII. the duke of Buckingham, being at his manor of Thornebury, ordered his council to meet him after dinner with certain instructions and remembrances concerning his lands in his circuits, general and particular. The following were present:—Master Thos. Wotton, dean of his chapel; Mr. George Poley, his almoner; Dr. Jenyns, his surveyor particular; Thos. Moscroff, his counsellor in physic; Mr. John Dalacourt, his chaplain; and Thos. Cade, clerk, his receiver-general. When they had sat down, he said, "I commanded you to bring your books with you;" which they replied they had done. He then said, "I intended not to busy you, or to trouble myself with any such matter at this time, but to commune with you, and to show you my mind otherwise. And then he said, Ye see I wear a beard, whereof peradventure ye do marvel; but marvel not of it, for I make a vow unto God that it shall never be shaven unto such time as I have been at Jerusalem; and if I may obtain the King's licence to perform my promise and advow, it were more to my comfort than if his grace would give me 10,000*l.*; yea, more glad than if his grace would give 10,000*l.* land to me and to mine heirs. At which time he said also, As to you, Mr. Poley, and Mr. Dalacourt, and Sir William Curteys, master of my works (not then present), ye have promised me to go with me in my journey; and as to my Chancellor, you, my Dean, my Receiver and Surveyor, I must put you in trust in mine absence, to order my causes here in England; and such promotions as shall happen to fall of my gift, time of mine absence, ye shall have amongst you. Howbeit I suppose I cannot take my journey this two years, though I could obtain the King's licence right shortly."

At another time, about Michaelmas in the same year, he said to his council, that he must go to Wales to order his lordships there, and administer justice; that he had obtained the King's licence; but that he need not have made suit, as he was only going to his own lordships within the King's realm, and had already debated the matter in his council, and it was known in the Court, before the coming of his councillors, whom he sent to ask the King's leave; "and said that he knew not whom he should mistrust to have disclosed that, except only his said receiver, for that he was nigh unto Sir Wm. Compton, which had rule about Burforde," where the receiver is vicar. He, however, answered that he had never in his life spoken to Sir Wm. Compton.

P. 1.

Cott. App.
xlvi. 109.

B. M.

5. "Ans[w]ers made by me, the du]ke of Bukyngham, befor Sir Thomas Lovell, kut., one of the King's most honorable Council, touching such words as was between me and my ghostly father called Jh[on], vicar general of Henton."

The summer before the King went to Calais, received a letter from the vicar, desiring to see him, as he had a secret to communicate, which he would show to none of the Duke's chaplains. Wrote a letter in return, begging him to write it to Dalacourt. On visiting the vicar in shrift, they had some conversation about the King's going to France, and what issue he had.

Fragment, mutilated, pp. 2.

1285. ACCOUNTS of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

1508.

R. O.

Accounts of William Cholmeley, cofferer of the duke of Buckingham, 24 Hen. VII., from Tuesday 8 Feb. [23 Hen. VII.] to Sunday 24 Sept., both days included.

* "Notandum" is written in the margin opposite this Article.

1521.

ACCOUNTS of the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

8 *Feb.*, to the earl of Oxford's minstrels at London, 20*d.* 9th, waits of Warwick at London, 2*s.* 10th, to Humph. Bannastere, treasurer of the Duke's household, 27*l.* 10*s.* 14th, two children of Sir Thomas Brandon, who had come to play before the Duke, 1*s.* 15th, to Hen. Glasebury and the King's minstrels, 20*s.*; the waits of London, 6*s.* 8*d.* By Ambrose Skelton, for an oblation on Candlemas Day in the King's chapel, 20*d.* To my Lord's idiot, at Thornbury, 20*d.* 19th, to the keeper of the bishop of York's place, Battersea, by the hands of John Gregory, 8*d.* 25th, to the keeper of the bishop of Worcester's place, besides Strounde, 6*s.* 8*d.* Various sums to Bannaster for the household, and to John Golde for the wardrobe.

Sunday, 5 *March*, to my Lord in gold, 94*l.* 10*s.* To John Broune, steward of the guild of St. John Evangelist, Ludlow, my Lady's grace being made a sister there, 7*s.* 4*d.* To one Morgan, of London, a scrivener, clerk of the Staple at Westminster, for an indenture of pheasants, &c., 9*s.* 9*d.* 11th, to Master Hervy, my Lord's councillor, 6*s.* 8*d.* To Master Henry Hawte, physician, of Bristowe, going to Thornbury, 10*s.* 16th, to Arthur Gee, of Bristowe, goldsmith, mending my Lord's plate. 20th, to Lawrence Stubbes, for a sermon, 6*s.* 8*d.* 24th, to a servant of John Saymer's, bringing letters, 3*s.* 4*d.* 26th, to John Spanyerd, of North Pederton, for two live foxes, 2*s.* To the vicar of All Hallows', Bristowe, for a sermon before the Duke, 6*s.* 8*d.* Payments for repairs at Thornbury and for the household. Rewards to the Duke's servants, of whom a list is given, beginning with Eliz. Knyvet and Agnes Leuknor; total, 32. 29th, the Duke's oblation in the monastery of Kaynsham, 3*s.* 4*d.* To a pursuivant, bringing letters to my lady Anne, 6*s.* 8*d.* To Dr. Mandevile, for a sermon before the Duke, the first Sunday of Clean Lent, 6*s.* 8*d.* Accounts of money received.

Sunday, 2 *April*, to the vicar of Christchurch in Wales, for a sermon, 10*s.* 6th, oblation in the monastery of St. Austin's, Bristowe, "to Our Lady, in one crusady," 4*s.* 6*d.* 9th, to Doctor Stephins, prior of Austin Friars, Bristowe, for a sermon, 6*s.* 8*d.* 11th, to Master Bartlet, of Oxford, physician, for journeys and medicines, 66*s.* 8*d.* To one Haly, of Oxford, poet, 13*s.* 4*d.* [15th], to the keeper of Master Hungerford's place beside the Charterhouse of Henton, showing the Duke the place, and two chantry priests, 3*s.* 4*d.* 16th, to Dr. Herpour, for a sermon, 13*s.* 4*d.* 18th, to Henry Hawte, physician, 6*s.* 8*d.* 19th, to two clerks of Master Bowring, 20*d.* Oblation in the parish church on the 18th, 20*d.* 21st, Good Friday, my Lord's, my Lady's, my lady Elizabeth's, and my lord Edward Grey's oblation to the Cross, 7*s.* To Ric. Rowse, of Bristowe, barber, for shaving my Lord, 3*s.* 4*d.* 22nd, for lord Edward Grey, Thomas Goor and Edmund Clayton, taking the holy sacrament, 14*d.* For my Lady's oblation, taking her rights, 3*s.* 4*d.* To the vicar of Marshfelde, for a sermon, 6*s.* 8*d.* 23rd, for my Lord's, my Lady's and my lord Edward Grey's oblation at Resurrection, 6*s.* 9*d.* His oblation taking his rights at first mass, and oblation at high mass, 6*s.* 8*d.* 24th, to John Hill, of Bristowe, upon lading ale and wine, 10*s.* 28th, to Thomas Hall, my lord's barber, 6*s.* 8*d.* To two physicians at Bristol, visiting my lady Anne, my Lord's sister, being sick, 13*s.* 4*d.* 29th, the keeper of the Bishop's palace at Wells, 20*d.* Oblation to Joseph of Arimathea, at Glastonbury, 6*s.* 8*d.* 30th, to an idiot of the abbey of Glastonbury, 20*d.* Oblation at the high mass there, 6*s.* 8*d.* To the holy relics there, 3*s.* 4*d.*

1st *May*, to a servant of the abbot of Glastonbury, whose bow Shurley broke, 6*s.* 8*d.* My Lord's oblation to Joseph of Arimathea, 3*s.* 4*d.* 2nd, to a man of Chewton under Mendip, showing two great horses, 20*d.* To a French poet of the abbot of Glastonbury, 3*s.* 4*d.* To a harper of the same, 3*s.* 4*d.* 5th, to a cordyner of Chepstow, bringing a brace of grey-

1521.

hounds from Usk, the gift of William Phelippes, 20*d*. 6th, to a scholar of Oxford, bringing letters thence, 3*s*. 4*d*. To John Lawrence, taboret, 6*s*. 8*d*. 9th, my Lord's, my Lady's, and my young Lady's oblation to St. Anne in the Wood, 7*s*. 4*d*. To a servant of the Prior of the Charterhouse at Henton, called Hoxton, 1*s*. 15th, to Christopher Thunstal, chaplain, travelling with my Lord, 5*s*. 2*d*. 18th, to Henry Dunstan, "fedeler," for the fashion of his "color," for making and lining his gown, &c., discharged from service, 34*s*. 11*d*. To a minstrel of lord Saintmount (St. Amand), 5*s*. 20th, to an "arasman" of the abbot of Glastonbury, 3*s*. 4*d*. Three maidens of Kainsham, bringing hawthorns to my Lord's grace, being in his orchard, 8*d*. Oblation to my Lady of Chewe, on the 17th, 20*d*. To William Esgate, playing a harp, 1*s*. 22nd, to a child of the kitchen, being "kanwased" before my Lord, 8*d*. 24th, to a Grey Friar, for his exhibition at Oxford, 8*d*. 27th, to Esgate, for harping, 4*d*. To the makers of his butts, 1*s*. To one Nash, of Bristowe, bowyer, for picking bows, &c., 1*s*.

1st *June*, oblation in the monastery of Kainsham, 3*s*. 4*d*. 4th, to Esgate the harper, 4*d*. 7th, to a servant of the prior of Bath, presenting a cast of "lanards," 3*s*. 4*d*. 22nd, to Thomas Brian, yeoman of my Lord's chariot, 40*s*. To a Welsh harper at St. Anne's, 1*s*. 30th, to a barber of London, for shaving my Lord, 20*d*. In reward to certain wives offering my Lord ale by the way, when he took his departure, 2*s*.

Sunday, 2nd *July*, to two minstrels of the earl of Arundel's, 5*s*. 3rd, to a servant presenting the Duke with a glass of salad oil, 1*s*. To Master Grevill, serjeant-at-law, 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. ; to John Broke, 4*l*. ; and to Thomas Sepham, 40*s*. , being at the sessions at Brecknock. 7th, to Sir Thomas Lovell, for vaulting the choir of the collegiate church of Windsor, 20*l*. For silks, 106*s*. 2*d*. To my lady Anne, 20*l*. 4th, two of the Prince's minstrels, 5*s*. 5th, to the vicars (*sic*) of St. Stephen's, Westminster, for my Lord drinking there, 20*d*. To Master Lewis, of Greenwich, my Lord drinking and apparelling there, 3*s*. 4*d*. Oblation at St. Edward's, Westminster, 3*s*. 4*d*. To the keeper of the King's new chapel there, 8*d*. Two servants of the abbot of Westminster, presenting my Lord with bread, ale and wine in the field there, 1*s*. Oblation to Our Lady of Pewe, Westminster, 3*s*. 4*d*. 6th, to a Fleming of Westminster, bringing certain images and showing them to my Lord, 1*s*. To a servant of the bishop of Norwich, bringing a dish of cherries, 3*s*. 4*d*. 11th, to a barber of the King's secretary, shaving my Lord at Richmond on the 8th, 20*d*. To the wife of Perus, barber of Richmond, my Lord's grace drinking there on Sunday last, 3*s*. 4*d*. To one of the clerks of the King's signet, for a copy of a letter, 2*s*. To three minstrels of lord Daere's, 2*s*. To a Lombard, showing game with two young beyres (or beyces?), 1*s*. 15th, to the lady Anne Stafford, parcel of her jointure, 8*l*. 19th, to the King's minstrels, 10*s*. 21st, to William Burrough, bringing two minstrels, Hancee and Mathias Rosoner, 5*s*. 22nd, to a barber of London, shaving my Lord and washing his head, 2*s*. 25th, to Master Moore, serjeant-at-law, attending my Lord's business, 40*s*. To his clerk, 1*s*. To two men wrestling at Richmond before him, 8*d*. To the children of the King's kitchen, 4*d*. Oblation to Our Lady of Barking, 20*d*. ; to the Holy Rood, Greenwich, 4*d*.

2nd *August*, to Richard Broke, prentice at law, 20*s*. Various rewards to the household. 27th, to the keeper of "my Lady the Kinges moder garde-robes," 6*s*. 8*d*. To certain brewers of my lord of Canterbury, 8*d*.

20th *September*, to James Meyde, falconer, for luring my Lord's "lanards," 6*s*. 8*d*. 21st, to one presenting him with a quick hart, 20*d*.

Pp. 42, each signed at the top and bottom by the duke of Buckingham. The account also specifies Cholmeley's receipts.

1521.

ACCOUNTS of the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

R. O.

2. A leaf, found apart, and containing a portion of the same account :—

In reward to Mr. Audeley, at Thornby, 40s. Tuesday, 24th (25th ?) *Jan.*, to Humfrey Bannaster, treasurer, for household expenses, 42*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* To Mr. John Golde, for the wardrobes, 4*l.* Sunday, 30th, my Lord's oblation to the Child of Grace at the monastery at Reading, 3*s.* 4*d.* Monday, 31st, to the King's falconers, showing my Lord game with their hawks, between Colbroke and Houndeslowe, 6*s.* 8*d.* To the King's footmen who met my Lord the same day, 20*s.* For the household, 18*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* To John Sparkman, groom of the slaughterhouse, 3*s.* 4*d.* Total for *Jan.*, 347*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*

Thursday, 10th *Feb.*, received from Rob. Tuebrevile, the Duke's receiver general, 135*l.* 10*s.* From Thos. Merlet, receiver of the lordship of Holderness, 13th *Feb.*, 40*l.* 24th, from Sir Hen. Sleford, receiver of Holderness, 215*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* 28th, from Sir Wm. ap Howell, receiver of the lordship of Newport, 26*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.* From John Gregory, 12*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* Total, with the residue of last month, 477*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*

Tuesday, 1st *Feb.*, paid, 29th *Jan.*, at Newbury, to the father of Ric. Polley, by Humfrey Fulk, 20*d.*

Pp. 2. *Signed at the top and bottom of each page by Buckingham.*

1518.

R.MS. 7. F.
xiv. f. 1.

B. M.

3. "Dy[vers . . an]d bills of recognizances and stuff belonging to the duke of Buckingham."

Remaining, 31 *Oct.* 10 Hen. VIII., 134*l.* In *Nov.* received from Sir Ames Paulett, for a fine with the Duke, for wrongs done in the late King's reign, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* From our servant Chomley, 6*s.* 8*d.* lost at dice. 18th *Dec.* from Chomley, 270*l.* 25th *Dec.*, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Paid to Eliz. Knevet at Easter last, money due to her at Lady Day, 20*l.* To M. Gedyng, toward the burying of my said cousin, 15*l.*

1519.

1 *Jan.*, to Mrs. G. for her New Year's gift, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* "Her myder (mother ?), 40*s.* To Eliz. Percy, her fee for one year ended at Christmas, 5*l.* To the abbot of Bury, for money owed to the old abbot, 50*l.* To Thos. Dudley and the lady Slane his wife, for their interest and title to the ward and marriage of Thos. Fitzgaret, 96*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, of which 100 mks. were paid to the King by the baron of Slane. To the bp. of London, for money lent by him, 100*l.* To Wm. Haydon, clerk of the duchy, for searching records of court roll, 20*s.* 16 *Feb.*, paid my lady Salisbury part of 3,000 mks. for the marriage of my son Harry Stafford, on the day of the marriage, 134*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; 25 *March*, to Walter Parker, 40*l.*, "restored to him for a fine by him made to me, for that he was my bondman and made free during his life, for that I gave him a patent." Mrs. Alys, her fee for Christmas quarter, 100*s.* To my ghostly father at Henton, 100*s.* To John Audelay, for carrying of my sword, 6*s.* 8*d.* To Sir John Fowler, for saying mass at the lodge, 6*s.* 8*d.* Horsemeat at Bristowe, 5*s.* To Sir Thos. Doewra, 6*s.* 8*d.* Kirk's wife's costs to London, 20*s.* To herself and her maid, 60*s.* To Mrs. Phelypes, 40*s.*; to her maids, 20*s.* To Dorathe, 20*s.* To my lord Fitzwater, 6*s.* 8*d.* lost at dice. To my cousin Arthur Pole, 20*s.* A throstle bird, 13*s.* 4*d.* To the minstrel's wife at Sir Harry Guildford's, 13*s.* 4*d.* To Dobb's wife, 12*d.* To Adam's wife, at my sister Anne's, 6*s.* 8*d.* Lost at shooting (?) 2*s.* 31st *March*, given in alms, 6*s.* 8*d.* 18th *March*, to the abbot of St. Augustine's, money borrowed from him, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Rowlie, of Bristowe, for money borrowed, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

1521.

In reward to my lord of Westmoreland's servant, 40s. To Russell, for my offering to Our Lady of Walsingham, 6s. 8d. To my lady Mongowe, at her departing, 6l. 13s. 4d. Lost to Welch and others at tennis, 5l. Given to my daughter when she was married, and not entered till now, 3l. 6s. 8d. To the fysheres of Wells, 6s. 8d. To Mr. Musgrave, my physician, attendance and costs, 10l. To my cousin Clyfford, in reward, 20s. To my Lady, 40s.; and at her departing from Thornbery, 3l. 6s. 8d. To my daughters Ursula and Mary, 3l. 6s. 8d. To Mrs. Ellis, for half year ending at Lady Day, 100s.; toward the building of her house, 100s. To Mr. Gay, 4l. To A. S., 14l. 6s. 8d. To my son Stafford, at his going to the King, 10l. Lost to my lord of Burgoyne, and at my lord Montaigne's, at dice, at Syssyter, 15l. Lost at Sir Mores Berkeley's, 6l. 13s. 4d. Lost to my brother of Wiltshire, and lord Montagow, 40l. Lost to my lord of Suffolk and others since coming to the King, 51l. 16s. 8d.

10th *June*, from the abbot of Westminster, for money lent him, 200l. From Sir Wm. Compton, for money lent, 100l. 29th *June*, to Suffolk, lost at shooting, 31l. 6s. 8d. Lost to the King at tennis, 14l. 3rd *Aug.*, from Sir Thos. Lovell, for money borrowed, 200l. From John Hasylwode, upon a garnish of silver vessel lent me by my lord of Canterbury, 120l. Lost at dice in my new place with duke of Suffolk and the Frenchmen, 76l. 1s. 4d. To my lord of Burgoyne, his wedding gear, velvet and cloth of silver, 123l. 18s. 8d. To Amadas, for money borrowed on a chain, 100l. To Sir John Bate, for "letyll Frances," 33s. 4d. To Wm. Eton, for 3 yds. of marble cloth, 14s. 2d. To Gylbert, overcharge for plate had of Mrs. Phillips, not entered in the wardrobe, 16l. 2s. 7d. *Sept.*, from Hasylwood, upon a "celer" of son Stafford's, 90l. Borrowed of the bp. of Durham, 100l. Lost at dice to my lord Montague, 65l. 2s. 9d.

Money remaining, 30 *Sept.*, 34l. 12s. 6d. In the hands of Master Guildford in the account of the Pope's collector, 17l. 10s. In Kirk's hands, 4l. 1s. 8d. In [the Duke's] hands, 12l. 6s.

Pp. 36, in Buckingham's hand.

1520.

R. O.

4. Receipts and disbursements by Wm. Cholmeley from 30 *Sept.* anno 12 Hen. VIII.

Receipts for *October*, 428l. 18s. 4½d. Among the disbursements: to Dr. Bentley, of Oxford, for medical attendance, 75s. 11d. To John Haiwode, yeoman of the crown, for news from the earl of Surrey out of Ireland, 6s. 8d. To one bringing a lanar and lanaret, 10s. To Wm. Kirk, servant of the duke of Suffolk, 1 mk. To a wild Irishman coming with the earl of Surrey's servant, 3s. 4d. To Th. Jubbys, of Bristowe, learned man, of the Duke's council, 23s. 4d. To a servant of lord Bergavenny's, 10s. For Th. Matston, of Wotton-under-Edge, learned man, 20s. To certain Egiptions at Thornbury, 40s. To the late keeper of the Duke's place, *The Red Rose*, in London, 39s. 3d., with other sums. For conveyance of certain lands of Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, 4l. 1s. 2d.

Receipts for *November*, 443l. 12s. 9½d. Dish.:—To Ambrose Skelton, for the Duke's oblation on Hallowmas day, 6s. 8d.; the Duchess's, 3s. 4d.; the lord Stafford's, 8d. The 2nd, being All Souls' day, for the Duke and Duchess, 5s. 10d. 3rd, requiem for the soul of the Duke's father, 3s. 4d. To John Wynde, gardener, for diligence in making knotts in the Duke's garden, by report of Mistress Snowe, gentlewoman to the Duchess, 3s. 4d. To Dr. Mandevile, prior of the Black Friars, Bristowe, for attendance at Thornbury on the Duke being sick, 1 mk. To Maurice Aderley, for a jerfawcon, which he took up in the fields at Tortworth, 1s. To Katharine Tiler, midwife of Bristowe, coming to Thornbury to my lady Stafford, being

1521.

ACCOUNTS of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

with child, 10s. To Roger Adamson, of Cicester, tailor, for his son, which should have been child of the chapel, 2s.

December. Receipts, 823*l.* 13s. 6½*d.* Dis.:— Oblation on Christmas day, the Duke, &c., 10s. 8*d.* For the Duke in his closet on St. Stephen's day, 3s. 4*d.* To lady Guldeford's servant, presenting a greyhound, 3s. 4*d.* For Master Brooke, serjeant-at-law, 40s. The Duke's oblation, 6s. 8*d.*, and lord Stafford's, 1s., to Our Lady of Kyngeswode, on the 11th; and of the Duke to St. Aldelme, at Malmesbury, 17th, 6s. 8*d.* To one Drinkwater, an idiot, at the "vies," 20*d.* To an idiot of the abbot of Chichester, 4*d.*; and to another like fool of Sir Edw. Wadam, 4*d.*

1521.

January. Receipts, including remanents, 2,131*l.* 2s. 8½*d.* To Hugh ap Howel, of the King's guard, for presenting the Duke with a New Year's gift from the King, 100s. To certain Frenchmen and two Frenchwomen, playing before the Duke the Passion of our Lord by a "vise," and to a young maid, a tumbler, 40s. The Duke's, &c., oblation on Twelfthday, 10s. 8*d.* To a servant of the Queen, bringing a New Year's gift, 100s. To the waits at Bristowe, 6s. 8*d.* To a servant of my lord Hastings, bringing letters, 10s. Obl. to St. Anne in the Wood, 7s. To Our Lady of Belhouse, Bristowe, 3s. 4*d.* To John Lloide, gentleman of the King's chapel, coming to Thornbury, 40s. To a servant of Mr. Cothrindton's, near Bristowe, showing two great horses, 2s. To Philip Ricardis, town clerk of Bristowe, and John Sergeaunt, of Stone, for obligations, and the mayor of Bristowe for receiving the same, &c., 10s. 10*d.* Obl. at the feast of the Dedication, 10s. 8*d.*

February. Receipts, 2,276*l.* 12s. 8¾*d.* Disb.:—Obl. on Candlemas day, *sc.* from the duke, duchess, and lord and lady Stafford, 5 pieces of gold=28s. 8*d.* To the midwife of Sir Anth. Hungerford's wife, and the nurse, the Duke being godfather, 10s. To Dr. Mandevile, prior of the Black Friars, Bristol, hearing the duchess and other ladies' confession, and preaching a sermon on the first Sunday in Clean Lent, 26s. 8*d.* To John Glade, a hermit, formerly the Duke's servant, 6s. 8*d.* To Robert Brok, late scholar of Oxford, now schoolmaster to the Duke's hinxmen and wards, for a half year's exhibition at Oxford, 33s. 4*d.* To Joan Boucher, of Newport, where the Duke drank on his journey to Barkley, 3s. 4*d.* To a servant of the earl of Northumberland bringing news of the said Earl's coming to Hailis, 6s. 8*d.* To a servant of lord Leonard Grey's, 3s. 4*d.* To Master Millet, clerk of the signet, for writing three letters, to be sent from the King into Wales, concerning the Duke's causes, &c., 26s. To a servant of my lord Cardinal, which accompanied one Vaughan, committed to the said Duke's council from my lord Cardinal's place into the King's Bench, 6s. 8*d.* For an obligation for Sir William Skevington, &c., 4s. 6*d.*

March. Receipts, 2,741*l.* 10s. 10½*d.* Disb.:—To Mrs. Boucher, of Newport, for the Duke drinking there on his journey to Gloucester, 3s. 4*d.* To a servant of the abbot of Gloucester, showing the Duke three great horses at Lanthony, 3s. 4*d.* Obl. of Prince Edward at Tewkesbury, 6s. 8*d.* To St. Kenelm, of Winchcombe, 6s. 8*d.* To Lord Audley's servant, and to Sir Geo. Forster's, bringing letters to the Duke at Winchcombe, 1 mk. Obl. to the holy relics at Hailis, on the 14th, 6s. 8*d.*; and to the holy blood on the 15th, 33s. 4*d.* To Stanley, an Austin Friar of Oxford, preaching before the Duke in Chichester, 6s. 8*d.* To the porters of the town gates at Gloucester, 3s. 4*d.* To a servant of Francis Forster, the King's servant presenting the Duke with a greyhound, at Th. Goor's place, 2s. To a servant of the ancre (anchorite) of Marlborough, presenting my lady and

1521.

my lady Stafford with 2 symnels and holy wax, 1 mk. To Friar Stanley, for a sermon at Thornbury, 6s. 8d. To David Pratt, of Gloucester, surgeon, for attending lord Stafford at Thornbury, being hurt in his side, 6s. 8d. To Cicely Russell, of Acton, sent by lady Guldeford to have been nurse to my lord Stafford's child, 6s. 8d. To the wife of John Johns, of Moreton, the Duke drinking there, 6s. 8d. To certain wards of the Duke (names mentioned), 2s. The Duke's obl. at Easter eve, 14s. 8d.; at Easter day, 17s. 4d. To Dr. Maudeville, for a sermon, 4s.

April. Receipts, 1,124*l.* 16*s.* 10*3d.* Dish.:—To Nich. Mason, clerk of the Duke's chapel, 3s. 4d. To a messenger from the King, presenting letters, on the 18th, 1 mk. To Dr. Bentley, of Oxford, physician, on the 11th, 26s. 8d. To a nurse of Master Forster, 6s. 8d. Obl. to the Child of Grace at Reading, 6s. 8d. To the keeper of the knights of the Garter's robes at Windsor, and obl. there, 20s. To Our Lady of Eyton near Windsor, on the 14th, 6s. 8d. To my lord Cardinnal's cooks to their "wieth," on the 15th, at his place beside Westminster, 20s. To Nich. Clere, the Duke's bailiff, for carriage of certain the Duke's stuff at Calais and at London to and from the ships, 4*l.* The last entry is for two horses bought for the Duke's use, 26s. 8d.

Pp. 30.

5. Miscellaneous Accounts of the duke of Buckingham.

R. MS. 30 Sept. — Hen. VIII. At Thornbury.

14 B. xxxv. Sums "due to me, Edw. duke of Buckingham, by divers persons," upon bonds.

A. 1. By the countess of Salisbury, mother to his son Stafford's wife, 2,500 mks. By my lord Fitzwater, 40*l.*, payable at All Saints. To my lord Audeley, 40*l.* To Sir John Lyngen, 20*l.* To Sir Giles Wandon (?), 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Hol.

A. 2. 2. "A creditor roll made of my own hand, of all such sums of money that I, Edw. duke of Buckingham, doth owe unto the last day of May, anno 10 Henrici VIII."

To the King, by indenture, by which certain lordships stand bound, 1,322*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* To Surrey, for the marriage of Buckingham's daughter Elizabeth, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To my lord of London, 100*l.* To my lord of Arundel, 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Hol.

A. 5. 3. Thornbury, 10 Jan. 10 Hen. VIII. Divers parcels payable between this and Christmas.

To Rowland ———, of Bristol, merchant. To the abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristol. To the dean of Wells, by two indentures; the first with Mr. Poley, and the second with Mr. Gilbert. To the duke of Suffolk, by obligation along with Gilbert and our cousin Charles. To my lord of St. John's, by obligation "wherein standeth our Chancellor" and others. To the King, my lord of Arundel, abbot of Bury, Sir Rowland, Robt. Amadas, and Hazelwood.

Hol.

D. f. 17. 4. Receipt, dated 2 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII., of Robt. Gilbert, for 90*l.* lent by John Hasillwood, gentleman of the King's receipt, upon a gold chain and gold brooch, enamelled with a pomegranate and a rose, weighing 47 oz. 2½ q., to be repaid at the feast of All Saints. *Signed by Gilbert.*

D. f. 18. 5. Receipt by Ric. Langhurst, servant to the Duke, of 6*l.* from Wm. Chomley, 30 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*

D. f. 1. 6. London and Blechingley, July to Oct. 11 Hen. VIII. Money received by Robt. Gilbert, chaplain "to the right high and mighty prince, Edw. duke of Buckingham," for which Gilbert accounted in October. 22 July, borrowed from the abbot of Westminster, 200*l.* 3 Aug., borrowed from Sir Thos. Lovell, 200*l.* 27th, borrowed from John

1521.

ACCOUNTS of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

Hasilwode and Eliz. Philips, upon a garnish of silver vessel, borrowed of my lord of Canterbury, 120*l.* 23 *Aug.*, from Amadas, for a gold chain of 17oz. 1½*q.*, molten and coined, 24*l.* 2 *Sept.*, borrowed from John Hasilwood, upon a gold chain of 43 oz., and a brooch of 4oz. ¾*q.*, containing a pomegranate and a rose, 99*l.* *Oct.*, from Thos. Brydges, master of the Wardrobe, for silver gilt bells sold, 93*l.* 13*s.* 7 *Sept.*, borrowed from the bishop of Durham, 100*l.* Borrowed from Hasilwood and Philips, 1,500*l.* 30 *July*, borrowed from Sir Wm. Compton, 100*l.* Total, 2,437*l.* 12*s.*

Pp. 2.

- D. f. 2. 7. Blechyngley, *Oct.* 11 Hen. VIII. Memorandum of money "as we have taken into our own charge from our chaplain Robt. Gilbert."

Paid to John Mundy, goldsmith, 100*l.* Reward to John Arosmith, living at the end of St. John, Smithfield, 40*s.* 25 *Feb.*, to Sir John Bate, schoolmaster to our scholar Francis, for his necessaries from 23 *Aug.* to 24 *Feb.* 10 Hen. VIII. 25 *Feb.*, to Wm. Stone, for cloth of marble color at 4*s.* 6*d.* a yard, and yellow cotton at 7*d.*, for a coat for the said Francis, and other items. Total, 656*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*

Pp. 2.

- f. 3. Another copy of the same.

Pp. 2.

- A. 3. 8. A mutilated roll of payments, in which mention is made of the abbot of Combe and Robert [G]ilbert, and purchases made for the prior of St. John's, and to the use of Master Francis, from *Feb.* 10 Hen. VIII. to 2 *Nov.* 11 Hen. VIII.—Paid, 4 *Nov.*, to the Pope's collector, and John Campeche, for a licence of marriage between Lord Burgavenny and the Duke's daughter Mary, 6*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* To Master Smith, of the King's Exchequer, to be paid to the sheriffs of London for the Duke's manor, commonly called *Red Rose*, 40*s.* Paid to the Duke by the abbot of Combe upon a fine, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Lat.

- E. 1—6. 9. Five obligations of the Duke of Buckingham to Ric. Smith, merchant tailor of London, to Wm. Pawlet of London, to Robt. Amadas, and to Brian Tuke, respectively, in various sums, at dates from 6 *Feb.* 9 Hen. VIII. to 9 *Nov.* 11 Hen. VIII., and one obligation by which Robt. Gilbert, Chas. Knyvet and Harry Posyer are bound to Thos. Docwra, prior of St. John's. 16 *Dec.* 10 Hen. VIII.
- D. f. 20. 10. Receipt by Ric. Langhurst of 5*l.* given him by Wm. Chomley, at the Duke's order, at the *Red Rose*. 22 *Nov.* 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*
- D. f. 19. 11. Receipt by the duke of Buckingham of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from the abbot of Combe, Warwickshire, by the hands of Robt. Gilbert, in payment of a fine. 23 *Nov.* 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*
- D. f. 21. 12. Receipt by Robt. Gilbert, chaplain to the Duke, of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* from Thos. Docwra, prior of St. John's, upon a garnish of silver vessel belonging to the Duke, weighing 847 oz. 26 *Dec.* 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*
- D. f. 22. 13. Receipt by the duke of Buckingham of 43*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* from Robt. Gilbert. London, 7 *Jan.* 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*
- D. f. 24. 14. Receipt by John Kyrke, servant to the Duke, of 506*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, for the Duke's use, from Robt. Gilbert. 22 *Feb.* 11 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*
- D. f. 4. 15. 1 *March* 11 Hen. VIII. Memorandum, in Buckingham's hand, of sums to be paid by him at Christmas, for this and the four following years. The sums are 2,500*l.*, 2,300*l.*, 1,500*l.*, 700*l.*, and 200*l.*

P. 1.

1521.

D. f. 12. 16. "In a^o undecimo Henrici Regis Octavi." 22 Nov., for shaving [Francis' head, 1*d*. A pair of gloves, 2*d*. 29 Nov., a pair of shoes for Francis, 6*d*. 24 Dec., shaving his head, 1*d*. A pair of hose, 10*d*. A "tuke" bag, 12*d*. A pair of shoes, 6*d*. A silk girdle, 6*d*. For healing his head and neck, 12*d*. A white cap to lie in, 5*d*. Washing his clothes for the quarter ending at Christmas, 6*d*. Rewards to the cooks at St. John's, at Christmas, for Francis, 12*d*. 29 Jan., shaving his head, 1*d*. "For a hen at Shroffte, for Francis to sport hym with the chylder," 7*d*. For 8 "vyctory dayes to playe hym with the quere," 4*d*. Writing paper, 1*d*. 27 March, for [repa]ring his two coats, 12*d*. 29 March, a bow, 6*d*. 6 shafts, 3*d*. Strings, shooting glove, and brace, 3*d*. Pen and inkhorn, 2*d*. Washing his petticoat at sundry times, 3*d*., &c. Total, 15*s*. 3*d*. Received 2 April, a^o p^{re}dicto, by John Bait, priest, from Robt. Gilbert.

P. 1.

D. f. 35. 17. Receipt by Brian Tuke of 65*l*. from Thomas Brydges, chaplain to the Duke, for 4 "peces arre of hawkyng and huntyng," containing 200 ells Flemish, . . . [M]ay 12 Hen. VIII.

Signed by John Bold, Tuke's servant.

D. f. 23, 25, 27. 18. Receipts by the Duke of 40*s*. from his servant, Wm. Cholmeley, 27 June 12 Hen. VIII.; of 200*l*., 12 Aug.; and of 1,000*l*. the same day.

D. f. 13. 19. "In a^o xii^o H. R. VIII. Item, paid for Francis when he went in pilgrimage to St. Alban's, and to Master John Schorne for his sickness that he had for the agowe." For his horse the first day, 12*d*.; 3 following days, 18*d*. Our dinner at St. Alban's for three persons, 12*d*. Baiting three horses, 4*d*. Supper at Dunstable, 12*d*. Our horses, 9*d*. At Mr. Schorne's, for our breakfast and for our horses, 12*d*. At Echeware, 18*d*. 6 May, shoes for Francis, 6*d*. 14 May, hose, 8*d*. Shaving of his head twice the same day, 2*d*. 26 May, to the barber, "for healing his neck, and his hands, and his head, and his body of breaking out," 3*s*. 4*d*. Sponging his coats and gown, 4*d*. "For Francis for healing of throat, and for the murre," and meat and lodging for four weeks, 6*s*. 8*d*. Mending and "dryschowring" of his Kendal coat, 6*d*. 20 July, a shirt, 20*d*. 3 Aug., making a pair of camlet sleeves, 4*d*. 6 Aug., a pair of walking shoes, 8*d*. Healing Francis when he had the yellow jaundice, 24 days, 4*s*. Ink at divers times, 2*d*., &c. Total, 30*s*. Receipt for the same by John Bait, chaplain to my lord of St. John's, 28 Aug. 12 Hen. VIII., for the expenses of Francis, from 2 April 11 Hen. VIII. to 28 Aug., and also for 40*s*. given by the duke of Buckingham to him as a reward.

Pp. 2.

F. 20. Office of the Wardrobe. Arrears due to the Duke on the account of Thos. Brydges, from 22 Hen. VII. to 12 Hen. VIII., 132*l*. 17*s*. 7½*d*.

A roll. Lat.

A. 11. 21. Thornbury, 30 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII. "A creditor [roll] made off our owne hande off all such sumys of mone as to our knowlege whe do owe to diveres persones by obligacones," viz., to the King, William Pawlet, of London, Ric. Smyth, draper, Sir Roland Wellavye, the abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, Sir Thos. Lovell, Wm. Cosin, dean of Wells, the abbots of Glastonbury and Westminster, Ant. Vivaldi, the bishop of Durham, Elis. Phelyps, Mr. Braye's executors, and others.

Hol.

D. f. 31. 22. Thornbury, Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. Mem. That "our servant" Cholmeley has received from Sir W. Compton 1,640*l*. on the 12th May, and from Thos. Kitson, mercer of London, in May and June, 2,340*l*., of which Cholmeley is charged by indenture with 1,983*l*. 6*s*. 8½*d*., and we have taken the remainder into our custody.

P. 1.

B. 23. Thornbury. Expenses of the Household for the year ending 30 Sept. 9 Hen. VIII. Value of corn, wine, oxen, sheep, &c. remaining 31 March 8 Hen. VIII., 363*l*. 16*s*. 9½*d*.

1521.

ACCOUNTS OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

Expenses of this year, including wages, stabling, &c., 1,143*l.* 1*s.* 7½*d.* Expenses during the time of this declaration, 8*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* For rabbits from Milborough Heath, 42*s.* Total, 1,517*l.* 1*s.* 9½*d.*

Value of provisions remaining 30 Sept. 9 Hen. VIII., and of utensils in the custody of officers, 435*l.* 14*s.* ¾*d.*, leaving 1,082*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*

Similar accounts for the year ending 30 Sept. 10 Hen. VIII.; total expense, 2,634*l.* 4*s.* 1¾*d.* For the year ending 30 Sept. 11 Hen. VIII.; total expense, 3,700*l.* 14*s.* ¾*d.* For the year ending 30 Sept. 12 Hen. VIII.; total expense, 2,898*l.* 9*s.* 8¾*d.*

Lat. 4 sheets of paper in the form of a roll.

- C. 24. Expenses of the Wardrobe for the years ending 30 Sept. 9 Hen. VIII., 10 Hen. VIII., 11 Hen. VIII. and 12 Hen. VIII., the clear expenses being respectively 337*l.* 3*s.* 7¼*d.*, 2,414*l.* 7*s.* 6½*d.*, 2,586*l.* 4*s.* 1¾*d.* and 4,200*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*

Lat. 4 pieces of paper in the form of a roll.

- A. 9. 25. Obligations due by the Duke to Ruthal, Wolsey, Heron, and others, for Gresham of London, mercer, &c., 21 Nov. 12 Hen. VIII. *At foot in the Duke's hand:*—To my lord of Arundel, 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To my lord of St. John's, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To my lord of Burgoyne, 1,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To the executors of Mr. Braye, ———. Sum of this bill, 10,535*l.* 10*s.*

Lat. Mutilated.

- D. f. 14. 26. Payments, 28 Aug., to Sir John Bate, chaplain of my lord of St. John's, 70*s.* 31st, to Geo. Paglystone, of Petersfield, for conveying a black nag to London for Master Francis, 16*d.* Meat of the same nag standing at London, 10 days, 2*s.* 6*d.* To John Neve, tailor of London, making a Kendal coat and a fustian doublet for Francis, 2*s.* Francis' board wages for two weeks and three days, ending 8 Sept., 4*s.* 6*d.* His costs going from London to Agmondesham, 9 Sept., 8*d.* From Agmondesham to Netley, 10 Sept., 2*d.* 13th Nov. 12 Hen. VIII., paid by Robt. Gilbert, chaplain to the Duke, 16th March, to Thos. Henyge, gentleman usher to the Cardinal, in reward, 66*s.* 8*d.* Elizabeth Percy's annuity, 5*l.* 2nd April, to Sir John Bate, for Francis' expenses from 17 Nov. to 2 April, 15*s.* 3*d.* 3rd April, to Wm. Eton, for 3 yds. of marble-coloured broad cloth for a gown for Francis, 11*s.* 6*d.* 15 May, to Ric. Wells, one of the clerks of the Chancery, for writing a recognizance, 6*s.* 8*d.* For "his" (Francis') ? costs going from Netley to Oxford, 8*d.* His meat and drink at Oxford, 12*d.* To Wm. Heyton, for 1½ yd. of tawny broad cloth, at 4*s.* 8*d.* 1½ yd. russet frieze, at 8*d.*, &c. for Mistress Mary. To Wm. Buttre, for Mistress Mary, 5 yds. tawny camlet, at 2*s.* 8*d.* 1½ yd. black velvet at 9*s.*, for sleeves and collar. ¼ ell of yellow sarcenet, for a collar, 15*d.*; crimson and green satin, at 10*d.* for a kirtle, &c. To Mrs. Kendal, part payment of board wages of Mistress Mary, from 1 Dec. till a fortnight before my Lord went over the sea, 6*s.* 8*d.* 17th March, to the King's secretary for sealing the King's letter to Sir John Heron to deliver an obligation whereby the late baron of Slane and others were bound to pay 200*l.* to the King for the ward and marriage of Thos. Fitzgarret, and to take new sureties from the Duke, 6*s.* 8*d.* 15th May, to Sir John Heron's clerk, for making an obligation and bringing it to my Lord's manor of Red Rose in London, to be sealed by Sir John Lyngham, Knyvet and Gilbert, for a payment to the King for the ward and marriage of the said Thomas, 12*d.*

Pp. 5.

- A. 7. 27. Bonds payable to the abbot of Glassynbury, Bernard Hughucom and others. The abbot of Westminster, Sir Andrew Windsor, and Robt. Gilbert, clerk, are bound for 200*l.* at the feast of All Saints, 1520; Sir Thos. Lovell and others, for 200*l.* at Christmas 1520; Sir Thos. Lovell, Sir John Heron, Sir John Lyngham, and Chas. Knyvet, for 200*l.* at Christmas, 1520, for the wardship and marriage of Thos. Fitzgerald. Bond of the Duke to Sir Roland Vilive, for 100*l.* at Christmas 1520; to the bp. of Durham, for 100*l.* at Michaelmas 1520; to Robt. Amadas, for 200*l.* at 20 Dec. 1521. The Duke,

1521.

Gilbert, and Knyvet, to Wm. Lok, mercer of London, for payment of 199*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* at Christmas 1521, and 99*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, at Christmas 1522. Gilbert and Poley to Wm. Cosyns, dean of Wells, for 100*l.* at St. John's Day, 1519. The Duke to Antony Vereld and others. To the King, for recovery of his lands, by indenture, 1,655*l.* 10*s.* To Thos. Docwra, lord of St. John's, for a loan to be repaid from the tenements of Thos. Fitzgerald in Gloucester and Warwick, 113*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Lat.

D. f. 10. 28. Payments to a jeweller of Reane for two gold rings, one with a "rebbew," the other with a "torkys," 13*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* For a little "tabyllatt" with an image of our Lord, 26*l.* 4*s.*

P. 1. *In the Duke's hand*:—Paid to the duke of Suffolk by his servant Hall; and (f. 8.) to my lord of Suffolk, in full, 500 marks with 140*l.* lent at dice. Put in a bag 43*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* won at dice.

D. f. 9. 29. Estimate of sums of money that will come to my Lord's grace next Cr[istmas].

Of the circuit general, 817*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Staffordshire, 140*l.* Holderness, 280*l.* Kent and Surrey, 140*l.* Cambridge, —. Gloucester, Southampton and Wilts, —. Newport, —. Brecknock, Hay and Hunts, —. Caliland, —.

Of the circuit general after the account, 442*l.* Total, 1,819*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

P. 1, the heading mutilated.

D. f. 5. 30. Mem. in the Duke's hand.

Paid to my daughter, 40*s.* To a suitor, 40*s.* To Mr. Bridweye, 5*l.* To my ghostly father, 33*s.* 4*d.*, &c.

23 Nov. Received from the abbot of Combe, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, of which taken out into my purse, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Paid to my lord John for a release, 60*s.* 6*d.*; and other items.

Pp. 2.

A. 10. 31. Blechynglye, . . . March. "A creditor roll made by me, Edw. duke of Buckingham, of all such sums of money as I did owe to my remembrance at the making of this same."

To the King, 1,655*l.* 10*s.* To Ph. Dewkay and John Haslewood, 2,000*l.* To my lord of Arundel, 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To the abbot of Bury, 150*l.* To Mr. Braye's executors, 50*l.* To the duke of Suffolk, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To the abbot of Glastonbury, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To the dean of Wells, 100*l.* To the lord of St. John's, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Sir Rowland, 100*l.* To the King, for the ward and marriage of Thos. Fyzgaret, 200*l.* To lord Burgoyne, for the marriage of my daughter Mary, 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Robt. Amadas, 95*l.* 7*s.* To Smith, draper, for liveries and discharge in my wardrobe book, 300*l.* To the abbot of Westminster, 200*l.* To my lord of Durham, 100*l.* To Sir Will. Compton, 100*l.* To Sir Thos. Lovell, 100*l.* To Brian Towke, one of the clerks of the signet, 65*l.*

Hol.

A. 4. 32. "Item. The abbot of Bury, for so much money due to the old abbot, wherein Cowper (?) standeth bound," 200*l.* To the executors of Mr. Braye and Sir John Shawe, 50*l.* To Monday, upon a chain of fine gold, 100*l.* To the Duke of Suffolk, 200*l.* To the dean of Wells, by two bills, 100*l.* To Rowland of Bristol, by an obligation wherein I stand bound, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, payable at Wystondit (Whitsuntide?) A.D. 1519. To the abbot of "Seyngawgstoynes" (St. Augustin's) by Bristowe, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To the abbot of Glastonbury, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, part payable at Christmas 1518.

Hol.

D. f. 34. 33. Elizabeth Persy to Buckingham's chancellor.

Asks him to give the bearer 5*l.*, due to her as the annuity granted by the Duke.

Signed.

P. 1. *Add.*: "To the worshipful master Chancellor, this letter be delivered, at the Red Rose."

D. f. 28. 34. Various receipts by Wm. Battre, mercer of London, 2 Sept. 12 Hen.VIII., by Kyrke (f. 29.) 6 Oct., and (f. 30.) 15 Feb. by George Percy (f. 33.), and less important memoranda of various dates, D. f. 6, 11, 26, 32, A. 6, 8 and 12.

1521.

186. The DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S LANDS.

R. O.

Value and state of the possessions of the late duke of Buckingham, surveyed by Thomas Magnus and William Walweyn, 13 Hen. VIII.

i. Lordships (named) in the honor of Gloucester, viz., in cos. Hants, Wilts, Glouc., Northt., Norf., Suff., Essex, Bucks, Beds, Kent and Surrey, and in Wales; the number of the manorhood in each is given, as well as the names of those holding knights' fees; in some are woods and bondmen; tenants offer to pay a fine or an increased rent for new leases. Lands obtained by exchange with lord Berners; advowsons; timber, stone and slate; parks, herbage and pannage; a heronry; hayens of goshawks and lanners (or lanars); a rabbit warren; list of offices vacant and occupied; foundations of religious houses; several lordships in the hands of Henry Stafford earl of Wilts for life; lands alienated to the duke of Suffolk.

The lordship of Thornebury, adjoining the King's great lordship of Barkelay, is of the value of 238*l.* 11*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* A wood called Filmour contains 100 acres. The manor or castle stands to the north of the parish church, and has an inner and an outer ward, foursquare. The entrance into the inner ward is on the west. "The south side is fully finished with curious works and stately lodgings. The said west side and north side be but builded to one chamber height; all these works being of a fair ashlar, and so covered with a false roof of elm, and the same covered with light slate. The east side, containing the hall and other houses of offices, is all of the old building, and of a homely fashion. The outer ward was intended to have been large, with many lodgings, whereof the foundation on the north and west side is taken and brought up nigh to laying on a floor. The windows, jawmes and cewnes" are wrought of freestone, the rest of rough stone cast with lime and sand. On the south of the inner ward is a garden, "and about (around) the same a goodly gallery, conveying (leading) above and beneath from the principal lodgings both to the chapel and parish church, the outer part of the said gallery being of stone, enbattled, and the inner part of timber, covered with slate." On the east of the castle is a goodly garden to walk in, enclosed with high walls, enbattled; the "conveyance" thither is by the gallery and other privy ways. There is also a large orchard, in which are many alleys to walk in openly, and round about the orchard are other alleys "on a good height," with "roosting" places, covered with white thorn and hazel. The orchard communicates, by several posterns, with the New Park, which contains about four miles; within it are 700 deer; the herbage, being plenteous, "will make 10*l.* towards the keeper's wages. The late Duke has "enclosed into the park divers men's lands, as well of freehold as copyhold, and no recompense as yet is made for the same; and lately he hath also enclosed into the same park two fair tenements, with barns and other houses well builded with stone and slate, with 500 acres of land, and as yet the tenants continue in the same, wherein of necessity some redress must be, either in amoving the said tenants from out of the park with convenient recompense, or else in taking in the pale as it stood afore, &c." Thomas Bennett is keeper. "There been within the said park 13 proper pounds, well watered with a spring, being enclosed with a pale. Nigh to the said new park is another park called Marlewood, nothing being between them but the breadth of an highway;" it extends over three miles, and contains 300 deer. There is another park called Estewood, within two miles of the said castle, containing about seven miles, and 500 fallow deer and 50 red deer. Also a conyngry, called Milborowe Heth, granted by the King to John Hunteley, "whereof there is great exclamation for closing in of freeholds and copyholds, now being set by the said John for 4*l.*, and by the old precedents was but at 3*s.* 4*d.*"

1521.

Rents and farms decayed from enclosures, 48*l.* 19*s.* 3*½d.* Number of the manorhood, 175. Of bondmen there is a good number, as appears by the court rolls.

The borough of the town of Newport, Wales, with the whole lordship, adjoining the King's great lordships of Cardeiff, Uske and Carlion, is in value 18*l.* 10*s.* 5*½d.* It has a goodly haven, "well occupied, with small crayes (creeks), whereunto a very great ship may resort." "Upon the same haven is a proper castle and three towers, adjoining just to the water; the middlest tower having a vault or entry to receive into the said castle a good vessel. In the said castle is a fair hall, proper lodgings after the waterside, and many houses of offices: howbeit, in manner, all is decayed in covering and floors, specially of timber work. There is good plenty of free stone and rough stone lying within the castle, for repareling of the same." "Over the castle gate is the chequier chamber, and under the same is the porter's lodge and prison for punishment and safe keeping of offenders and transgressors; which houses of necessity must be maintained and well upholden." List of lordships, knights' fees, and advowsons [pertaining to it]. "The first recognition to be paid in three years, at six terms," 171*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The stewardship was lately occupied by the earl of Wiltshire, during pleasure, at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; "and for the exercising of the same room John Morgan, the King's servant, being a substantial young man of an 100*l.* lands, and Thomas Morgan, his uncle, being a sad gentleman, and also of good substance, be deputed lieutenants for the well ordering of the country." Without the help of any commissioner they have put the lordships in good order, and the country is "best content to be at their leading." The said Thomas formerly held the office of lieutenant under the said earl, receiving yearly 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* He has been deputed also to continue in his office of receiver; and as he is commonly "charged every year with the receipt of the sum of 600 or 700 marks, there is assigned further unto him, as was afore, the office of constableness of the castle, if so it please the King's grace, at 56*s.* 8*d.*" The portership of the castle is also assigned to him (2*d.* a day), till the King's pleasure be known. The mayor, coroner and beadle of the town, without fees, are "chosen by election." The office of approver, being a special office, for the King's profit necessary to be occupied by one resident in the lordship, for praising all distresses and cattle brought in for payment of rent, at 2*d.* *per diem.* "Wards in Wenllouge:"—Thomas Lewes, in the custody of Edmund Vanne, having lands worth 20*l.*; John Ap Morgan, in the custody of John Hontelay, escheator, having lands worth 9*l.* Number of the manorhood, 532.

"The manor place of Desenyng, [Suffolk,] is only for a farmer, and for none other pleasure to lie at, by occasion of the mansion place there."—"Mem., that it is complained by the King's tenants of Desenyng, and founden by the homage there, that one Edward Bardewell, calling himself the abbot of Bury's servant, hath not only plowed up certain lees that ought to be common to the King's said tenants, but also hath enclosed an highway, that continually hath ever been for the King's tenants, and for the conveyance of carriages with wood when any is sold there, as is every year; and applieth a great part of arable land by occasion thereof to pasture, under the color of John Higham being an idiot and blind, of whom the said Edmund pretendeth to have the custody, by reason, as it is said, he is kinsman to the wife of the said John Higham."

In the lordship of Tunbridge, Kent, is a castle, which "hath been and yet is a strong fortress for the three parts thereof; and the fourth part, on the south side, being fortified with a deep running water, was intended to have been made for lodgings, and so resteth upon 26 feet height, builded

1521.

The DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S LANDS—*cont.*

with ashlar, and no more done thereunto. The other three parts of the castle being continued with a great gatehouse or the first entry, a dungeon and two towers are substantially builded, with the walls and enbatelling with good stone, having substantial roofs of timber and lately well covered with lead; except the one half of the dungeon was uncovered. And as unto the said gatehouse, [it] is as strong a fortress as few be in England, standing on the north side, having a conveyance well enbatelled on both sides to the said dungeon on the west side; and on the south-east side there is a like conveyance to a fair square tower, called Stafford Tower; and from thence to another fair tower, standing upon the water, nigh to the town bridge, being builded eight-square, and called the Water Tower. This castle was the strongest fortress, and most like unto a castle of any other that the Duke had in England or in Wales. The town of Tunbrigge is a burgh, large and well inhabited with people, having plenty of water running through in sundry places." Near it is a park called the Posterne, containing three miles,—oaks, beeches, 300 fallow deer, and 52 islands; and parks called the Cage and the North Firth. The foundation of the priory of Tunbrigge, of the order of St. Augustine. Advowson of the church of Herdes besides Canterbury. Sir Edward Guylforde is keeper of North Firth park; Sir Harry Owen of the Posterne and the Cage. Charles Knevet claims the keepership of the Posterne and Cage.

The manor place, "within a mile of the town of Blechingligh, is properly and newly builded," with many lodgings and offices. "The hall, chapel, chambers, parlours, closets and oratories be newly ceiled, with wainscot roofs, floors and walls, to the intent they may be used at pleasure without hangings." Ambrose Skelton is keeper of the North Park there. An inventory remains with the receiver.

Rents and tenements in Thames Street, London, 101*s.* 4*d.*

"A mese in Calais, lately at 40*s.* *per annum*, *ultra vigiliis nichill.*

"The office of attorney general for creations, &c., 95*l.*"

Offices and fees:—Receiver general, a year, 10*l.*; auditor general, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; general attorney, 100*s.*; keeper of the manor of Redde Roos in London, 40*s.*

ii. Similar description of lordships in the honor of Hereford, in Wilts, Glouc., Wales, Notts, Hunts, Essex and Bucks.

"The town of Brecknock, [Wales,] is a very proper walled town, well builded, and as well paved, with many honest inhabitants in the same, enclosed on the west side thereof with the castle, which is a good and a strong hold, with all houses of offices and lodgings builded after the old fashion; except there is a goodly hall set on height, only with lights in either end, and none upon the sides. And as unto the roof of the said hall, it is newly and costly made with pendants, after a goodly fashion; and into the said castle water is conveyed by conduit." Around it flow two running rivers. There are a forest and a "great mere or stanke of water, containing in length nigh three miles, and breadth a mile, well replenished with fish, and specially with breams." The town and castle of Haye, and the castle called Bruelles, are decayed. The baron of Burforde bought of the Duke a ward named Edmund de la Mare, but has not paid for him. At Penkelly is a wood, "which would be sold, because it is barked by wild people of the country." The castle of Huntingdon is decayed, except a tower for keeping prisoners.

Kimbolton Castle, Hunts, "is a right goodly lodging contained in little room, within a moat well and compendiously trussed together in due and convenient proportion, one thing with another, with an inner court, for the most part builded within 60 years by duchess Anne, wife to duke

1521,

Humphrey, slain at Northampton field." There are lodgings and offices for keeping a duke's house in stately manner; but, "by occasion of the old maintill wall, the hall there well builded is likely to perish; and through the said castle is and will be great decay, by occasion there is no reparations done." Outside the moat is a "convenient room for a bace court, used now like a gresse close;" in it are a fair barn and goodly houses fit for stables. Within a quarter of a mile is the priory of Stookeley. A park and a fox-hunt.

The manor of Writtell, Essex, within three miles of Newhall, stands within a moat. It decays, "yet the substance thereof is cleanly builded, all of gross timber, in a quadrant with a cloister." Many lodgings and offices. "For the conveyance to the great chamber there is a stately stair; and forsomuch as in the said manor there is no hall, therefore the hall was kept in a goodly and a large parlour. The north parts of the said cloister was joined to an old warke (work), which is the chapel, now in extreme decay." Between the "cloister and the buttery and pantry and entry between them, conveying to the kitchen, there is a void place, likely to be left for the room of a hall." The moat is overgrown with wood and weeds; a spring runs through it. With no great charge the manor may be made a convenient house for the King, "when by any occasion his grace should be minded to remove from Newhall, or for hunting time in summer, insomuch as the town of Writtell, even by the said manor, is a good large town for lodging," Chermesforth being about a mile distant. Writtell Park, Hors Firth Park, and a forest. Foundation of the college of Plasshe.

iii. Lands called Somerset lands in cos. Somerset and Dorset.

iv. Lands acquired in Wales, Salop, Staff., Notts, Northt., Warw., Hunts, Suff., Essex, Bucks, Oxon., Kent, Surrey, Cornw.

The castle at Caurs "is in great ruin." Many bondmen, "both rich and poor."

"The castle of Maxstok, [Warw.,] is a right proper thing after the old building, standing within a fair and a large moat full of fish, being builded foursquare, and at every corner a tower, covered with lead, wherein be proper lodgings; and at the entry into the said castle over the said moat there is a goodly tower, well vaulted over the coming in; and in the nether part thereof is the porter's lodge, and above the same be proper chambers for lodging. Item, within the same is a fair hall, and at the over end of the same is a fair chapel, and on height is a great chamber, a fair inner chamber, with sundry other proper chambers within the same, having chimneys and draughts. And both beneath and over the same be like chambers with stairs, conveniently conveying from one to another, and from every of them is good conveyance to the chapel. Much of this work was done by my Lady's grace the King's grand-dame, and wanted finishing in sundry wises, specially with plaster, flooring, and walling, and thoroughly with glasing." Other offices are in decay, but "100*l.* will make the castle meet for the King and Queen in the time of their progress." Outside the castle is a "large bace court," stables and barns, all walled with stone, and covered with slate; at the entrance to the bace court is a gate-house. A ward named Archer, and aged 19.

The manor standing in the park called Redcleff, at Penshurst, Kent, is "well builded for the most part of ashlar stone, with a goodly hall," &c. "Mem., to enquire for a sorrell hobby there, late the Duke's, and occupied in and out, and laboured by the keepers and other there."

v. Lands belonging to the inheritance of the earl of Stafford, in cos. Staff., Salop, Chester, and Warw.

The town of Stafford is a proper and a fair town, which continually afore-

1521.

The DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S LANDS—*cont.*

time hath been the King's town, albeit the benefices in the same, and lands lying about it, were the late duke of Buckingham's." Nigh to it is a park, in the midst of which stands the castle, nearly a mile from the town, "upon so goodly an height, that all the country may be seen 20 or 30 miles about : and one way a man may see to the King's lordship of Caurs in Wales, 30 miles from thence, and another way to the King's honor of Tutbury." The castle is builded uniformly, without an inner court; at either end are two towers, and one in the middle on the south side, "the enbatelling being trussed forth upon corbelles; the hall set on height in the midst ; adjoining thereunto at the over end a great chamber, and within the same be six other little chambers, every of them having a draught and a chimney, that is to wit, in either of the two towers at that end three chambers. In the tower of the south side be other three chambers like to the other. And at the nether end of the hall is a surveying place, and without that the two towers at that end, and in either of them four chambers." Under the hall are the kitchen, larderhouse, buttery and pantry; under the great chamber is the cellar. Near the castle is an old chapel, lodges, and another kitchen. As this "little" castle is about 15 miles from Tutbury, and 13 or 14 from Lichfield, and is near Stafford, with much game, it is thought to be right pleasant for the King, when making his progress in "grece time."

"The deanery of Stafford, at 24*l.*, which ever hath been *capella regia*, and is privileged accordingly. And albeit the Duke was patron, yet the King was founder, insomuch as the priests of the college take in their masses daily for the King this collect, *Deus in cujus manu*, &c.; and also in the same college in many places appeareth the old arms of England. The Dean there giveth 12 little prebends."

vi. Lands of the inheritance of the earl of Albemarle, in Holderness, [Yorksh.]

The foundation of the monastery of Thorneton Curtes, Linc., is "one of the goodliest houses of England of canons *ordinis Sancti Augustini*."

The King's town of Pall in Holderness is well builded, and as much used by fishermen as any town in the North. It has been "for a great part destroyed by the water of Humber, and not only is likely in brief time utterly to be worn away by the said water, but also a great part of the King's lands and of other is likely to be drowned and destroyed, if speedy remedy be not founden for the same; insomuch that by occasion of such high springs and rageous waters as have been there this year, Humber wrought down a piece of the one side of the said town next to the water, and also hath worn away the town street, in one place, in such manner that neither horse nor man may pass that way, but enforced to go upon the back side of the town." The water threatens to drown four or five miles of land. 50*l.* or 100 marks should be spent with the advice of "such wise men as be in those parts, and as have experience in such works."

"The ferry boat conveying between Holderness and Lincolnshire, being rented at 26*s.* 8*d.* by year, is in extreme decay." A new boat is necessary for the conveyance of 10 or 12 horses : it will cost little less than 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

vii. Lands of the inheritance of Lord Ferrers in Okeham. That town is the best in Rutlandshire. "There is an old castle all ruinous, being a large ground within the mantell wall. The hall is in the best reparation, and of an old fashion, and most convenient to be upholden and kept with covering, because of the courts [that] be kept in the same." Flitteres Park. "There oweth no nobleman to pass through the said lordship

1521,

[of Oakham], but if (unless) he do homage to the castle there in giving an horse shoe, inasmuch that many horse shoes be set upon the hall door, some marvelous great and some little, with arms and cognizances; and in the midst of the over end of the hall is an horse shoe with the arms of England, being nigh in breadth a yard, which was commanded thither by king Edward the 4th."

Pp. 88. On the vellum cover: "A book of the survey of the late duke of Buckingham's lands." At end is an "Index Locorum" in a modern hand.

1287. THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S LANDS.

R. O.

Valuation of the possessions late of Edward duke of Buckingham, earl of Her[eford, Staffo]rd and Northampton, and lord of Brechon Haie, Hunt. Maughan, for one year; *sc.*, in cos. Warw., Notts, Rutl., Northt., Hunts, Suff., Norf., Essex, Bucks, Beds, Oxf., Cornw., Heref.; tenements in London and Calais; annuity of 20*l.* on his creation as earl, and 40*l.* as duke of Buckingham, from the issues of cos. Bucks and Beds; as earl of Hereford, 20*l.*; as earl of Northampton, 20*l.* Also lands in cos. Staff., Salop, Chester, in the lordships of Caurs and Holdernessee, in cos. Kent, Surrey, Glouc., Dorset, Wilts and Hants, and in South Wales. Some of these lands belonged to the honors of Gloucester and Hereford; others were acquired. Some formed part of the inheritances of the earl of Stafford, lord Ferrars and the earl of Albermarlie; others were alienated to Sir William Compton, Sir Richard Sacheverell, to Thomas Kytson, merchant, and to the duke of Suffolk; some were obtained by exchange with lord Berners; others were called "Somerset lands."

Clear yearly value, beyond all reprises, 4,905*l.* 15*s.* 5½*d.* = 7,358 marks.

Pp. 61. Endd.

1288. THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

R. O.

Sum total of the value for one year of the duke of Buckingham's possessions in England and Wales; *sc.*, 6,045*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.*

R. O.

2. Duplicate of the preceding.

3. Duke of Buckingham to Wolsey.

Howard's Let.
289.

Is glad to hear that Wolsey will move the King that the Duke may have his privy seals for such persons as murdered one of his burgesses in the town of Brecknock. At my manor of Bletchingley, 2nd Oct.* *Signed.*
To my lord Cardinal's good grace, legate, &c.

4. Dan Harry, sexton of Kingswood, to Giles Grevell, treasurer of the duke of Buckingham.

R. O.

His master wishes Grevell to move the Duke that my lord of Forde may "have a day in Lent next ensuing to preach the word of God before my Lord's grace." Begs that he may be defended "from all such enormities, the which hath put me to rebuke and shame years past and long ago." Is much slandered by Master Poynt's servants for what was done twenty years, twelve years and three years ago. If Wm. Heywod, of Gloucester, speak to Grevell of the writer, "let him know that ye bear me love and favor." Kingswood, 22 June.

Hol., p. 1. Add.

* Probably 1519, as it appears the Duke was at Bletchingley in October of that year.

1521.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—*cont.*

R. O.

5. "Words of communication" spoken before Baldewyn Tynbury, notary papal, in the house of John Plummer, clothier, of Wotton-under-Ege, Glouc., within four days after the deposition and resignation of the old abbot of Kir gswood and the installation of the new abbot.

Tynbury came to Wotton to speak with Thos. Matston on business of the duke of Buckingham. Found him at supper in Plummer's house with Mr. Fryth, the vicar, Ric. Browne and another. The conversation turned on the abbey of Kingswood, and Fryth said it was a shame to put down so good a man, and that if the abbots of Tintern and Ford had come with 500 men at their tails, they should not have deposed him, if it had not been for the Duke's displeasure. He wished the Duke had been in London, and then he would not have been deposed, and said that the old Abbot had more friends within six miles than the abbots of Tintern and Ford and any other two in the neighbourhood. To this all present agreed. Matston said the old abbot was a good religious man, and he thought the place "was little lack better than it was when he was made abbot by 200 mks., and that it was pity he was deposed." Frith then said, "if there were a supplication put to the King's grace of his deposition, as he supposed there would be, he thought his grace would not be content with it, and that this abbot which is new made should [be] as well watched as ever any was there, if they can find anything to lay to his charge or take him with any fault."

Pp. 2. Endd.: "Of the riot committed at Kyngwode."

R.

6. Petition from the King's tenants of Thornbury, complaining of the enclosures made by the late duke of Buckingham.
Addressed to Sir John Dauncey.

R. O.

7. Considerations why John lord Berners should possess the manors of Halton Osseley and Doxey, in co. Stafford, and Sende, Wilts, according to his entail and the covenants between him and the late duke of Buckingham.

R. O.

8. Petition of the King's tenants and other inhabitants of Moche Cowarne, Hereford, to the general surveyors, stating that on the attainder of Edward duke of Buckingham, who held lands in Moche Cowarne and Burghill, and five leets or lawdays in those places and at Kyngeston, Bodenham and Stratford, Heref., their masterships granted the office of steward of those townships to Thomas Biryton, of Moche Cowarne, and the receipt of the King's rents there * * * *
Imperfect, p. 1.

R. O.

9. Petition of Wm. Hasyng, Buckingham herald, for an annuity of 10*l.* from the manor of Agmondisham, Bucks, lately belonging to the duke of Buckingham, and that he may use the name of Rouge dragon, with the dignity of herald, although the office has before been that of a pursuivant.
A form for the patent below.
P. 1.

R. O.

10. The goods of Eliz. Knyvett, deceased, wrongfully withheld by the late duke of Buckingham.

A black velvet gown, lined with yellow satin, with gold buttons. A blue velvet gown, lined with crimson tinsel. A russet damask gown, lined with crimson velvet. A green silk camlet gown, lined with crimson velvet. A black taffeta gown, lined with crimson velvet. 3 satin and damask kirtles.

1521.

3 gold chains, one weighing 38lb.; the second, with a cross, 10 lb.; the third, of Paris work, 6lb. A silver basin and ewer. A pair of silver parcelgilt pots. 3 gilt goblets and a salt, with covers. 6 silver spoons. A sarsnet "trussing bede," red and yellow, with a counterpoint. 2 pallet beds. 6 pieces of "verdewis," checked white and orange, 14d. the Flemish ell.

P. 1.

1289. CHARLES KNYVETT.

R. O. Indenture made 4 May 13 Hen. VIII.* between Charles Knyvett and John Burwell, of Wikam, Kent, demising to the latter Hall Place, of Ligh. *Signed.*

R. O. 2. Sixteen petitions of Charles Knyvett to the King, complaining that he was possessed of certain offices under the late duke of Buckingham until the twelfth year of Henry VIII., at which time he, perceiving the high, great and grievous misdemeanors of the said late Duke, not only at sundry times committed upon his will against the order of your laws, but also imagined against your most royal person, warned himself out of the service of the said Duke." Thereupon the Duke seized his offices. Prays they may be returned to him, and that he may be released from certain bonds into which he entered for the Duke. *Mostly drafts; many corrected by Cromwell.*

R. O. 3. Drafts of two grants to Knyvett of the manors of Desenyuges and Sherdlow, and of the keepership of the park called the Cage, part of the possessions of the late Duke.

R. O. 4. Two drafts of a licence for Charles Knyvett to shoot with the crossbow, and wear such silks and velvets as he has been accustomed to do. Greenwich, ———.

R. O. 5. Draft of a patent granting to Charles Knyvet the reversion of the manor of ———†, Essex, granted by the late duke of Buckingham to Henry earl of Wiltshire, his brother, for life.

R. O. 6. Protection, for one year, from arrest and imprisonment for any offence whatever. [Westm., 11 June, *has been struck out.*]
Pp. 2; large paper. Endd.

R. O. 7. Protection for Charles Knyvett, of Kent, alias of London, who has been in the retinue of Lord Berners, deputy of Calais, since 20 April 13 Hen. VIII., frequently travelling between England and Calais.
Draft, p. 1. Endd.

1290. LORD ABERGAVENNY.

R. O. (1.) Has made a recognizance of 10,000 marks "for his allegiance, and that he shall not come in Sussex nor Kent, nor approach the King's grace without his licence, and that he shall bring in other sureties to be bound to the King for the same, or yield his body to the Tower before the Ascension Day next." (2.) An indenture of bargain and sale of the manor of Birlyng to the King and his heirs has been made by Burgevenny and Sir Edward Nevile. (3.) Burgevenny, Sir Thomas Nevile, Sir Edward Nevile, and their wives "have acknowledged by fine the same manor, &c. to the King." (4.) They have also acknowledged a recovery of that manor to the

* Corrected from Nov. 12 Hen. VIII.

† Blank in MS.

1521.

LORD ABERGAVENNY—*cont.*

lord Cardinal and others to the King's use. (5.) The abbot of Bermondsey and Sir Mathew Broun released their title in lands in the park of Birlyng to Burgevenny before the fine and recovery, so that the King "shall have that clear." (6.) Burgevenny has bound 1,000 marks of lands for surety of payment of 10,000 marks "for his fine for his misprision and offences." (7.) He is bound by recognizances in 10,000*l.* for payment of 10,000 marks. 1,000 marks have been paid to Mr. Miklo; the rest to be paid yearly on St. Valentine's Day, "except the value of Birlyng after 20 years' purchase to be deducted." (8.) He has made a surrender of his offices before Mr. Merney, chancellor of the duchy. (9.) All the indentures and writings made by him have been enrolled before Mr. Broke, justice in the Common Pleas. (10.) He is bound to deliver all evidences concerning Birlyng into the King's treasury.

Pp. 2. Headed: "Pro domino Rege, per Georgium Nevile, militem, dominum Burgevenny." Endd.

1291. LORD ABERGAVENNY'S LANDS.

R. O.

Names and valuations of the possessions of George Nevill lord [Abergavenny]; viz., the lordship of Bergevenny; Ewyas-Harold, Ewyas-Lacy, lordship of Birlinge, Riashe, in Kent; manor of Eyridge, Waterdowne Forest, Retherfeld, barony and borough of Lewes, Dichynyge, Cokefeld, Radmeld, Albourne, Sussex; office of feodary in various counties (specified); issues from the chase of Clares, in Sussex; and other places in Surrey and elsewhere (specified). Value, 1,622*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*

Pp. 2. Endd.

20 May. 1292. WOLSEY to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

The letters I sent to you today to be signed are only letters of consolation and credence to the wife of the late duke of Buckingham and his son lord Stafford, "without the which it was thought as well to Sir Wm. Kingston and Sir Henry Wyat, as to me and other of your council, that they should not go unfurnished; whereof, if your grace be remembered, among other things, I informed your Highness, sitting in your chair in your gallery on Friday at night." If, however, you think them not convenient to pass, I remit that to you. My house beside Westminster, 20 May.

Signed.

P. 1. Add.

20 May. 1293. WOLSEY to JERNINGHAM and [FITZWILLIAM].

Calig. D. viii.
83.

B. M.

As the King did not, at the departure of you Sir Ric. Jerningham from hence, write to the French king according to his original intention, you shall both explain to him the cause; viz., that he had just caught a fever, which shortly grew to two tertians. Owing to the long continuance of paroxysms in cold and heat, with no interval between to enable him to take his meals, the physicians were fain to give him his meals before the end of his paroxysms. The disease is now gone, and for five or six days he has been fresh, merry and well at ease; much better than before. Two days ago he removed from Greenwich, intending to be on Thursday at Hampton Court, and proceed on pilgrimage to Master John Shorn, in gratitude for his recovery. You are to thank the French king for his offers for defence of the King's person, which he made on hearing of the attachment of Buckingham, Bergevenny and Montague; but tell him there is no danger. The King had for some time known the Duke to be

1521.

ill disposed, and recently he had been detected in treason against the King's person and succession, especially against the Princess, with whose alliance in France he was much displeased. These things being proved, and at last confessed by himself, he was executed according to his demerits. Bergevenny and Montague are loyal, and were only sent to the Tower for a small concealment proceeding from negligence. Wiltshire and Northumberland were not sent for, but are quite free from suspicion. The Emperor has agreed by his ambassadors to put all his differences with France at the King's arbitrament, to which the King doubts not Francis will also agree. Encloses a copy of the clause written by the Emperor in that behalf. Sends the King's letters to Francis which were intended for the late ambassador Marigny. They must deliver them to Marigny that he may present them. Westminster, 20 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

20 May. 1294. FRANCIS I. to ALBERT, ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE.

Calig. D. viii.

39.

B. M.

Writes to counteract an accusation made against him by the king of the Romans, that, in violation of treaties, he is harassing the lands of the Emperor, by means of the lord of Sedan, the duke of Gueldres, and the king of Navarre. Had no sooner heard that the lord of Sedan was making war, than he forbade his subjects to assist him; and when he heard from his ambassador in Switzerland, that Sedan was endeavoring to raise a band of Swiss, he wrote to the Swiss to say it was [against] his consent, and advised them not to grant it. Sedan, however, asserted that he did not wish to make war upon the king of the Romans, but only against the lord de Meryes, who had seized a castle of his, named Berges, in the duchy of Balion, out of which he had taken a near kinsman of the said Sedan; and that he had applied to the king of the Romans for redress, which was refused. Francis has nevertheless dissuaded him from war. The king of Navarre left this court a month ago, and was advised to get money by his subjects If he were to demand supplies of Francis, could not deny them, because of an earlier treaty with him than with the king of the Romans, in which Francis promised to aid him, if within a certain time that kingdom was not restored, and no sufficient cause was shown for its detention. [Romor]jentin, 20 May.

Lat., copy, pp. 2, mutilated.

May 1295. HENRY VIII. to the SCOTCH.

R. O.

Renews (at the request of Francis I., and in the hope that they will, during its continuance, perform what Francis has lately, in accordance with his treaty with England, requested of them by his ambassadors,) the truce with Scotland, from the present date till the feast of Purification next, with the following provisions:—1. All warlike acts to cease on either side, and depredations to be redressed according to the ordinances made in the time of Henry VII. and James IV. 2. That the Queen be well treated, and have full payment of her conjunct feoffment and dower, and be free to visit her son when she pleases. 3. No rebels to be received on either side. 4. The council and estates of Scotland to see to the sure keeping of the King's person. 5. An embassy to be sent to England by the king of Scots, to conclude a peace before the truce expires. Greenwich, —* May 1521, 13 Hen. VIII. *Signed.*

Fr., on parchment.

* Blank in orig.

1521.

20 May. 1296. JAMES V.

Rym. XIII.
745.

Prorogation, at the instance of Francis I., of the truce made with England, shortly to expire, in the hope that in the interval the parliament and estates of Scotland will accept the terms concluded at Ardres. The truce to commence from the present date to the Purification following. Ambassadors to be sent in the meanwhile to England to treat for peace; on the proviso that the duke of Albany shall be comprehended in this arrangement. Stirling, 20 May 1521.

21 May. 1297. HENRY VIII. to LEO X.

Add. MS.
15,387, f. 88.
B. M.

As nothing is more the duty of a Christian prince than to preserve the Christian religion against its enemies, ever since he knew of Luther's heresy in Germany, has made it his study how to extirpate it. The poison has now spread so far that it will not readily yield to one attack. Thought it best to call the learned of his kingdom to consider these errors and denounce them, and exhort others to do the same. Has urged the Emperor and Electors, since this pestilent fellow will not return to God, to extirpate him and his heretical books. Has thought it right still further to testify his zeal for the faith by his writings, that all might see he was ready to defend the Church, not only with his arms, but with the resources of his mind. Dedicates, therefore, to the Pope, the first offsprings of his intellect and his little erudition. Greenwich, 21 May 1521.

Lat., copy, pp. 4.

21 May. 1298. HENRY VIII. to CARD. DE MEDICI.

Add. MS.
15,387, f. 90.
B. M.

Has always desired an opportunity of rewarding the Cardinal's services, which he knows both by Wolsey and by experience. Hearing, therefore, of the death of Silvester bishop of Worcester, has asked the Pope to confer the bishopric on de Medici *in commendam*, although the gift is not equal to his merits. Greenwich, 21 May 1521.

Lat., copy, pp. 4.

21 May. 1299. WOLSEY to LEO X.

Theiner,
No. 937.

As often as anything occurs worthy of the Pope's hearing, does not omit to confer with the Papal ambassador. Certain proceedings have lately taken place for the suppression of the Lutheran heresy, for a fuller account of which he refers the Pope to the Auditor. Begg the Pope's favor in reference to the legateship. This and other matters Clerk will explain more fully. London, 21 May 1521.

22 May. 1300. SIR ANDREW WINDESORE to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Ellis, 3 Ser.
i. 227.

Three of the King's servants are trying to obtain Dreyndford Wood, in Agmondesham, Bucks, lately the property of the duke of Buckingham. It contains the best timber for building within 20 miles of Windsor, and is worth 200 marks or more. There has been, besides, an eyrie of "goose hawks" for the last 20 or 30 years, and though they have been put from breeding this year "by disorder," they are not far off, and will no doubt return if the wood stands. The said persons are sure of the wood, if Wolsey stay it not. London, Wednesday in Whitsun week. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add. : To my lord Cardinal's grace. Endd.

23 May. 1301. LORD DARCY.

R. O.

Bill indented, 23 May 13 Hen. VIII., witnessing that Sir Alexander, vicar of Chillynggam, has delivered to Richard Pickering, servant to Darcy, 160 lamys (lambs), worth 7d. each.

P. 1. Endd. by Darcy.

1521.

23 May. 1302. BUDÆUS to MORE.

Budæi Ep.
ii. 11b.

Commends More's wit and native aptitude for writing; was struck with it on receiving his letters from Theobald. Has kept no copy of the letter he sent More by Sir Richd. Wingfield on his departure. Chatillon will present the letter; "*eximia morum suavitatem gratus*." He is one of the few noblemen who has a taste for letters.

Divione, where the Court now is, 10 kal. Junias.

24 May. 1303. FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. viii.
40.
B. M.

I, Jerningham, left England on Saturday the 11th, and arrived on the Thursday following at Chatillon in High Burgundy. The French king lay in a castle eight leagues distant. To make Fitzwilliam privy to my instructions, I sent to him, and arranged to meet him at Saunsey, three leagues from the King's said lodging. Met there on Friday at 10, and sent to the Admiral to know when we might speak with the King. That day he was out hunting, and on the Saturday I was told I could not see him because the Queen and my Lady were to make their entry into Dijon, which I saw myself. On Sunday, which was Whitsunday, the Admiral told us that the King that day was confessed and healed sick folks, and did many ceremonies, so that I could not see him then. On Monday I had audience, delivered the King's letters, and declared my charge.

As to the sinister reports at Rome and in Almain, of which the King was informed by Fitzwilliam, Francis says he had told them to Fitzwilliam, but the King need not have answered them, for he gave them no credit. As to the article about the dispensation for the Emperor to marry the king of Portugal's daughter, Francis says he still pursues it; but as for the report that the Emperor might have my lady Princess, he never believed it; "[and] he had liefer have my lady Princess, and though the King's [grace had] ten children, than the king of Portugale's daughter, w[ith] all the spices her father hath." He thanks the King for his indulgence towards the Scots, and says if they do not send ambassadors to the King, and perform their promises, he will abandon them.

A[t my] arrival there was a Scotch ambassador here, who [had no] audience till this day, Friday the 24th. We know not what his charge is, but the Admiral told Fitzwilliam, before Jerningham came, that the chief cause of his coming was [to get] Albany into Scotland, and he said they would put him off as long as they could, and not grant his desire. Today the French king told us that Daubeney had arrived at Dieppe out of Scotland. The day I declared my charge Francis asked for a copy of such articles in my [instructions] as I desired answer to, and promised to write to the King in reply, "as he would sign with [his hand] and abide by the same on his honor." Send a copy. The answer has been delayed from day to day, for what cause we know not, but they say because they would write nothing but the truth, for which reason they have sent into Picardy and elsewhere, to know what wrongs the Emperor has done. We asked him to desist from war, and submit his differences with the Emperor to the King's arbitration. He said the Emperor had oppressed him so long he could not give up the matter with honor; and that he had 44,000 men, French, Swiss and Almain, of whom 14,000 were with the young king of Navarre.

On Monday last Francis told us the young king of Navarre had entered Navarre with this force, and had taken St. John Peterport; and this day he said that on Saturday last the keys of Pamp[eluna] were brought to him, and that the duke of Nege, the governor, had fled to Spain; that the castle still holds out, but he thinks will not hold long; that the commotions in Spain had increased, and the lords of the realm had withdrawn, but John de Padell was

1521.

FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

distressed, "and th[at] he hath lost his head;" "that the Emperor hath not only assembled 14,000 men to s[en]d into the] French county of Burgonne to make war upon him, [but] that he himself intendeth to make an army and to come n[ear him] into Picardy;" that Emery and Lyn[ey] have desired the Emperor's leave to make war on him; that Chievres is sick and given over by the physicians; that there was a report the Emperor was coming to the Low Countries [to go] into England and marry my lady Princess, and that certain Englishmen would be sent over [to meet] him; which he does not believe. My Lady his mother says dom. Provot offered to lay his life that, if there were war, England would take part with his master in two months. We said if all promises were kept with England the breach would [not] come on the King's part. There is no lack of fair words in the King, my Lady or the Admiral, but they lose no time in advancing their causes. My Lady says if the Emperor had known where to find a more pr[ofitable] friendship he would not have sought the King's; whilst the alliance of her son with England was neither for aid nor dread, but only for love. We think they both desire it as much for fear as for love, and the King should look to his own profit as they do. We do not write to Wingfield, not having yet an answer to the articles. When it comes we shall send him a copy, though it must be by Calais, as the posts this way are stopped. Dijon, 24 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 5, mutilated.

24 May. 1304. FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. viii.

42*.

B. M.

After despatching our post, we were told [that Montpesat †], this bearer, should be despatched with diligence to the King. You will see the news by our letters sent by the said post. According to our instructions, we desired the French king, on our master's behalf, not to commence war till we could inform the King of his answers to the articles we had d[elivered] him; which he refused, saying he had so [many] men in wages that the expense was too great to lose, and it would be long before he heard again from [England]. Jerningham then offered to go and return by post, but he would neither promise to wait till then, nor for 14 days, that we might advertise the King.

He has since heard that Navarre is won, and we think would be more easy to be entreated than before, for he thinks himself now even with the Emperor, who has won a castle of Robt. de la Marche's. We think Mountpeysard's charge is more to entreat the King not to be discontent with the wyn[ning of] Navarre, and to feel what way the King leans, than to see whether he is recovered, for Jerningham told Francis that he was [recovered of] his fits and whole, and yesterday a servant of Fitzwilliam's brought similar news, which we showed the King. Digion, 24 May. *Signed.*

P. 1, mutilated.

f. 77.

2. Draft in Jerningham's hand.

24 May. 1305. [FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. viii.

72.

B. M.

To the same effect as their first letter to Wolsey of the 24th of May. *Imperfect and mutilated, pp. 7. Draft in the hands of both writers. The order of the folios is 72, 73, 83, 81.*

† Supplied from the draft.

1521.

1306. [FRANCIS I. to HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. VIII.

51.

B. M.

has given me great satisfaction, but hearing that you were unwell I have put aside all other things to send you Montpesat, whom you know, by whom I beg you to send me news of your health. As to the despatch of the said Jerningham I will despatch him in two days, and with him the sieur De la Batye, hoping you will be satisfied. I beg you will send back Montpesat as soon as possible, that I may hear how you are.

Hol., Fr., p. 1, mutilated.

25 May. 1307. BONNIVET to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

My master, hearing you were ill of a fever, sends the bearer, le sieur de Montpesat, to ask after your health. Dijon, 25 May. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add. Endd.

25 May. 1308. BONNIVET to WOLSEY.

R. O.

My master hears that the King is ill of a fever, and sends over the bearer, the sieur de Montpesat, a gentleman of his chamber, to ask about his health. He will not be at ease till he is told of his recovery, and is also grieved to hear of your long illness. Jerningham will be despatched in a couple of days, and la Bastye with him, by whom you will receive an ample answer to Jerningham's charges, which will content your master. Dijon, 25 May. *Signed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. mons. le Cardinal d'Yort, legat et chancelier en Angleterre. Endd.

25 May. 1309. AFFAIRS OF NAVARRE.

Calig. E. I.

144.

B. M.

"Copie des articles extraictes de la lettre du dom. Pref[vost] datee du xxv^{me} de May."—Has shown his letter to the treasurer Robert [Tett] (Robertet), who says his master will do nothing [unless] the king of England act as mediator. On Monday, had a fit of the gout; met with the Admiral going to Madame. He says the king of England will entreat no more, and that peace will never be between "you and the King," [until] you have restored the kingdom of Navarre. The writer answered, that would never be, except at the point of the sword. Letters came to the King from Desparroiz, on Thursday the 23rd, stating he had taken St. John Pie de Port, and was drawing towards Pampeluna; they talk as if they had gained the whole of Spain. Knows of no remedy, unless the army against the rebels of Castile be now turned against Navarre. The King has sent forces into Luxembourg, in addition to those that were before Maisieres; is assisted by the duke of Wirtemberg and the Swiss to carry the war into Alsace, and, as the writer hears, to Naples. Wishes to know by Richard the bearer, if it is possible "du dit" if the king of England will act as mediator. Has written this morning a long letter to the Admiral. Guillaume Carpentier has been commanded [not] to send letters without the King's leave. After the Admiral had seen* his letters he took them to the King, who gave Robert Tett the answer. At 8 in the evening Robert Tett called, and told him, that (1.) as touching the intentions of the King, if Henry will offer to mediate between himself and the Emperor, the King will give an answer to the English ambassadors lately arrived; (2.) the posts have not been stopped by his consent. Times are such that restrictions are necessary. Makes no doubt of a total rupture.

* f. 150.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 3.

1521.

1310. FRANCIS I.

Calig. D. VIII.
52.

B. M.

Instructions to De la Batye, what he shall say to the king of England [in answer to] what Jerningham has said on the part of Henry.

Francis thanks the King for his offer of mediation. The King knows his aversion to war, which caused him to forbear his claim to Naples, when he could easily have made it good, with the large army he had beyond the mountains, being in friendship with the Pope and the potentates of Italy. He has also, " a temps la composition d'Arthois," given the nomination of the officers [with the] emoluments of the *greniers à sel* in the lands which the Catholic King holds of him. He has forborne his claim to the kingdom of Arragon, and also to a large sum of money which the late king of Spain owed him for Roussillon, and 1,000 livres Viennoises, yearly due to him on the salaries of " " The King Catholic has always used dissimulation towards him, and violated the treaties in many points, making new attempts against the sovereignty of Francis, and hindering him from collecting tenths and crusade money granted to him by his subjects. He has levied in Artois "la f francz fiefz et nouveaulx acquetz," which is a sovereign right. His officers hinder the commissioners of Francis from executing their orders in order to put him to expense. He has made proclamations, "a la Bretes Saint Omer," that no one should obey Francis or his officers; "pour l[equel a] Saint Jehan du Mont aux Fauxbourgs de Terouenne" he has given letters of pardon, and has ordered those capable of bearing arms to be ready to serve him, which is an act of sovereignty. Besides, though it is notorious that the Pragmatic is in force in the country of [Artois], by which right Francis nominated the Queen's confessor lately to the abbey of St. Eloy, the King Catholic has prevented the despatch of the bulls, saying that the Pragmatic never extended to Artois, and that the right of disposing of benefices belonged to him. He has cried down the money of Francis, and has forbidden the inhabitants of the said lordships to carry victuals into France. He hinders "les executeurs des amendes," and has caused several of the inhabitants to be condemned in heavy fines and banishment, because they had recourse to the justice of the French king.

Francis had been content that, if possible, the matter should have been amicably arranged; for which purpose he had sent "les presi[dent] Barne et avocate le Lievre" to Arras; but they had been unable to make any arrangement. (1.) By the treaty of Paris, Charles was bound at the age of 20 to do Francis homage for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which he has omitted. (2.) He has made no attempt to obtain the seals of the princes, towns, castles, &c. mentioned in the treaty of Noyon, although Francis is ready to do so on his part on behalf of his daughter Charlotte. (3.) The men of Fontarabia have invaded the inhabitants of H, for which redress has been refused, although Francis sent for that purpose John de Barola, "con[seiller]" of the parliament at Bourdeaux. (4.) Francis delivered to him the kingdom of Naples as the dower of madame Charlotte, on condition of receiving from him yearly, before the consummation of the marriage, 100,000 cr., which for some years he has refused to pay. (5.) He has violated the agreement to restore the goods of the Neapolitans who took the part of France. (6.) He has refused since his arrival in Spain to restore the kingdom of Navarre; by which refusal, according to the treaty of Noyon, Francis is at liberty to give assistance to that King. (7.) Although bound by the treaty of Noyon to marry Charlotte, he has sought a dispensation to marry his cousin german, the princess of Portugal. (8.) He has endeavored to persuade the Electors to supply him with men to invade Milan, promising to put the duchy in their hands. (9.) He has sent to [the lords of the] leagues the dukes of Brunswick and Neckembourg, the and others, to obtain of them

1521.

10,000 men to invade Milan. (10.) Contrary to the treaty of Cambray, he has removed faithful servants of Francis, and supported the rebels of Milan. (11.) His subjects in the Prevosté d'Yvoir have made incursions against the towns of . . . , Balarin, Francheval and Porau, which belong to the French jurisdiction of Mouzon. (12.) Some Spaniards committed depredations upon Breton merchants, and, after justice had been long denied, Francis was urged to grant letters of marque; but, at the request of the King Catholic, commissioners were appointed on both sides to meet on the borders of France and Castile. Francis named the . . . of the French chancery and Pierre Potier, but justice could not be had, and the King was again applied to for letters of marque, when the ambassadors of the King Catholic persuaded him to appoint new commissioners, viz., Jehan de Calumcont and Fras. de. Cadenet, councillor in the parliament of Bourdeaux, who waited at Bayonne six weeks, but were not met by any one on the part of the King Catholic. (13.) Don John Manuel, the King Catholic's ambassador at Rome, has advised the Pope to recover the investiture of Naples by making a defensive league with Charles, saying that an offensive one might afterwards be formed to expel the French from Milan, by which the Pope should recover Parma and Placentia, and the rest of the duchy be given to the duke of Barri. (14.) Manuel has also told the Pope that his master would be married to the princess of England, as soon as he returned to Flanders, on which England would join the said offensive league. Nevertheless Francis does not believe Henry would consent to that marriage, and the English ambassador at Rome told the Pope there was no such project.

All this Francis has borne with for the sake of peace, but the King Catholic has sent him "articles de defences" (defiance), which he has sent to the king of England, with his reply and justifications, which are so peremptory, there can be no reply to them.

Whereas England thinks that, as Robert de la Marck desists from making war on the King Catholic, an obstacle to peace is now removed, Francis replies that the defiance of the King Catholic bears that as Robt. de la Marck has made actual war upon him, he holds the treaty violated, notwithstanding his subsequent desistance. Since the defiance, Charles has hired mercenaries, who have plundered the lands of Francis in the lordship of Meuzon, and besieged Mezencourt, which holds of the Archbishop and duke of Rheims, first peer of France. Francis, therefore, has no doubt Henry will see that the breach has come from the King Catholic, and he would not refuse the King's mediation, but that he has now his army ready, which he would disband at a great disadvantage; but if the King Catholic is willing to make reparation, he will withdraw it. He understands that Charles makes two complaints against him: (1) that he is the cause of the commotion in Spain; and (2) touching Navarre. The first he denies, and says he knew nothing of the sedition until he heard of it at Abbeville by letters from his ambassador in England. As to Navarre, although he is justified in what he has done by the treaty of Noyon, he put it off as long as possible, hoping that Charles would be reasonable, but since the defiance he has ordered his lieutenant in Guienne to assist the king of Navarre as much as he can.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 11.

1311. SIR WM. FITZWILLIAM'S INSTRUCTIONS.

R. O.

The declaration of the King's mind upon the articles delivered by the French king to Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam, touching the settlement of variances between the said King and the elect king of Romans.

Henry thanks him for consenting to mediation, in spite of all the injuries

1521.

SIR WM. FITZWILLIAM'S INSTRUCTIONS—*cont.*

committed by the king of the Romans, by sending him a defiance in writing and other acts, and for not regarding his expense in collecting an army, and the advantages he now has for remedying those injuries. He is pleased at this proof of his affection, and will endeavor to obtain redress of his wrongs as zealously as he would do in his own causes. As Francis is content that he should send Wolsey to Calais to meet the deputies of the king of the Romans, the form of a compromise should first be devised by the French king and the king of the Romans, authorising him to act as mediator, without which the King and his lieutenant would only be private persons, and have no power to do anything. As Francis is bound not to treat with the King of Romans without the Pope's consent, Henry agrees that he should ask his Holiness to send persons to Calais on behalf of the Holy See. He commends Francis for consenting to a truce during the conference, at the persuasion of his mother, for nothing could be done without this. Advises him to conclude one for eight months or a year, and send out letters from the date of which the truce should begin, with a clause inserted for the further prorogation, in case the differences are not composed by that time, for which Henry will spare no labor.

Pp. 5, with one correction in Wolsey's hand. At the foot of the last leaf, in Ruthal's hand: "The post thro owt Fraunce."

27 May. 1312. The BASTARD OF SAVOY to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Have received your letter about the obligation of 7,000 cr. a year, and have seen the minutes you sent for changing the form of the obligation of Mons. de Samblançay and the generals, and of the King's ratification. Francis has shown the latter to his council; and, after some debate, they think it should not be despatched. As to the obligation, Samblançay and the generals demand the return of the first one despatched by them, and they will then see about the despatch of the other. Dijon, 27 May. Signed.

Fr., p. 1. Add.: A mons. le Cardinal d'York, legat en Angleterre.

27 May. 1313. SIR THOMAS TRENCHARDE to SIR WM. COMPTON.

R. O.

Enclosing the confession of Agnes Clifton, of Rampsham, against Sir Robert Sherrard, parson of Rampsham, Dorset, which the said Robert denies. He is, however, in prison until the King's pleasure be known. 27 May 13 Hen.VIII.

Hol.

ii. Confession of Margery Stone, of Rampsham, before Sir Thomas Trencharde and William Wadham, at Dorchester, 22 May 13 Hen.VIII. First, that one Agnes Clifton told her that Sir Robert Sherrard "should say, that the King's grace that now is, nor King Henry VII., his father, were not worthy to wear the crown, for he said that the father of King Henry VIII. was a horsegroom and a keeper of horses."

John Clifton deposes, that the said Agnes his wife told him how "Sir Robert Sherrard axed of her, when she heard any tidings from her husband, he then being, as he remembereth, with the King's grace at Tournay; and the said Agnes said she heard no tidings lately of him; and then the said Sir Robert said, that it was marvel if that the King's grace should do well, for he had no title unto the crown more than ye have; and then she said unto him, 'Why say ye so; ye be to blame.' And then he said he came to the crown by dint of sword. And those words were spoken in the churchyard at Rampsham, afore the great tombstone, but what day and year he cannot say."

1521.

iii. Deposition of Agnes Clifton to the same effect.

*Signed by Trencharde and Wadham.**Pp. 2. Endd.*

28 May. 1314. The EARL OF ARUNDEL to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Sends by his servant, the bearer, a person who has been arrested for "divers words inconveniently spoken," with his examination. Downeley, 28 May. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add. : To my lord Cardinal's good grace. Endd.

29 May. 1315. FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to [WOLSEY].

Calig. D. viii.

46.

B. M.

On the 28th, received your letter dated Westminster the [20th] inst., enclosing a copy of a letter sent to dom. Provot, [with a] letter from the King to the French king, which, according to your command, we delivered to Marigny on his arrival here. Told the French King of the King's recovery, and that he was going on pilgrimage, which he was glad to hear. Explained the justice done to the duke of Buckingham, and the loyalty of the other lords, and thanked him for the good words spoken to Fitzwilliam of the King. Mentioned that the Emperor, through his ambassadors, had offered to submit to the King's arbitration, and that the King hoped Francis would do the like. Francis replied finally, that he saw the dissimulation of the Emperor, and that he could not afford to lose the opportunity, for the Electors would grant Charles nothing, the commons of Spain were rebellious, and he had failed with the Swiss. He said the Emperor had intrigued to set the King and the Electors against him, and put him from the duchy of Milan; that he had desired the Electors to put their hands to a letter promising to take part against France, to which the Electors replied that they had received letters from Francis which showed that he had no cause to make war upon him; that [Nassau] and Emery had assembled 9,000 or 10,000 men to maintain the siege laid by count Felix to Messancourt, which Francis means to raise; for which purpose Saint Pol and the Seneschal of Armagnac, who is master of the army, have left the court. Francis says the castle and village of Messancourt are upon his ground, though formerly only the village was. He says, he has in Italy 1,400 men of arms, 6,000 Swiss and 4,000 foot; for what purpose he did not say, but, as we are told, for an enterprise on Naples.

Can have no answer to the articles delivered by Jerningham to the French King, except that Mons. [la Batye] will make answer to the King. The reason they give for not answering is, that they have sent to the captains upon the frontier to know in what places the Emperor's subjects have made incursions; which, as far as we can learn, are no great affairs. The greatest is that count Felix, as above mentioned, lies in a village that holds of the French king. Think they only want to gain time for some great enterprise, which they do not wish us to know, for they kept us ignorant of the Navarre affair till he had conquered it. Although they treat us well the delay is very unseemly, considering that Jerningham came with such diligence. The Admiral said it was a month before they had answer from England to the articles they sent, and we think the answer might be made sooner, for, as the Emperor's army lies, a post could get there in a day and a night, and Jerningham has been here twelve days. After these conversations the Admiral said, no one knew the Emperor's dissimulation better than the King and you, and that the Emperor was playing false both with England and France, or there was something else that was not well; and with that he shook his head, but what he meant we cannot tell. Although we have no answer, have sent a post to Wingfield, with the copy [of the letters] which we send you now and have sent before. Are

1521.

FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

compelled to send the post [by Calais], though the way is twice as long as it should be, all other ways being stopped.

Could not induce Francis to abstain from war till we had advertised the King. He said if Charles meant to treat, he might treat now in the war time; he himself would not lose a minute in his preparations, yet if it came to treating, he would put it in the King's hands sooner than in any other. The night before La Batie left for England, he told us that if [the Emperor] would perform all covenants with England he was sure there would be peace. Dijon, 29 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 4, mutilated.

- Ib. f. 82. 2. Draft of the commencement of the above in Fitzwilliam's hand.
Mutilated, pp. 2.
- Ib. f. 48. 3. Draft of the latter part in Jerningham's hand.
Mutilated, pp. 5.
A portion of the draft missing, between the two.

29 May. 1316. FITZWILLIAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Since the King came to Dijon, I have often called upon the Admiral, the Great Master and Mons. Semblance, for an answer touching the ratification and the obligation. They say now that the King will not grant the ratification, and that the generals will not seal the obligation till they have the one which is in your hands, as you will see by the letters of the Great Master and Semblance in this packet. According to my first instructions, told the King "on mine own head" that I wondered he should stick at the ratification, as he had promised in his letter there should be no default in the payment, and the ratification was only desired because the days were so long. He answered it was a matter that touched his generals, for he had no need to borrow money. "And then I said, 'Sir, your grace shall take no displeasure of that I shall say to you. Meseems your grace should not stick at this ratification, seeing how largely ye have promised by your letter, and the said ratification changes no purpose.' And he said roundly to me again, 'This is the mervailoust matter that ever I saw. Would ye have me to borrow money whether I will or not? I tell you I have no need to borrow money;' and so he went from me." Spoke to the Admiral, who said he would never consent to this ratification, since it bound the King, though the matter itself was nought, and he bade the generals do as they pleased. Mons. Semblance says the same. Spoke with him myself several times, and sent Bartholomew Salveat to him, who has taken as much pains in this matter as any one could do.

Think they are sorry the first obligation is in your hand; and if they got it, you would never have it again. If you keep it, I think you will bring them to seal this obligation at last. Never saw men speak fairer when they want anything, nor stiffer when any one desires what they do not wish to grant. "For I said to the Admiral, I wist not what your grace would think in this matter; but an I had made request twice by my letters, as your grace hath done, and that they would say me nay to grant that thing they had passed afore, and seeing my desire changed no purpose, I would surely think great unkindness." He said again that I must be content in all things that touched his master's honor. I answered that I did not know it was against his honor; "and he said plainly, Yes." The Great Master gave me ever good words, but his deeds were contrary. The Admiral says La Batie will speak with you about this matter. Dijon, 29 May. *Signed.*

Pp. 2. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace. Endd.

1521.

29 May. 1317. CHARLES V. to HENRY VIII.

R. O.

Have received by Sir Ric. Wingfield, your ambassador, your letters of the 5th, and am glad to hear of the good health and prosperity of yourself and my nunt. Was pleased with his charge, which showed the continuance of Henry's good wishes and affection. As to his request that Charles should not commence a war, is determined not to be the first to break the pence, as he has always written to the Bishop of Badajoz and Helna. I have not been the first to do so, as I have showed your ambassador; but I cannot endure the continued infractions of treaties, which increase daily. Has spoken more fully to Henry's ambassador, and also written to the Bishop of Helna, for whom he desires credence. Worms, 29 May 1521. *Signed and sealed.*

Fr., p. 1. Add.

29 May. 1318. SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to [FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM].

Calig. E. III.

33.

B. M.

I find no difficulty on this part. The Emperor will be content to give up hostilities, in spite of all provocations, and to submit to the King's mediation, if none of his dominions are invaded by the French king; but if Francis invade Navarre or any other of his dominions, he is prepared to attack France without delay in more parts than one; and, I assure you, is better furnished than the French probably reckon. Chievres died this night, at midnight, who has been the only obstacle hitherto to his breaking with France. The imperial diet [met] on Saturday last, when an aid was granted to the Emperor, such as has not been heard of, to be employed on the expenses of the Emperor's coronation and passage through Italy, and for his defence. The army is ordered to be ready at a short warning. I hear that dom. Pr[ovost] has written to his master here, that he knows well [Robert] Tete will tell him the French king will not consent to the mediation of England, but will be content to refer everything to Chievres. If so, our master will have cause to think that Francis has been dissembling; for which I should be sorry. The Emperor is sending to England a justification of himself against the French king's charges, which proves that not he, but Francis, has broken the treaty of Noyon. "I do write un[to] you this, to the intent that ye may use the knowledge of the same in such discreet manner as, by your wisdoms, ye shall th[ink] most necessary for the bringing to good effect of your charge. Worms, Corpus Christi even. *Signed.*

In cipher, by Tunstal. Pp. 2, mutilated.

Calig. D. VIII.

44.

B. M.

2. Decipher of the above in Fitzwilliam's hand.

Pp. 3, mutilated.

29 May. 1319. FRANCIS I.

R. T. 137.

Warrant for the payment of 180 livres Tournois to Nic. Croismare, who went to Scotland with 5,000 cr. g. for the sieur d'Aubigny and Jehan de Planis, starting from Rouen on the 26th Jan., and returning on the 26th April. Dijon, 29 May 1521.

Fr.

31 May. 1320. PIERS EGGEcombe, ANDREW HYLLERSDON and JOHN WYSE to the COUNCIL.

R. O.

Had been desired by lord Broke to examine Wm. Warde, of Horebryge, and Sir John Estcott, parish priest of Monkyn Bucland, concerning words spoken by Nic. Parker, servant to Lord Broke. Inclose the exami-

1521.

PIERS EGGECOMBE, &c. to the COUNCIL—*cont.*

nations, in which they were assisted by John Wyse, squire of the Body. Parker denies the words imputed to him, and is in lord Broke's keeping till the King's pleasure be known. Bere, 31 May. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord of Devonshire, his good lordship, and to Mr. Marney, chancellor of the duchy, and to other of the King's most noble council.

Endd.: A matter concerning the lord Broke of being of counsel of the duke of Buckingham's treason.

2. Deposition of Wm. Warde, of Horebryge.

R. O.

Was sitting in my own house with Sir John Estecott and Nic. Parker, "my lorde Broke ys hunt," on the 16 May 13 Hen. VIII., talking about the duke of Buckingham. Estecott said it was a pity such an honorable man should order himself so against God and his King; and Parker said to the priest and me "in counsel," that the Duke made lord Broke "a council of this matter" seven years ago, and asked him to join his household, mentioning the fee he should have, and how many gentlemen and yeomen he should be allowed, but Parker did not say how many; and then I rebuked him, and said I would tell mine lord of."

Hol., p. 1.

R. O.

3. Deposition of Sir John Escott, parish priest of Monkyn Boclond.

To the same effect as the preceding, and in nearly the same words.

Hol., p. 1.

May.

1321. PAYMENTS from FRANCE to ENGLAND.

R. O.

"Pro milione solutum:"—Before the date of the obligation, 100,000 francs; 1 Nov. 1515, 50,000 f.; 1 May and 1 Nov. 1516, 100,000 f.; the same sum in 1517, 1518, 1519, and 1520; 1 May 1521, 50,000 f. Total, 700,000 f.

"Pro Tornaco (Tournay) solutum:"—On the day of surrender, 1518, 50,000 f.; 1 May 1519, 25,000 f.; same sum in Nov. 1519, May and Nov. 1520, and May 1521. Total, 175,000 f.

"Pro residuo debiti Tornacensis solutum:"—

Lat., p. 1. Endd.: A bill specifying certain sums of money which should have been paid unto the King out of France.

R. T. 137.

"Pensions du Roy d'Angleterre et de ses officiers; 12 comptes;" from Nov. 1514 to May 1521.

i. Copy of letters patent of Lewis XII. to the general councillors of the finances, dated 22 Aug. 1514, stating he has agreed to pay 1,000,000 golden crowns to the king of England, for the acquittance of the 745,000, which king Charles owed to Henry VII.,—that sum being due from Charles duke of Orleans to Margaret duchess of Somerset,—and for maintaining the alliance; 50,000 livres Tournois to be paid every half year at Calais. Astremoine Faure is appointed to make the various payments, and to give pensions to certain princes, lords, and others of the council and house of the king of England.

ii. Deed of the councillors of the finances, certifying that they have taken Faure's oath, &c.

iii. First account of A. Faure, of the payment in Nov. 1514. To the king of England, 50,000 livres; the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the archbishop of York, 875 livres each; bishop of Winchester, 525; Charles

1521.

Somerset earl of [Worcester], 1750; earl of Salisbury, lord Talbot, 875; seigneur de Ponynge, 525; Sir Thomas Lovel, 175; Sir William Compton, chief groom of the chamber, 350; Meautys, secretary, 87; Clerenciulx, 87.

iv. Copy of letters patent of Francis I., confirming the appointment of A. Faure to pay money to England. Compiègne, 5 Feb. 1514[-15], 1 Fras. I.

v. Second and third accounts of Faure in May and November 1515.

vi. Payment to Mary queen dowager of France, of 39,000 livres of Tours, for her expenses. By her acquittance she acknowledges the receipt of 200,000 crowns for restitution of her jewels.

vii. Payment to the archbishop of York of 1,050 livres, which the French king, by letters patent dated 6 April 1516, ordered to be paid him for the pension of lord Ponynge, Wolsey giving two acknowledgments, dated 1 June and 1 Nov. 1515.

viii. Account of the payments in May 1516 :—The King, 50,000 livres; the cardinal of York, 1,400; &c.

Same for Nov. 1516, May and Nov. 1517, and May and Nov. 1518.

ix. Account for May 1519 :—To the King, 50,000 livres, in part payment of 600,000 gold crowns for Tournay, 25,000 livres. To Wolsey, 1,400 liv., in part payment of 12,000 in recompence for the bishopric of Tournay, 6,000. To others as above.

x. Accounts for Nov. 1519 and May and Nov. 1520.

xi. Payments in May 1521. To the marquis of Somerset (*sic*), 1,000 liv., in part payment of 2,000; to Jacques de Castillon, a gentleman of the king of England's, 150, part of 300; &c.

Original in the archives of France.

1322. FRANCIS I. to [HENRY VIII.]

Calig. D. viii.

176.

B. M.

The terms offered to him by the King Catholic compel him to notify them to the King, in the confidence he entertains of Henry's friendship in matters touching his honor.

Hol., p. 1, Fr.

1323. FRANCIS I.

Calig. D. viii.

190.

B. M.

Answer to the articles delivered to the king of France on the part of the elect king of the Romans.

(1.) The French ambassador was told that the Emperor consented to the payment of the 100,000 cr., and would make no objection to the overtures which his ambassador the dom. Provost had notified to him, if that were all. It is to be considered that the French king has a clear and evident right to the kingdom of Naples, which he could easily have got into his hands after his conquest of Milan, considering the intelligence he had with that kingdom, his friendship with the Pope and Swiss, and the army which he had already in Italy. Nevertheless, to spare bloodshed, he would have consented to give that kingdom as a marriage portion to his daughter, on condition that the king of the Romans should pay 100,000 cr. a year until the consummation of the marriage. For some time he has omitted this payment, so that there remain 150,000 cr. in arrear, and another term will be briefly due. It is not enough to say that he is willing to pay according to the said article, especially as the subsequent articles mention things which

1521.

FRANCIS I.—*cont.*

do not touch the French king, and appear only intended to release him from the obligation. (2.) As to the three articles following, Robt. de la Marek justifies his invasion on the ground that he was bound by oath to the peers and "hommes de fief" of his duchy of Bouillon to vindicate their rights, which had been infringed by the lord D'Emerye, who, on pretence of a sentence which he says he has obtained, would have spoiled by force of arms the fort of Jerges. Although the king of the Romans was applied to for redress, it was long delayed, and finally denied; for which cause Robert de la Marek left the service of that King, and returned to that of the king of France. But Francis has not given him the least aid. On the contrary, he has sent to the Swiss to tell them that the men raised by the sieur de Floranges were not for him, and desire that they would stop them, and take those who were engaged in levying them, as they belonged to his own guard. He has also ordered the governors of Burgundy and Champagne not to allow any of his subjects to take the pay of Robt. de la Marek on pain of their lives; and has sent a gentleman of his chamber to Robt. de la Marek and Floranges, to persuade them to desist from their enterprise. (3.) The King is not aware that the duke of Gueldres is making any attempt at war, and has not sent him any money. (4.) The reason of the king of Navarre's departure from the French court was to get money from his subjects for the marriage of his sister with the duke of Lunebourg; and if he did make an attempt to recover his kingdom, of which his father and mother were unjustly deprived after possession by their ancestors for 800 years, what wrong was done by the French king, to whom the king of the Romans promised by the treaty of Noyon, that Navarre should be restored to its own king within a year, it being now four years since the treaty was made? (5.) As to the last article, in which Charles threatens to regard any attempt of Robt. de la Marek as a breach of the treaty, it has been shown already that the above enterprises are no violations of treaties, although the king of the Romans has broken the treaties in several points, as Francis is ready to show, and would have done so already but for his desire to avoid war. But Charles need not be surprised if Francis now put himself in order for defence, especially as he is informed that the king of the Romans has raised a great number of foot to attack the extremities of his kingdom. (6.) The King has since been informed that the King Catholic has declared to the Electors that he regarded the war made upon the lord D'Emery by the lords of Sedan and Florange as a breach between Francis and himself; for which cause he had raised 3,000 lance-knights, whom he intended to join with 12,000 or 15,000 foot, and about 3,000 horse, under D'Emery. (7.) 15,000 or 16,000 foot assembled on the frontiers, on learning that the French king had no wish for war, returned home at the command of Francis. The King will thus see the occasions which the King Catholic has sought for a rupture.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 9.

Ibid. f. 185.

2. Another copy, also mutilated.

1324.

GRANTS in MAY 1521.

May.
GRANTS.

2. John Burges, B.D. Presentation to the church of Sutton Colfelde, Lich. and Cov. dioc., *vice* Geo. Hennage, resigned. *Del.* Westm., 2 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 19.

2. Geo. Hennage, LL.B. Presentation to the church of Howbie, Linc. dioc. *Del.* Westm., 2 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 19.

1521.

May.

GRANTS.

2. Wm. Tanfelde. Custody of lands in the town of Creton, Northt., held by grant of Ric. II. by Hen. Ferror, and leased by Edw. IV. to Wm. Barowe. Westm., 2 May.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 19.*

3. John Adams and Ric. Lewys. Licence of alienation. The above are seized, to the use of Wm. Jenkins, of land in the More, Shropshire, held of the crown at a rent of 2 knives* yearly, and have licence to alienate the premises to John Hewster, mercer of London, John Gostwyke, Ric. Gresham, John Gresham, Wm. Locke and Ric. Austen. Westm., 3 May.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 18.*

4. Th. Burnell, of Yate, Glouc. Pardon for killing in self-defence John Dolyng (or Billyng). 4 May.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19.*

6. Anth. Savage of Elmeley and Hanley, Wore. Pardon for the murder of John Pauncefote, of Hasfeld, Glouc., justice of the peace in co. Glouc. Greenwich, 30 April 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 6 May.—P.S.*

6. John Underhill, the King's chaplain. To have the canonry in the collegiate church of St. Stephen, Westminster, *vice* Th. Larke, resigned. *Del. Westm., 6 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B.*

8. Th. Knyse, of Estgrenewich, Kent. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. *Del. Westm., 8 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B.*

11. Rob. Punsunby *alias* Ligh, clk. To have the canonry of Onderton, in the collegiate church of Burgenorth, *vice* Th. Leigh, M.A., resigned. Greenwich, 4 May 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 11 May.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 18.*

11. Th. Walle. To be Rougecrois pursuivant, with 10*l.* a year. Greenwich, 4 May 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 11 May.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 21.*

12. John Dodson. Presentation to the church of Hanworth, London dioc. ———, 12 May.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19.*

12. Sir Wm. Thomas. Lease of the lordship of Drusloyn and appurtenances, for 21 years; rent *8*l.**, and 40*s.* of increase. *Del. Westm., 12 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 2, m. 1.*

13. James Bellingham, of London. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Greenwich, 28 April 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 13 May.—P.S.*

16. Humph. Hardyng, chaplain. Grant of the perpetual chantry of Brayles, parcel of the earldom of Warwick, *vice* John Emyus, *alias* Chesse, deceased. Greenwich, 11 May 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 16 May.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 12.*

17. Wm. Alye *alias* Lyle, of London, tailor. Pardon for breaking into the house of John Webster at Pekham, on 4 Aug. 8 Hen. VIII., and taking a tawny coat, a tunic, a doublet (*duploidum*) of worsted, and a jacket, value 13*s.* 4*d.* *Del. Westm., 17 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 3, m. 18.*

17. Sir Marmaduke Constable and Barbara his wife. Livery of lands; the said Barbara being sister and heir of Mary, wife of Sir John Normanvyl, who was tenant by the law of England of the inheritance of the said Mary. *Del. Westm., 17 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 4.*

17. Sir Th. Strangways. Livery of lands as s. and h. of Sir James Strangways, and grandson and h. of Sir Ric. Strangways, Greenwich, 7 May 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 17 May.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 4, 5.*

17. Sir Ric. Weston, knight of the Body, the King's councillor. Grant, in fee, of the manor of Sutton, Surrey, found by inquisition p. m., at Suthewark, 4 Feb. 12 Hen. VIII., before John Lovette, escheator, to have been held by Margaret countess of Richmond, on whose death it descended to the King. *Del. Westm., 17 May 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 2, m. 18.*

26. Convent of Holy Trinity, Ipswich. Inspecimus of a charter of Edw. [III.], who, at the instance of Wm. de Culfo, granted the convent free warren in their lands of Mendham, ham, Preston, Benseligh, Foxole, Chelmington, Todenham, Helvyngham, Ipswich, Stodham and Creevyng, Suff. Westm., 26 May.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 16.*

28. John Parker, clk., LL.B. Presentation to the church of Southill, Exeter dioc., in the King's gift by the attainder of the duke of Buckingham. Richmond, 29 May 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Hampton Court, 28 May.—P.S. Pat. p. 2, m. 19.*

29. The guild of St. Mary, Boston. Inspecimus to John Robynson, alderman of the above fraternity, of a patent of 16 Ric. II., licensing Sir Philip de Tilneye to found the guild, and seven other documents, chiefly mortmain licences in its favor, from Ric. II. to Edw. IV. Westm., 29 May.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 10, 11.*

* The quality of the knives was to be tested before the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer. The mode of testing is described, and is very curious.

† Mistake for June?

1521.

1325. [CARD. DE MEDICI to ————.]

Vit. B. iv.

93.

B. M.

The ambassador "s" expressed a doubt in his conference with the Pope whether his Holiness would long continue of the same opinion; at which he would have been much offended if he thought it had proceeded from the King and Wolsey. None are so offensive to him as the French, and he can never trust them more, or ever become their friend. His correspondent is to examine if there be any foundation for this opinion, and to demand the grounds of it, in order to have it removed, and what security the Pope must give, in proof of his sincerity. Is to urge the writer's own request personally to Wolsey, on the ground of his great friendship, and assure him that the Pope is hearty in Wolsey's interests. The French have been tampering with the 2,000 Swiss * * *

Lat., p. 1.

1 June.

1326. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD and SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

232.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 29th "from Whor[m]es by] huissayer of the Emperor's chamber and kinsman physician being with the Queen's grace. On Thursday l[ast] the Emperor sent Hormestorffe to their lodging, desiring "me, Sir Ric. Wingfield," to come to him. The Emperor, who was accompanied by the Chancellor, governor [of] Bresse, the Great Esquire, the bishop of Palence, and Lasch[ault], told Wingfield he had received letters from his ambassador in the French court, informing him that the French had invaded Navarre, and taken a place called Saint Jehan de Pied de Po[rt]; that the French army had advanced to Pampeluna, and the French king was making preparations to invade other parts of his dominions. He caused the Chancellor to read certain articles of the letter to Wingfield, desiring him to inform the King of them as speedily as possible, and to ask for such aid as was secured by the treaties between them, especially the promise made at Canterbury. He then desired that Henry should be informed that he had made a "voue to God" to be revenged on the French king for the injury he had done him, and trusted Henry would not fail him in this, seeing he has been so ready to take him for a mediator, and if he had accepted the mediation of others there would have been now no variance between them.

Wingfield asked for a copy of dom. Provoste's writing, which the Emperor had promised to give him on his arrival at Mayence. He arrived about 6 p.m. yesterday, when Wingfield waited upon him "at his discent to londe out of hys barge," and accompanied him to the Castle. The Chancellor delivered us the enclosed copy about 11 o'clock, and said that the Emperor, having had no answer from his ambassador the bishop of Elna, was going to send the bearer, Master John de la Saulche, with credence to Henry VIII. His charge contains—(1.) That in A.D. 1516 a treaty was made between Henry VIII. and them, specifying the number with which they were to assist one another without request by patent or otherwise. (2.) That by the last treaty with the French King, "is not derogyd to the same, but expresse[ly] provided that former] confederations shall remain in their streng[th]. (3.) To bring into the King's [remembrance the] oath and promise between him and the Emperor, written and signed with their own hands at Cant[erbury], which he has full confidence the King will adhere to. "Also the Chancellor showed us that, over and above the in the said copy of articles of dom. Provoste, he cha . . . the messenger retournyd agayne to show by mouth that [Robert] Tett told him the French king his master knoweth" the King had business enough in his own realm without meddling with others; "wherein he had offered to assist him, if need be, personally." This seems more likely an invention of Provoste's, to the intent the Emperor should have less hope in Henry,

1521.

than really to have been spoken "by suche a wyse man as Robert Tett is estymed." As to the Emperor's preparations against the French, hear that the army of the lord Nasso will be speedily reinforced. The cardinal of Sion and the duke of Bari are here, for what purpose we cannot tell. As mentioned in their last letters, the Emperor will have a good part of Lord Shevers' money, and that none of it will be transpo[r]ted into France. They hear from the Chancellor "that by see th[e Emperor] is advertysed that the Conestable had overthrown the a of the adjouneta, recoveryd all the ordnance, hanghyd Joh[n de Padilla] and divers other capitaynes, and that with a[l]l celerity the] sayd Conestable intendyd to go to the succours of Navare." If so, the French will, perhaps, find more [r]esistance than they expected. The Emperor intends to leave for Cologne on Tuesday next. Mayence, 1 June. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 4. Add.: "To my lorde Cardinalles good grace."

1327. [Answer made to the FRENCH AMBASSADOR by DOM. PROVOST.]

[Calig. E. i. 11.2] "Ce que ma este respondu sur les articles de paix et
I. 216. a moy baillez est ce que sensuit."

B. M.

There is no need to reply to the first 15 articles, as it is well known who broke the treaty and provoked the war. It was not done at the suggestion of the king of England, who has offered to become a mediator. Whenever articles are proposed satisfactory to the king of England and the Emperor, they will be acceptable. Refuses a separate arrangement. As to a truce, it might have been more easily concluded at the time it was proposed by the Pope, affairs standing *in statu quo*, as the Emperor and the king of England had sent their powers to this effect. Will give no other answer, except at the suggestion of England.

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

3 June. 1328. [SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD] to WOLSEY.

Vit. B. xx.

234.

B. M.

Wolsey will perceive by the former w[ri]tings, and by those he will] receive with these ". be made unto your grace, and the cause of" Saw the Emperor y[esterday after] he had heard mass in the cathedral ch[urch of this] city. Delivered the King's l[etters]. When the Emperor saw, by the direction, they were in Latin, he said he would have them l[ooked] upon by his Chancellor "at after dinner," and when he had learned their tenor, send for Wingfield to know his further charge, which he did about six o'clock. Told him the King's sickness was the cause of the delay of the letters. He replied to the charge, that he rejoiced the King was recovered, "and the same apperyd wele to be truthe by hys pleasant facion and countenance," especially considering the great need he had of his counsel; that he perfectly trusted the King would declare himself as the Emperor would in case [se]mbl[able]; "whereto, he said, his ambassador had advertised him that the King's highness was well determined, as he [also] perceived by the rapporte of your grace, which, I assure yow, w[as] to hym one other singuler joye and comforte. As to the matter of Luther he sayde to be ryght glad to kno[w that] the Kyng hys broder had wele takyn the manner of [his proceeding in] that behalf, sayenge that wher the sayde Luther h[ad] aswell prechyd as also wrytyn moche false doctryne to the abusion of the grosse and unlernyd people, that it was the parte and office of all princes, and specially his, to do their best for the reformation of his said false doctrine; which thing he trusted to do in such wise as should stand with the pleasure of God, and

1521.

[SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD] to WOLSEY—*cont.*

that the said people might be reduced fro suche errour as the said Luther may have set them in ;” and thanked the King most highly for his exhortation and offered aid.

Touching the matter of the late duke of Buckingham, he said many reports had been going about his Court of the Duke’s attachment, and it was difficult to keep folks from speaking. But he knew the King’s great virtue and wisdom too well to suppose he would have had the Duke executed without great and just cause ; and on Wingfield telling him the charges proved against him, and confessed by himself before his death, he said the King could not have done otherwise. Nevertheless he was sorry the Duke should have deserved to come to such an end ; for he had taken him for a friend, supposing he had been a friend to the King. Delivered to the cardinal of Mayence the [King]’s letters with [his] highness’s recommendation, and the letter to his brother the Elector. Will give the other two letters to the other two spiritual Electors at Covalence and Cologne, and send by the surest way the King’s letter to the duke of Saxony, and to the Pa[latine. That] done, “and the Emperor arrived into his duchy,” thinks he had better return, especially as the Emperor is “in manner resolyd” upon the points contained in his instruction, as Wolsey will see by De la Shawce’s charge. His diets are consumed long ago by the extraordinary charges in these parts. Has heard nothing from Jernyngham ; suspects he has found the French king “much discost” from the King’s desire. They will follow their own appetites when they see opportunity ; but if the news of the distress of the commons in Spain be true, imagines their successes in Navarre will not be so great as they had thought. Mayence, 3 June. *Signature burnt off.*

Pp. 3, mutilated. Add. : “To my lord Cardinal’s good grace.”

1329. [WOLSEY to SIR RIC. WINGFIELD and SPINELLY.]

Galba, B. iv. 1.

B. M.

“ the hearty manner and
 . . . subscribed only with your hand by you and Sir Thos. Spinell. In your own letter ye [did not only decla]re substantially the order, form and manner that ye have used in the decl[aration of your] charge to the Emperor,” but also notified particularly the Emperor’s [answer] to every point. Has shown it to the King, who was much pleased both with that and his other provident [letters] addressed to Sir Ric. Jernyngham, and praised his circumspection. Is to thank [the Emperor] in the King’s name for the confidence he shows in the King his uncle in being willing to accept him as mediator with France ; is to assure him the King will [adhere] to the treaties, and trusts that the Emperor will “not be frustr[ate in] the hope and expectation that he hath in him,” like as both his grace and I ha[ve] now of late declared particularly and at length to the Emperor’s ambassador here resident, by [him] to be written and notified to his master in ciphers.” Though the French at first were not inclined to the mediation of England, thinks the King’s letters written with his own hand to the French king, and Wolsey’s own to [my Lady] his mother and the Admiral, have smoothed over the difficulty. Will see by the answer [of Robert] Tet (Robertet) to the dom. Provost how loth they were to accept the mediation. The King has notified to the bishop of Elna the course he will pursue in either case. Doubts not at all events to have a “resolute answer” [from the French] king.

In Ruthal’s hand, mutilated, p. 1. Endd. : “Old matters touching instructions given to Sir Richard Wyngfeld when he was in Flaundes with the Emperor.”

1521.

4 June. 1330. LORD DARCY'S HOUSEHOLD.

R. O.

"The cheker roll of Thos. Darcy, kn^t. lord Darcy, of his household and daily servants, made 4 June 13 Hen. VIII., then entering Thos. Gargrave, steward."

My Lord and Lady. *Gentlewomen*: Mistress Constable: Mistress Mary, Tirrell and Anne. Master Constable. Master Steward. *Chaplains*: Mr. Tenant, Mr. Bolton, Sir Nicholas, Sir Robert. *Gentlemen*: Hen. Evers, Thos. Slyngsby, Wm. Hothom, Robt. Ellerker, John Radclif, Gilbert Scott, Cuthbert Conyers, Wm. Hungate, junr., Thos. Wentworth, Ralph Mid-dilton, Wm. Dynelay, Chas. Ilderton, John Gower, Chr. Hopton, Alex. Beamound, Matthew Ogillisthorp, Wm. Gascoigne, Nic. Ellys, Rawf Bawde, Rawf Claxton, Lawrence Hollingworth. 36 yeomen, all named. Hew of the Chapel. The arras maker. John and George Luyter, pages of the Chamber. 13 grooms. 4 boys of the kitchen.* Total, 80. The names of several servants of the gentlemen follow, but are struck out by Darcy, and this note added: "The others, with all my keepers and officers and council, to be welcome when they come, and when they be sent for besides for mine honor. T. D."

Pp. 2, corrected by Darcy.

6 June. 1331. [FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to WOLSEY.]

Calig. D. viii.

61.

B. M.

On the 4th inst. at 7 a.m. Richmond arrived here with letters from Wingfield. We sent to the Admiral to ask when we could see the King; and as we were told that the King was sleeping and not well at ease, we arranged to see him tomorrow at dinner time. We then showed him, according to Wingfield's letter, that the Emperor was ready to submit to the King's mediation and cease from war, notwithstanding the many wrongs he had sustained, of which he had sent articles to the King, and that we trusted he would make no difficulty on his part. He replied that as he had showed us ten days ago, he believed well the Emperor would be content to put the matter into the King's hands, for he had sought tw[o] ways to bring the same to pass, and he could not blame him, for, if he had not done so, all the dishonor and wrong would have been with him. He said he had yesterday received letters from his ambassador and Montpesat, mentioning, among other things, that you had told his ambassador that if he did not consent to the King's arbitration, the King must give aid to the King Catholic; at which he was much surprised, as it seemed to be condemning him before you had seen the articles he laid to the charge of the King Catholic; [which articles La Batie is to declare to you, and which he says he will make good as a gentleman, and leave his crown at St. Denis to him that will say the contrary.†] He says he will leave his crown at St. Denis, and justify as a gentleman that the breach proceeds from the King Catholic, as will appear by the articles which La Batie is instructed to declare. "Further, he said to us, I assure you that, an I were disposed to tre[at] th[is] saying of Mons. Cardinal in this behalf now cole . . . me greatly from the same, and I would he and all the world knew that that thing which I will do is only for th[c] love I bear to the King my brother, and the peace and quiet of all Christendom, and for no dread nor fear I have of no man living."

He refuses to withdraw his army, and says if the King Catholic be disposed to treat, he may send his demands and grievances to the King, that the King may judge who is in the right, and if the King please to send him

* Added by Darcy in margin: "Never but three."

† This passage is scored out.

1521.

[FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM to WOLSEY]—*cont.*

the King Catholic's demands, he will do more for him than for all princes christened, and give him such answer as ought to satisfy him. Spoke with the Admiral much to the same effect. Afterwards went to my Lady, saying we hoped she would be a mean for the peace, as she had promised us the day before. She said she had talked with the King, and thought your saying very strange; but if the King Catholic was willing to treat, and send the King his demands and grievances, she had no doubt Francis would make a reasonable answer, and urged us to make haste with the despatch of this letter, and do the best we could. Desire an answer as soon as possible.

While writing, were sent for by the Admiral, with whom we found the Chancellor and the Privy Council. The Chancellor told Jerningham he supposed he had written something to the King that caused you to speak so hardly to their ambassadors. Jerningham replied by asking if their ambassador had [seen] any article he had written to the King otherwise than he ought to do. He said No, but they supposed I had written something from misunderstanding what the French king had said. Fitzwilliam said there was nothing written but what we had both written together, and we trusted we had said nothing but what was spoken to us. They then asked what it was the King had said to us, and we told them the substance of our letters. They admitted we had understood rightly. We desired them to advise their master to submit to the King's arbitration. The Chancellor said there were three modes of compromise: (1.) arbitration, which was never used among princes; (2.) mediation; and (3.) obligation. We said we were no clerks to discuss such things, but that Jerningham was sent to desire their master to put all causes of difference in the King's hands. The whole council replied, they desired nothing but peace, and the war was not commenced by their master, nor any man in France. We desired an answer to the articles we had delivered them, and they read us a copy of the articles La Batie has. We asked for a copy. They said it was unnecessary, as La Batie would declare them to the King. "Furthermore the Admiral made a half quarrel to me, Richard Jerningham, and said I had written to the King my master that at mine arrival it was three days or I could have audience." I said I had so written, but it was true; for the first day the King was hunting, the second the Queen made her entry to Dijon, and the third, being Whit Sunday,* was occupied with ceremonies and healing sick folk. I beg you will tell the ambassador that I write nothing to hinder the peace, for I am treated as well as can be. They seem more inclined to the King's mediation than formerly. The French king also said the Emperor was daily augmenting his army. He formerly expected to have 6,000 Swiss, but will now have 10,000. When we were with the council they received a letter from Durvall, informing them that the Emperor had sent to his army 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and that the Imperialists had entered Ferot, and there taken and slain 30 persons. Being told that the king of Navarre was not prese[nt at the] winning of Navarre, we informed the King, who did not contradict it. The Admiral offered to send our letters by a post they were sending to England. Send them accordingly by this means, as we have written nothing but what they have told us themselves.

P.S.—Have despatched Richmond to Wingfield, that he may know what to do, and inform you what towardness he finds in the Emperor.

Draft, pp. 10, in Fitzwilliam's hand.

1521.

7 June. 1332. LEO X. to WOLSEY.

R. O.
St. P. vi. 69. Thanks him for his efforts in extirpating the Lutheran heresy. Has learnt from the King's letters and those of the Nuncio, the bishop of Ascoli, that the Lutheran books have been burnt at a meeting of the most eminent persons of the realm, and before a great concourse of people. Thanks Wolsey for committing the administration of the see of Worcester to Julius de' Medici. Rome, 7 June 1521, pont. 9.
Vellum. Add.

1333. [CARD. DE' MEDICI to the BISHOP OF ASCOLI.]

Vit. B. iv. 95.

B. M.

The Pope is well pleased at the King and Wolsey's resolution touching the Lutheran heresy. The bull is [not] yet published for burning their books. The Pope sends a brief to the King, and another to Wolsey, thanking them for their zeal against the common enemy of Christendom, and is rejoiced to hear that the former will defend it with his pen as well as with his sword. He does not speak of the King's work in the briefs, as his correspondent has written from Wolsey to say that the King's book is at present a secret. Is to send it as soon as he gets it by an express courier. The Pope is glad to find that the King has induced the scholars of his realm to draw their pens against the heretics. The King is so active in this matter, that he will leave nothing to be done or even desired, unless it were God's good pleasure that Martin were there (in England). The Pope wishes the King should make it known that he had been notified by the Pope of the Emperor's good resolution. In accordance with Wolsey's prudent advice, the Pope has written a second time to all Christian princes against Luther. Sends two briefs about the collectorship; also certain works against Luther, for Wolsey to read at his leisure, and pass his judgment on.

From a piece patched on, apparently imperfect.—Is to urge Wolsey that the ambassador who goes to Germany shall not only thank the Emperor for what he and the diet have done in the condemnation of Luther, but

.....
Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

8 June. 1334. JULIUS DE' MEDICI.

R.MS. 7 F. xiv.

153.

B. M.

Notarial instrument, by which Julius Cardinal de' Medici, elect or administrator of the bishopric of Worcester, constitutes Cardinal Wolsey his proxy in procuring a papal provision for his preferment to that see, and in administering its affairs. Dated at the Cardinal's house at Florence on Saturday, 8 June 1521, Indiction 9.

8 June. 1335. CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Received his letter of 21 May, and perceives what is done about the see of Worcester. Although my necessity made me wish for something, your reasons show me that what has been done is more to my advantage. Sends letters of congratulation to the King on his deliverance from the plots of the traitors (*impiorum*). On the 7th the Sacred College, on the Pope's motion, bestowed the see of Worcester, according to the King's desire, on the cardinal de' Medici. His merits and faith are worthy of the King's liberality. In the same consistory it was resolved to bestow some honorable name or title on the King in return for his piety in resisting the spread of the Lutheran heresy, but the matter is deferred on account of its importance. All here are pleased to hear of it. Rome, 8 June 1521. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. Add.: R^{mo}, &c. Card. Ebor., Angliæ primati et S. D. N. et sedis ap^{te} legato de latere.

1521.

9 June. 1336. [CAMPEGGIO] to HENRY VIII.

Vit. B. iv. 113.

B. M.

Congratulates him on having escaped a great danger, "quoniam ab homine iniquo et consilio nefario M. v. sospitem intuemini." The whole consistory is delighted at the safety of one who has shown such piety to the Church, defended it with his pen, and damned the errors of Luther. Rome, 9 June 1521. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add. at f. 111^b.*

9 June. 1337. SIR RIC. JERNINGHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

The French King cannot be contented with answering the letters and credence brought by Mountpeyssarde by letter or messenger, but insists on sending Fitzwilliam or myself; and as I hurt my ancle in coming, he has sent Fitzwilliam. Am not so sore hurt but that I could have come if the King had not chosen to send Fitzwilliam. Though there was some difficulty about my charge, all is now at the King's pleasure, as Fitzwilliam will show. Francis wishes Fitzwilliam to return with news from Henry. He has so ordered himself that he has the favor of the King, my Lady, and the Admiral, and is in as good credence with them and the council as any man of his degree that has been here for a great space. Digion, 9 June. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To my lord Cardinal's grace. Endd.

1338. FRANCIS I.

R. O.

The King having heard what Montpesat, gentleman of the chamber, was charged to say by the king of England and the card. of York, replied that Henry's friendship and alliance were dearer to him than that of any other prince. In answer to the requests made by Messires de Feuguillen (Fitzwilliam) and de Jarniguen (Jerningham), his ambassadors, that, paying no regard either to the injuries which have been inflicted upon him by the King Catholic, as Henry will have seen from what De la Bastie told him, or to the great expense of his armies, he will be content to compose the differences between them, trusting that the damage he has received will be repaired; he is willing that Henry should send Wolsey to Calais to meet two or three persons from the King Catholic, with full power to treat, and will do the same himself. Since he is bound to make no treaty without the Pope's sanction, his holiness should be allowed to send envoys to watch over his interests. At the request of his mother, to whom he has always shown great obedience, will abstain from war with the King Catholic during the negotiations.

Fr., pp. 5.

1339. HENRY VIII.

Add. MS.
4622, f. 21.

B. M.

Declaration of Henry VIII. upon the articles delivered by the French king to Fitzwilliam, touching the settling of the matters in dispute between the French king and the elect king of the Romans.

Henry thanks him for overlooking the injuries done to him by the king of the Romans, and for consenting to submit the dispute to him. Will regard the honor and safety of Francis as his own, and make every endeavor for the reformation of the damage done to him. As Francis is contented to send two or three deputies to meet those of Charles and the Cardinal at Calais, Henry will send Wolsey thither; but "the form of a compromise" must be duly made by Francis and Charles, authorizing the King or his deputy to discuss the dispute, without which neither of them will have any power, except as private persons. Such letters of mediation should be sent to the French ambassador as soon as possible, to be delivered to the King when Charles's ambassador delivers the like from his master. Is content

1521.

that Francis should desire the Pope to send some one to the conference, to watch his interests, as Francis is bound to make no treaty with Charles without the Pope's consent. Commends him for consenting to an abstinence of war during the conference, especially after his express determination not to do so, considering the expense he had already sustained. Nothing could be done without a truce. Requests him to send letters patent for a truce for eight months or a year, with a clause for its prorogation by the King if the differences are not determined by that time.

Modern copy, pp. 9.

1340. SIR RICH. WINGFIELD.

Galba, B. VII.

29.

B. M.

Instructions to Sir Ric. Wingfield, "containing such answer as he shall make to the Emperor up[on] the memorials to him given by the said Emperor to be decla[red] to the King's grace."

After delivering the King's letters in answer to those he brought with him, he is to say that the King has understood the charge entrusted to Wingfield by the Emperor, and heard the credence of his ambassador relative to the wrongs done him by the French king, desiring that Wolsey might be sent to Calais, under color of this mediation, to treat for a stricter amity between England and the Emperor, and demanding aid against the French king according to the treaty. Is to answer,—(1.) that the Emperor will find a fast friend in the King. (2.) That the King cannot send Wolsey to Calais unless he have powers from both parties to act as mediator, which he shall urge the Emperor to grant, on condition that they be not delivered to the King unless like powers be sent from France. (3.) That the King only desires such powers to induce the French king to send his ambassadors to Calais so that the stricter amity may be concluded without exciting his suspicions. (4.) That on this condition the King will be glad to send Wolsey to Calais with full powers. (5.) That although the King has no fear of the Emperor making peace with France, he would be glad if Charles would promise by letters under his own hand to abstain from so doing, and thus contradict the rumors to that effect. (6.) If the Emperor desire to have like assurance of the King, he is to say that the King, not being at war with France, has no cause to renew or augment intelligence with him, but would rather decrease it, matters standing as they do between him and the Emperor; but if the Emperor insist on reciprocity, is to say that on the Emperor's bond being sent to his ambassador in England, the King will deliver a bond on his part. (7.) As to the assistance to be given by the King, they cannot come to particulars until Wolsey's arrival at Calais; otherwise the French, if they heard of it, would refuse to send their ambassadors; but everything will be discussed on Wolsey's arrival, who has orders to repair to the Emperor's presence, if his Majesty come near those parts.

Draft corrected by Ruthal, pp. 12, mutilated.

Galba, B. VII.

43*.

B. M.

2. The said Sir Ric. Wingfield, after he has obtained the Emperor's "letters of requisition and bands of assurance," shall desire him to despatch the Chancellor, lord Berghes, mons. de la Roche and others favorable to the amity, to Calais, at the end of this instant month of June, with authority to conclude a truce and abstinence of war with the French king or his commissioners, as long as the Cardinal remains on that side the sea, or longer if necessary; the truce to be taken before the Cardinal at the first meeting.

In case the Emperor makes any difficulty about the said "band," it may be urged that the King intends, under color of this meeting, to confirm the amity with the Emperor; and if this were known in France, it might endanger the King's pensions and payments there, and perhaps cause Francis to make large offers to the Emperor to fall in with him to the King's damage; and therefore he desires this "band," and not from any distrust. In

1521.

SIR RICH. WINGFIELD—*cont.*

like manner, when the French king perceives that the Cardinal in treating of these matters is inclined to the Emperor's part, he might perchance practise on the Emperor by making him large offers to renew the amity between them to the King's damage. This is another reason for making the said demand; and though the King does not believe the Emperor would fall in with the French king, yet, as an assurance against the inconveniences that might ensue, he trusts the Emperor, meaning good faith, will make no difficulty. "And if, &c."

Draft, in Ruthal's hand, of two paragraphs for insertion in a despatch; each written on a separate leaf.

Vit. B. xx.

237.

B. M.

3. "And therefore the King's said ambassador shall procure and in[sist] that letters compro[missorallys]," authorizing the King to be a mediator, be sent by the Emperor to his ambassador, [not] to be delivered to the King unless similar letters be s[ent] by the French king; and shall assure the Emperor that in treating on the said differences, neither [the King nor] his Cardinal shall do anything without the assent [of the] Emperor or his ambassadors, and that Henry req[uires the] said letters only to induce the French king "the ra[ther] to send] his ambassadors to Calais," so that he may not suspect anything will be treated but "that matter alone." Thus the other m[at]ter of strict intelligence and communication may be secretly debated and concluded without suspicion, to which the Emperor will find the King as well disposed as the Emperor has declared himself by his ambassador* and by Wingfield; which intelligence once knit, all else between them will follow, and the King will send Wolsey to Calais fully instructed of his mind towards the Emperor.

Though Henry does not suspect the Emperor will make peace with France in the meantime, he would be better satisfied if the Emperor would write to him with his own hand, assuring him he will not, as it would "exclude such bruits as be made" to that effect. As soon as this letter and t[he powers] for mediation are received, Wolsey shall repair to Calais to satisfy the Emperor. And if he wish to have like [letters] of assurance of the King, the ambassador may say that the King, [not] being as yet at war with France, "hath no cause to re[new] any intelligence with him, but the matters standing between th Em[peror] and the French] king as t[hey] do, his grace, for the aid of the said Emperor, could rath[er] * * * [As to] the aid and assistance required by the Emperor to be given to him by the King [against the F]rench king's invasion, the King's ambassador may say that albeit the King's grace [is determin]ed to perform all his promises made unto him," as the Emperor will clearly understand on the arrival of the Cardinal at Calais, yet it would be inexpedient to make any declaration thereof as yet, for if the French got an inkling of it they would not send their ambassadors to Calais. The Cardinal will more fully satisfy the Emperor upon this point on his arrival.

In Ruthal's hand, mutilated, pp. 2.†

10 June. 1341. BONNIVET to HENRY VIII.

[Calig. E. i.
II.] iv. 259.

B. M.

Has received his letter and his message by Montp[esat] touching his offer of mediation between France and the King Catholic. The former is aggrieved at his treatment by the latter, and the menace contained in his articles, which the sieur de la Bastie will communicate. Filguilhan (Fitzwilliam) has been entrusted with the affair, and will be sent to England. France will submit himself to the King's determination, though he has two

* Corrected "the said audiercer" in Galba.

† This is an earlier draft of the latter part of the instructions as contained in no. 1. It appears that some alterations were afterwards made on the arrival of Hanneton.

1521.

large armies on foot. "A la Margelle, près Dijon, le x. jour de Jui . . ." *Signed.*

Fr., pp. 2, mutilated. Add.: Au Roy. Endd.: lettres to the Kinges grace.

10 June. 1342. BONNIVET to [WOLSEY].

[Calig. E. I. II. 7.]

i. 159.

B. M.

Has received his letter by the sieur de Montpesat. Is glad to hear of the King's recovery. To show his confidence in England, Francis is satisfied to accept Henry's mediation on the terms he (Francis) has submitted to Filguilhen (Fitzwilliam). No other power in the world should have induced him to listen to an accommodation. "A la Margelle près Dijon," 10 *Signed.*

Fr., mutilated, pp. 2.

11 June. 1343. ERASMUS to PACE.

Er. Ep. xiv.
18.

Of certain works of Pol. Vergil, now appearing from the press of Frobenius. Hears that More, from being counsellor, is made treasurer. Is refreshed with the hope of seeing him in August. Is much vexed that he can hear nothing of his Commentaries, which he left at Rome. Will be satisfied if he can only recover the 2nd book *Antibarbarorum*. Begs Pace will spare no expense in recovering them. Anderlao, 3 id. Jun. 1521.

12 June. 1344. SIR RIC. WINGFIELD to FITZWILLIAM and JERNINGHAM.

Calig. D. viii.

58.

B. M.

Last night at 8 o'clock I received your letter dated Dijon, 6th inst., from which, and the copies of your letters of the 24th and 29th ult., I see that the French king will not desist from war, as you have requested him. As for the Emperor, notwithstanding the ruffling which the French king has made in Navarre, he still wishes Henry to be mediator, although the variances are greater than before the invasion of Navarre, for which he trusts to have redress according to the treaty. He would hazard everything rather than lose the least village, and has good hope in God, his allies and his just quarrel. He says "that the French king shall not need to leave his crown at St. Denis, fo[r] to do arms in his own person, which cause is not suffr . . ." when it can be shown clearly that he is the breaker of the peace. Whatever the French king say, it cannot be shown that his dominions have been invaded by the Emperor; and if he had had just cause of war he would not have delayed his answer. He may be sure the saying of Wolsey to his ambassadors, which he finds strange, was not said without sure ground. Francis will find the Emperor does not sleep, if he compel him to war. The bearer came to Cologne on Thursday, where the Emperor arrived the night after. On Saturday morning I showed his Majesty part of what was contained in your letters. Would have sent the bearer sooner, but have never staid in one place since his arrival. In letters sent through him to Calais, to be forwarded to Brian Tuke, I have informed Wolsey of the receipt of your said letters and those sent by Richmond. Mastrike, 12 June. *Signed.*

Mutilated, pp. 3. Add.

12 June. 1345. For SIR NICH. CAREWE.

P. S.

Reversion of the offices of constable of Walyngford Castle, and steward of the honor of Walyngford and St. Walric, and the four and a half hundreds of Chiltern; to hold for life on vacation by Sir Thomas Lovell, knight of the Body, to whom and Sir Wm. Stonore, knight of the Body (now deceased), the said offices were granted, in survivorship, by patent 3 March 4 Hen. VII. Richmond, 6 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 12 June.

Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 17.

1521.

13 June. 1346. For SIR WM. SIDNEY.

S. B.

To be keeper of the great scales and common balance, and of the great balance and all weights in the city of London, for weighing merchandize "de havor de pois," *vice* Wm. Stafford, deceased, with the appointment of clerks, porters, &c. of the great scales and balance, and of the Iron Beam and the Beam of "le Hanzes Hanges," called "the Stylliard Beame," and of all other clerks, &c. belonging to the same office, during pleasure. Westm., 13 June 13 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 7.

13 June. 1347. [WOLSEY to SIR RICHARD] WINGFIELD.

Vit. B. xx.

236.

B. M.

Has just received le[tters from the French king], written with his own hand, where he now declar[es himself willing] to compromit into the King's hands all matters depending [be]tween the Emperor and him, and to condescend to such a truce and for as long as the King shall limit and appoint it. Sends c[opies] of the French king's letters, with others written by the h[ands] of his mother and the Admiral, with the articles given to Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam to be declared to Henry VIII., by which he will see that the French king is now resolved to stand to Henry's arbitrament in every behalf, and to take truce, so that both armies may be discharged and dismissed. As he last wrote, Wingfield is to solicit the Emperor to agree on his part to the compromise, and grant the truce for the term specified in Wolsey's said letters, with a clause of prorogation thereof to be made from time to time by the King or his lieutenant, "which shall be myself," as the case shall require. It being necessary for the ordering of these important matters that Wolsey, as the King's lieutenant, and some authorized persons from the Emperor, should come to Ca[lais], as the French king intends to do, before all o[ther] matters the truce must be granted, and the armies discharged], and also the Emperor's letters patent for

In Rutha's hand, p. 1, mutilated.

13 June. 1348. [JU. CARD. DE' MEDICI to HENRY VIII.]

Vit. B. iv.

114.

B. M.

Thanks him for his appointment to the see of Worcester, a favor he had neither expected nor asked for. Has written to Wolsey to return thanks for it. The Papal nuncio will tell him more. Florence, 13 June 1521. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

13 June. 1349. [JU. CARD. DE' MEDICI to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv.

115.

B. M.

Expresses his gratitude for Wolsey's favors, and especially for the b[ri]c. of Worcester. Will not trespass upon him with detailing what the Pope had said of the King and Wolsey's crusade against Luther, as the Pope intends to write, and the details will be sent to his Nuncio, the bishop of Ascoli. Has written briefly to the King. Florence, 13 June 1521. *Signature burnt off.*

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2. Add. in modern hand.

15 June. 1350. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD to [JERNINGHAM].

Calig. D. viii.

60.

B. M.

On my arrival here yesterday, about 6 p.m., received your letter with the copy of that addressed by you to my lord Cardinal dated the 8th, showing the sudden change of the French king's mind since you wrote on the 6th by Richmond. Told the Emperor this morning the substance of your last; who replied that it was the fashion of the French, especially when they were strong in arms, to take their advantage under color of

1521.

treaty. I said I thought, to avoid suspicion, both parties should lay down their arms; which he agreed to, provided restitution were made for the invasion of Navarre. Could make no direct answer to this, as your letters made no mention of what terms that kingdom stood in, or what was the disposition of Francis towards its restitution. The [Emperor] knows not but that the castle of Pampeluna still holds out. I said I thought the French king ought to restore that kingdom, and that the King would not advise him to the contrary. The Emperor's army has not yet crossed the boundary of his own dominions, but is employed only against rebels, who have laid siege to; and if the French king give them aid, as it is reported, "I cannot see that his late deliberation shall take any good effect." The Emperor will not withdraw his army till he has taken and cast down several places occupied by them, and counts that only a matter between him and Robert de la Marek. I have just heard that Nassau has taken the castle of Floranges, and one of Robt. de la Mark's sons called Jamais. Has just received Jerningham's letter written at Boulogne on Thursday last, by Mr. Fitzwilliam, showing the cause of the hasty voyage of the latter. Brussels, 15 June.

I despatched your servant from Maestricht on Wednesday last. *Signed.*
Pp. 2, mutilated.

15 June. 1351. For SIR EDWARD YCHYNGHAM.

S. B. To be constable of Limerick castle, with the island there, and "le laxe were" of Lymeryke, during the pleasure of the King and Thos. earl of Surrey, lieutenant of Ireland. *Del. Westm., 15 June 13 Hen. VIII.*
Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19.

16 June. 1352. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD and SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

R. O. Wrote last from Maestricht on the 12th. Reached Brussels on the
St. P. VI. 70. 14th, when Wingfield received letters from Fitzwilliam and Jerningham, with copy of the King's letter, containing the sudden change of the French king, &c.*—The Emperor desires peace as much as any prince living, but will not listen to mediation till Navarre be restored. Lord Berghes is, as usual, desirous of the amity between the King and his master, "considering the subtle and colourable demeanour used by the French king." He thinks the Emperor might come to St. Omer whilst Wolsey is at Calais. The sending of John de la Saulche is delayed. As the French, by possessing the castle of Pampeluna, have conquered all Navarre, the accommodation will not be easy. Letters have come to the Emperor from the bishop of Helna. Brussels, 16 June.

Wingfield asks leave to attend the Cardinal if he come to Calais.
Signed.

Add.: My lord Cardinal, &c.

16 June. 1353. WARHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O. Sends him a priest, named Adam Bradshawe, who had been put into prison at Maidstone for his presumption in pulling down writings and seals "set up at the abbey of Boxley against the ill opinions of Martin Luther." Whilst in prison, he caused to be cast into the High Street at Maidstone seditious bills against the King and his council, and, as that is a more heinous offence than pulling down writings, sends him to Wolsey. The bills are in the hands of Sir Henry Guildford. If he escape the other danger, Wolsey may punish him for destroying the writings, or send him for that purpose to the writer. This priest has been in prison at Calais and

* See Wingfield's letter of the 15th to Jerningham.

1521.

WARHAM to WOLSEY—*cont.*

elsewhere, and at his last taking hurt another priest, and put him in danger of his life. Has examined him, but he refused to answer until he sees the bills. Otford, 16 June. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: Lord Cardinal and legate a latere. Endd.

16 June. 1354. JOHN HACKET.

R. O.

I O U of "Jam Hacquett," an Irishman, to Bernard di Latino de' Pigli, for 98*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* of Flemish money, to be repaid in four yearly instalments. 16 June 1521.

Copy, Italian, p. 1. Endd.: John Hacwet.

18 June. 1355. JOANNES DE MAIANO to WOLSEY.

R. O.
Ellis, 3 Ser.
1. 249.

Had formed ten medallions of terra cotta (*rotundæ imagines ex terra depictæ*), at 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; and three histories of Hercules, at 4*l.* each; for the palace at Anton Cort. Had received for the same 10*l.* on account; requests payment of the residue, *sc.*, 21*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—18 June 1521.

Lat. Add.: R^{mo} D. Cardinali.

18 June. 1356. DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

R. O.

Confession of Lewis Ap Rese *alias* Polen, made 18th June 13 Hen.VIII., that on the Sunday next after Trinity, about one o'clock, he was standing in a close in Sydesteren next to Duffehous Close, "tying of my points," and saw John Stede and his servant John Fuller in Duffus Close. Stede made Fuller swear to be true to him, and gave him a piece of gold, promising he should not want while he lived; and then said, "If the duke of Buckingham had lived three years longer, he knew so much the said Duke should have worn the crown, and then should I be another manner of man than I am." Fuller answered, "It was not unlike but he should have worn the crown." Then Stede said, "If it had pleased God, would the King's head had askewsd his head." Fuller answered, "It had been great pity;" and Stede replied, "There is many one in England would be contented."

In Rees' hand, p. 1. Signed by Rees, Roger Townshend, Thos. Russell, and Wm. Salman.

R. O.

2. Confession of John Fowler, made 20 June 13 Hen.VIII. Says he came to John Stede at Sydestern on the Monday in Whitsunweek, and was hired to his service in Duffhous Close. Stede asked him whose service he had been in, and he said with the duke of Northumberland; "and then he said, I am sure my lord and yours is pensive for the duke of Buckingham." Fowler said he could not tell, for it was not known there upon St. George's day, and he had left the day following. Stede said, "My Lord wolbe pensive if he knew as much as I do, for I heard that upon Monday his judgment was given unto him, before my lord of Norfolk and other lords; and then the said Duke sat down upon his knee, and desired the lords that they should desire the King's grace to be good and gracious unto his wife and to his children; and as for his own life, he would not sue. And furthermore he said, An he had not offended no more unto God than he had done to the crown, he should die as true man as ever was in the world." Fowler had no more words with his master "concerning these matters at that time, nor sithens, which matters be contained in the bill of confession of Lewys Ap Rese, otherwise called Lewys Poleyn." *Signed by John Shelton, Sir Roger Townshend, and Sir Edw. Boleyn.*

P. 1. Endd.: "An information against John Stede, of Warham, Norf., of heinous words against the King's grace."

1521.

19 June. 1357. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD and SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. vii.

26.

B. M.

Wrote on the 16th. The same night Wingfield received Wolsey's letters of the 13th. Went next day to the Emperor, and told him the King's desire for abstinence of war and compromise. His majesty said he had received two despatches from the bishop of Helna, the first showing the good mind of Henry to his affairs, of which he was very glad, the second not yet deciphered; that when his ambassador promised on his behalf submission to the King's highness, and he himself repented the promise to Wingfield on his first coming, he had [no] knowledge of the invasion of Na[varre] by the French, and he thinks Henry would not expect him to consent to a truce or compromise before redress is made. This we agreed to, and assured him the King regarded his honor as much as his own. Have since spoken with Berghes and the Chancellor, who approve of Wolsey's coming over, and think the sooner the better; in which case the Emperor will send them to Calais with the audiercer Anyton, giving them full power to treat and conclude all matters. This done, Berghes says the King will rule the Emperor in all his affairs. He says the King will require to show his intentions shortly, as the Emperor cannot remain long as he is. The Chancellor said also his master must soon determine one way or other about his marriage. They are evidently bent on strengthening the alliance with England, and were marvellous glad to hear that Wolsey had declared to their ambassador that both princes were at liberty to combine against their common enemy, by reason of the breach of the peace by the French king.

Yesterday visited my Lady, who expatiated at great length on the forbearance the Emperor had shown in following the King's counsel. After taking Florenges, and pulling it down, Nassau is commanded to go to Bolion, a castle of the bishopric of Luke, between Namura and Hennego, usurped by Robert de la Marche. In case the French throw in succours, the Emperor is preparing to reinforce Nassau with the pensioners and gentlemen of his household. Today at dinner the marshal of Burgundy told us that a great number of the princes of Almain are preparing to serve the Emperor. Sion says the Emperor before leaving Worms sent a secret messenger to Zurich, who has won several of the cantons that had treated with the French king. The 6,000 with the Pope are retained for another month. His Holiness has an excellent understanding with the Emperor, whatever the French say.

No news touching Navarre out of Spain; but it is reported from Burgundy that the French army has been driven out of Navarre by the Spaniards, and a secretary of the bishop of Luke heard the same at Amiens. Don Provost d'Otreke, who will be here tonight, heard that the two armies were very near each other. The Emperor is very diligent, and is daily in his council [chamber] at six or seven o'clock, where he remains till he goes to mass; and an hour after he has dined, returns thither again, and remains till supper time. This life he has led ever since the death of Chievres. The general estates of these countries will be kept at Ghent. They appear perfectly well minded to do the Emperor service. His success will disappoint the French. He has not yet disposed of the office of chamberlain. The lord Montayny makes great suit for it, and has my Lady's favor. Nassau is recommended by the marshal of Burgundy.

Since writing have been with the Chancellor, who told them that the delay of their resolution was owing to letters upon letters received from their ambassador, the contents of which they found very strange. Before the arrival of Fitzwilliam the King and Wolsey had absolutely declared the French king guilty of the breach, and told the ambassador that if Francis would not accept the compromise or delayed his answer, the King would declare himself his enemy, and that the Emperor was clearly freed from all his obligations, both as to the marriage and as to the pension from

1521.

SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD and SPINELLY to [WOLSEY]—*cont.*

Naples; but by the Bishop's last letters it appears Francis was content to accept the compromise, making the King arbiter, and Wolsey hoped the Emperor would agree to it before his coming, otherwise he would leave him. They are surprised at this change, and say the Emperor is determined, whatever England may do, to be revenged on the French king; that the Emperor had never promised to make a compromise, but was only willing that England should mediate before this invasion of Navarre. Think, from the Chancellor's words, that if the King take conclusion upon the principal matter, they will make no difficulty about the rest. Brussels, 19 June. *Signed.*

Pp. 5, mutilated.

1358. [HENRY VIII. to SURREY.]

Tit. B. xii.
627.

B. M.
St. P. II. 70.

By his letters and those of Sir John Pechie, understands that he has received the instructions sent by the latter. Commends the politic direction taken by Surrey and Pechie. Has received the letters of O'Neill, thanking the King for sending "our livery of knighthood to him"; and as lord Dacre by the King's command has made substantial espial in the country of the earl of Argyle and other parts of Scotland, and finds that no preparations are intended for his transporting into Ireland, the King thinks that Surrey will not be much troubled this summer. As great divisions exist in Scotland, the King thinks the Scotch will be wary of breaking the truce with England. Sends him 1,000 marks above the ordinary wages, to keep up a force in case the Scotch should enter Ireland. Accepts his declaration touching the 300 horse and 500 foot mentioned in the credence of Sir John Wallop. This has eased the King's mind, as he does not wish to be put to further charges, until he perfectly knows the issue of these controversies between the Emperor and the French king.

Draft, in Ruthal's hand.

20 June. 1359. SIR WILLIAM COMPTON to LORD DARCY.

R. O.

Has received his letter. Thanks him for many kindnesses showed to himself and the King's servants, whenever they have had any cause "to repair into those parts;" especially for your kindness showed "unto my fellow Hardy." Thanks him also for the good nag he received last year. Richmond, 20 June. *Signed and sealed.*

P. 1. Add.: To mine own good lord my lord Darcy.

21 June. 1360. THOS. FITZALAN EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Tit. B. i.
215 a.

B. M.

Free pardon, by the earl of Arundel, to John Cloon, for the death of Roger Lawe. Downeley, 21 June 13 Hen. VIII.

Modern copy.

22 June. 1361. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD and SPINELLY to [WOLSEY].

Galba, B. vii.

35.

B. M.

Wrote last on the 20th, of their communications with the Emperor and his council. Have put in a memorial certain remonstrances made by them against the proceedings of the French king. They are willing to follow the King's counsel, but expect to meet with reciprocal confidence and effectual demonstration.—Written thus far when the Emperor sent for them, and, in presence of my Lady and the Chancellor, told them that the provost of Utrecht was returned from France, and had said, on taking leave of Francis, that it was better that he and Charles should be friends than continue as they had begun. Francis replied he knew there was no love

1521.

between them, and he was determined to deal with him as an utter enemy. On the Provost requesting that he would desist for at least two or three years, Francis said plainly he would not, as he could have no better opportunity than at present. The Emperor desired Wingfield to go over immediately, and state these things to the King by word of mouth, with other matters to be committed to him by instructions. Wingfield replied he was commanded to attend his Majesty, and could not depart without leave; but on his persisting, consented. There are many Scotch merchants at the mart at Antwerp, who have bought a number of harnesses. Mentioned this to the Emperor, and requested him to prohibit the exportation of arms. Are told by the Chancellor, that on receipt of the Emperor's letters, they of Zurich have acknowledged themselves to be the Emperor's subjects, and that the French king had beguiled many of the cantons, pretending that he wanted them only for defence. They would never agree to act for offensive purposes, and had convoked a diet to consider the Emperor's letters. Lord Sevenbergh is sent thither again. Lord Jamais, Robt. de la March's son, who was taken in the castle of Floranges, is sent prisoner to Namur. The cause of the sudden surrender of Floranges was, that most of the soldiers are Almain, who refused to defend any place against the Emperor. Brussels, 22 June. *Signed.*

Pp. 2, mutilated.

ii. Remonstrances made by the Emperor.—(1.) The French king's grudges are owing to the Emperor's unwillingness to give further assurance of his marriage or treaties, against the opinion of the late lord Chievres. (2.) The Emperor was willing, at the King's request, that matters should be arranged by the King's mediation before the invasion of Navarre. (3.) The French king, despairing of bringing the Emperor to his will, has sought every means to destroy him by inciting Robert de la Marche to take Liege, by putting garrisons in Tournay and Terouenne to devastate the neighbouring countries, by prompting Gueldres to invade Brabant and Holland, all at the same time, during the Emperor's absence at the diet, at which he also labored to hinder the Emperor's success. (4.) The resolution taken by Francis with the duke of Wurtemberg and [count] of Furstenberg to invade Farrette. (5.) Francis wrote a letter to a Lutheran captain to encourage those of that opinion to join him, in order that by that means they might "recover as well their old Emperors as also Popes to be resident in France." (6.) The corruption of the Swiss. (7.) His practices with the marquis of Pescara, to whom he sent his "blanche singne" to get him to take his part in the conquest of Naples. (8.) The intrigues to betray the castles of Naples and Gaeta, the contrivers of which were taken and put to death. (9.) His intentions against Spain are clear from the invasion of Navarre, and his intelligence with the bishop of Samora and the rebel chiefs. (10.) From these causes the Emperor's dominions have been in great danger, as he had trusted to the strength of treaties and to the promises of England. (11.) He has determined to invade France, even if England should refuse him aid, which he cannot believe.

Pp. 2, mutilated.

22 June. 1362. CHARLES V.

Mon. Habs.
207.

Memorandum to Sir Ric. Wingfield of what he shall say on the part of the Emperor to Henry VIII.

That Charles by his last letters to his ambassador had instructed him to show the king of England his desire to strengthen the amity between them, and that Wolsey might be sent over, under color of the compromise which France is endeavoring to effect, to conclude the matters projected between their two majesties. Since the despatch of those letters the dom. Provost

1521.

CHARLES V.—*cont.*

of Utrecht has returned from France, stating that Francis is determined to invade the Emperor on every side. When it was represented that the Emperor had not deserved such treatment, Francis replied, rudely, that he knew well the Emperor wished him no good. He is now fully equipped and the Emperor unprovided, so that he has a better chance of avenging himself now than he would have two or three years hence. He is daily recruiting his army and bringing it to the frontier, and has not only caused Robert de la Marche to invade the Emperor, but seized his couriers and opened his letters. The Emperor is, therefore, compelled to get ready a great army, with which he means to do all the mischief to France he possibly can. He is to request the King, considering how the Emperor is provoked, to declare himself, and give him aid against their common enemies. As to the compromise of which France has made overture, the Emperor cannot honorably accept it without previously consulting his friends, and especially his subjects of Spain. He shall also press England again to declare himself promptly, and send over Wolsey immediately to treat with the Emperor's commissioners, so that they may open to each other the bottom of their hearts. Knowing Wingfield's dexterity, the Emperor has requested him to go over to the King his master to show him the above matters and others, which the Emperor has explained to him by word of mouth, and to ascertain him of the King's will as soon as possible. Brussels, 22 June 1521.

Fr.

22 June. 1363. WARHAM to WOLSEY.

R. O.

Have sent to you Sir Henry, parish priest of Sevenoaks, who is said to have used unfitting language of your grace. He is quite willing to attend on you for his excuse. He is a poor priest, and pity it is he should be hardly treated or sent to prison, as he cannot sustain any great cost. I intend to be at Tonbridge on Monday, and will write to you about the matter we spoke of. Otford, 22 June. *Signed.*

P. 1. Add.: To, &c. my lord Card. of York, legate de latere.

22 June. 1364. For the NUNNERY OF NONNETON, Coventry and Lichfield dioc.

Congé d'élire, *vice* Eliz. Hasilrig, prioress, deceased. Westm., 22 June.

Pat. 13 Hen.VIII. p. 1, m. 12.

25 June. 1365. The DUKE OF ALVA to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. VI.

61.

B. M.

Solicits his interest in the matter of which he writes to the King. Sir Richard Wingfield, to whom he writes more fully, will give an account of it to Wolsey. Brussels, 25 June. *Signed: El duche de Alva, marquese de Corya.*

Spanish, p. 1. Add.: Al muy, &c. cardenal de Inglaterra.

25 June. 1366. COUNT DE CARPI to FRANCIS I.

Add. 21,512,

f. 7.

B. M.

Wrote on the 20th what the Pope had said about the man Francis wished him to send to the diet to be held at Calais. Not hearing that he had come to any determination, was with him again today. Urged him to do so without more delay, but found him still more undecided. He

1521.

said he did not think it necessary, because he had ambassadors both in France and England, and perhaps one of them would do. Insisted on his sending a special envoy, but could not get him to consent. At last he said he did not see why he should help in cheating himself, for he had been too much abused already. Endeavored to quiet his suspicions, and he said he would think of it again, but he knew not what to say, as he seemed to be held in no account. Knows that he feels himself mocked, and that the affairs of Francis, from being in the best possible condition, have got into a very critical state. The Pope holds much better language towards the opposite party than before. Fears his taste is spoiled, and even if good news were to arrive, he would not relish them.

It is said Prosper Colonna comes to Rome tomorrow, for what purpose is not known. This is not a good sign, nor that the Spaniards are so near the frontiers of the Church, and the Pope does not seem to be alarmed. The partisans of the King Catholic tell him that now Chièvres is dead, the affairs of that King will be managed in quite a different fashion, and that he bears very good will towards the Holy See, as he has shown in the affair of Martin Luther; that the commons of Spain, since the rout of their army, have returned to obedience, and that they are now raising a great army against Navarre. Rome, 25 June 1521. *Signed.*

Fr. pp. 2. *Add.*

26 June. 1367. SPINELLY to WOLSEY.

Galba, B. VII.

37.

B. M.

Wingfield left on the 22nd. Has received Wolsey's letters of the 20th. Went to the Emperor, with whom he had an interview, at which he showed him the letters, and told him of the arrival of Fitzwilliam in England. Urged him to accept the truce as sent by Wolsey; but found him nothing inclined thereto, in consequence of the surprise of Navarre. If Wolsey comes over, he will appoint persons to meet him with full powers. If the King does not conclude the amity, Berghes told him, their confidence would be shaken. Heard the same from my Lady yesterday. The Emperor has written to Helna. It is thought he would have been more tractable but for the loss of Pampeluna. Nassau intends to besiege Bolion. The French army is at Moson. Reinforcements are on their way from the duke of Cleves to Nassau. Gives an account of the Emperor's troops.

In Spinelly's own hand:—The Pope promises great things to the Emperor, as the king of England takes his part. The Swiss are returning. Berghes, as Chièvres' executor, has offered the Emperor 200,000 ducats above the sum specified. Brussels, 25 June 1521.

P.S.—Having sealed his letters, received Wolsey's of the 23rd. Made a memorial of them in French. Had an interview with the Emperor, who would make no other answer than he had done. He complained of the French invading Castile, and burning the town of Archos. It is not thought by the Chancellor or the Audiencer that the Emperor will listen to any compromise; and Fonseca is now of the same opinion. If Sevenberg goes to the Swiss, Sion will go with him. Brussels, 26 June 1521, at midnight. *Signed.*

Pp. 8, mutilated. Add.

26 June. 1368. FOR DR. JOHN LONGLOND.

P. S.

Restitution of the temporalities of the see of Lincoln. Greenwich, 24 April 13 Hen. VIII. *Del.* Westm., 26 June.

Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 12.

ii. Bull for John [Longland] to be bishop of Lincoln, *vice* William [Atwater], deceased. Rome, 1520, 13 kal. Apr., 9 pont.

1521.

27 June. 1369. [CAMPEGGIO to WOLSEY.]

Vit. B. iv.

116.

B. M.

The College of Cardinals have been deliberating about conferring some title on the king of England, and will be glad to have Wolsey's opinion about it. Some propose *Apostolicus*, others *Protector*. War is daily expected, and an engagement between the French and the imperial forces. The Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples on the banks of the Tronto (Troentum) will cross and attack Milan at the first brush. Rome, 27 June 1521. *Signature burnt off*.

Lat., mutilated, pp. 2.

27 June. 1370. PACE to [JEROME GHINUCCI], the Pope's ambassador.

R. O.

It has been reported to the King yesterday and today, that the Emperor and the French king have determined to settle their disputes by war. It is said that the French have been driven out of Navarre. The Emperor has a large army at other people's expense. Germany, Spain and Flanders are so well disposed to him that they will not allow him to suffer any disgrace, but urge him to war. The French king declares he will not put off the war, saying that now is the time to crush the Emperor, who is young and inexperienced. Hence the Cardinal's voyage to Calais is uncertain. Windsor, 27 June.

The victory, we think, for many reasons, will be with the Emperor. If so, the Pope must look to his affairs in time.

Hol., Lat., p. 1. Add.: Smi D. N. oratori dignissimo;

27 June. 1371. CHARLES V.

Mon. Habs.
212.

Instructions to Ph. Haneton, secretary and audiercer, and the bishop of Badajoz and Elne, to be declared to the king of England and the cardinal of York, after presenting the Emperor's letters of credence.

He hopes the King and Cardinal have come to a determination touching what has been shown them by the Bishop and Sir Ric. Wingfield. Considering the Emperor's justifications, of which he has sent them a copy, doubts not that the King, in accordance with the treaties sworn at Canterbury, will declare himself against France, and conclude the other matters projected between them. Nevertheless, having no certain knowledge of the King's answer, and knowing the dangers of delay, especially considering the news recently come from Spain, how the French have invaded Castile as well as Navarre, and besieged Grono, and that five or six French armed boats have arrived on the coast of Galicia, which immediately attacked the Spaniards, and took certain boats of Castile and also of Charles's Flemish subjects, which they conducted to Dieppe, Charles has sent his Audiercer to solicit an answer from Henry with all diligence. If the Audiercer find he cannot have an answer promptly, and that they wish to urge a compromise under color of which Wolsey might cross the sea without suspicion, conclude the other matters proposed, and procure the peaceful restitution of Navarre, he shall say that the Emperor has declared to him the reasons why he cannot consent to any compromise without previous reparation for the injuries done by France, and without the advice of his Spanish subjects, who are in arms for the recovery of his kingdom, and the consent of his allies. But if the King will send Wolsey to Calais immediately, on pretence of laboring to effect an amicable arrangement, and write to the parties to send thither deputies with full powers, and if he will first of all put their affairs in surety according to what has been long proposed, writing at the same time to France not to do anything against the Emperor's countries, of which he undertakes the protection during negotiations, Charles hopes they will be better able to understand their common interests.

1521.

If he find the King and Cardinal inclined to the settlement of the affairs projected, but doubtful of the Emperor's power to assemble a sufficient army, he shall say that Charles has money enough to maintain a large army all this summer, and hopes to obtain more. He is so sure of his men that in three weeks or a month he will have them wherever they are wanted, and when they have settled their principal affairs, he will disclose to the King his other resources. If the King and Wolsey show themselves ready to declare themselves for Charles, provided they be satisfied of the justice of his cause, he shall declare to them that on the King's settlement of their affairs Charles will undertake to get the Pope to join them, and Henry may soon learn from the Pope himself how well they may be assured of him. If they are not satisfied with this, the Bishop and Audiencer shall consult together as to what they shall further declare touching the terms on which Charles stands with the Pope, and they shall say he has no doubt that they three being thus joined can easily draw the Swiss into alliance, and turn them from the league they have made with France, especially as it is simply defensive, and contains express reservation of the Pope, the Emperor and the hereditary league of Austria. The Swiss are not bound to give foot soldiers to France, even for defence, if they suspect a war against themselves. This suspicion could easily be got up, and they would be glad to take it, even after receiving aid from France. They are already divided amongst themselves, especially the people against their governors, and murmur that France has invaded the Emperor under color of defence. For this reason Charles has despatched deputies with money to the Swiss. The best means to gain them is the enterprise on Milan, which Charles has already pointed out. It could be accomplished even if the Pope let it alone, but it would be more sure if they were more united, and Charles could aid it by the men he has in Italy.

If the King desire to know what number of men Charles can bring against France, Haneton shall say that without the aid of the Empire or of the forces in Italy or Castile, he is already sure he can assemble 30,000 foot and 6,000 or 7,000 horse, for which he has four months' pay ready. When Charles has entered France and accomplished the enterprise of Milan, the Spanish forces in Italy may cross the mountains into Dauphiné, where they would carry on the war both by land and sea, and all the more boldly if they knew England had declared for the Emperor. If the King and Wolsey be of opinion that Charles ought first to go to Spain, and in the interval the King agree to undertake the defence of the Low Countries, the said Bishop and Audiencer shall say that the principal affairs being settled, and the arrangements with the Pope and the Swiss effected, Charles would be willing to follow the King's advice; in which case they shall inquire if the King will aid him with a number of his largest vessels well equipped to accompany him on the voyage, as it is said the French have large ones, and he has none here. The Bishop and Audiencer (and especially the latter, who is well informed of the Emperor's affairs,) shall therefore press for an immediate declaration and for the sending of Wolsey to Calais. If they will not consent to this, or delay under color of appointment, professing that it is for Charles's interest, and that they will procure restitution of Navarre, Haneton shall say that Charles has forborne for a year past all enterprises against France in deference to the King's advice, in the firm hope that in case of open rupture the King would declare himself entirely for him; and Charles will now be able to judge of the truth of what Francis told the provost of Utrecht, that he was sure the King would never declare against him. If, however, the King will not aid him for fear of losing his pension from France, the Audiencer shall say, as of himself, that the Emperor is bound by his oath at Canterbury to assist in the recovery of that pension. If, notwithstanding all remonstrances, Wolsey will not consent to cross the sea, he shall say that Charles will be content to send powers to England to

1521.

CHARLES V.—*cont.*

conclude everything. He shall also visit the Queen, and present Charles's letters of credence, and tell her what he considers expedient. Brussels, 27 June 1521. *Signed.*

*Fr.*28 June. **1372. CINQUE PORTS.**

R. O.

Inquisition taken on the sea shore at Hythe, Friday, 28 June 13 Hen. VIII., before Sir Edward Ponynge, warden of the Cinque Ports.

15 nets, called flewes, in the custody of Wm. Treulove, 45s. Harman Maynerd found seven flewnets. Maurice Jonson and his fellows found seven nets at Scarborowe. Adam, the clerk and priest of the parish of Demechurch, found a fish called a porpey, price unknown. An anchor found, worth 20s. A salmon outside the nets of John Sutton of Folkstone was taken away. In custody—Wm. Gybbes, Th. Danyell; 2 hogsheads and an "alb'i," found in the sea, and worth 20s. Mathew Lewce fished in the sea before sunrise, contrary to the statute.

*Lat., on parchment.*28 June. **1373. For SIR WM. SANDYS.**

S. B.

Wardship of John, s. and h. of George Whitehede. *Del.* Westm. 28 June 13 Hen. VIII.

Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 17.29 June. **1374. The EARL OF ARUNDEL to WOLSEY.**

R. O.

On behalf of Christopher Crow his bailiff, whom Wolsey's servant Geo. Willoughby had brought before the Court of Chancery, the Star Chamber and the Common Pleas, for doing his duty at Arundel's commandment. Willoughby has done Arundel great damage, and his servants have nearly murdered Crow. He has forfeited an obligation of 100 marks by these acts, but Arundel forbears to attempt the law against him, as he is Wolsey's servant. Wishes Wolsey to appoint some of his council to hear the case. Douneley, 29 June. *Signed.*

*P. 1. Add.: To, &c. my lord Cardinal and legate of latery good grace.*29 June. **1375. M. CARDINAL OF SION to WOLSEY.**

Vit. B. IV.

121*.

B. M.

An arduous task, which he little expected, has been devolved upon him, "ad quæque intrepido et paratissimo." As he cannot explain himself personally to Wolsey, sends Mich. Sander, dean of Breslau. Brussels, 29 June 1521. *Signed.*

*Lat., mutilated, p. 1. Add.*30 June. **1376. LEWIS II. OF HUNGARY to HENRY VIII.**

Vesp. F. 1. 80.

B. M.

Is compelled by his difficulties to beg aid. Since the taking of Greece, Hungary has been continually threatened, and the sultan of Egypt mulcted of his territory. The Sophi has made a truce with him. He makes no doubt of his purpose, seeing that no aid can come from Christendom in consequence of the disputes between Francis and the Emperor. He is preparing to attack Nandor Alba, i.e. Belgrade, then Buda. An army of 80,000 under Mehemet Beg is raised against Transylvania, and another against Croatia. 50,000 Tartars are to attack Poland. Buda, 30 June 1521, 6 Lewis II. *Signed.*

Lat., pp. 2. Add.

1521.

30 June. 1377. SURREY to HENRY VIII.

Lamb. 616.
f. 33.

St. P. ii. 72.

Has received his letter by Peche's servant on the 27th. Thanks him for the 1,000 marks. Is making ready to do the most hurt he can to the Irishmen of the West, who are in a league to injure the King's subjects, unless he be restrained by letters from the King by Thomas Jermyn. Thinks Ireland will never be reduced, except by conquest, and with not less than 2,500, for the Irish can always be helped by the Irish and English Scots. To accomplish this briefly, 6,000 men would be best. Compares the conquest of Ireland with that of Wales under Edward I. The Irish live more hardly than any people in Christendom or Turkey, as Peche can inform him. To secure his conquest, the King must furnish victuals out of England, build fortresses, and send over English colonists to the conquered lands; for Irishmen will return to their old customs on the first opportunity. Laments that he receives such small aid from the King's subjects in Ireland, and would be glad to return to serve the King in England. Dublin, 30 June. *Signed.*

Add.

1378. ERASMUS to WM. LORD MOUNTJOY.

Er. Ep. xvii. 26.

Hears from Mountjoy that he (Erasmus) is accused of favoring Luther, and is desired to purge himself by writing against the reformer. Denies the charge. Thinks Luther was justified in exposing the evils of the times, which were patent to all, but dislikes his manner of doing it. Is not the author of any of the Lutheran writings attributed to him, for he has never published anything anonymously; least of all would Erasmus oppose the decrees of the Pope. Is going to Basle. Anderlaco, 1521.

1379.

GRANTS in JUNE 1521.

June.
—
GRANTS.

1. Sir John Huse. To be Chief Butler of England, with two annuities, one of 50 marks, the other of 100 marks. *Del. Westm.*, 1 June 13 Hen. VIII.

Marginal note: "Concordat cum tenore literarum patentium prius Johanni Daunce concess' de officio predicto; ex' per me, Johannem Daunce."—S.B. *Pat. p. 2, m. 12.*

3. Wm. West, the King's servant. To be woodward in the lordships of Haseley and Grove, Warw., with 2d. a day in each office. Richmond, 3 June 13 Hen. VIII. (*No date of delivery.*)—P.S. *Pat. p. 3, m. 2 (undated.)*

8. Stoeche, Estone, Bedindone, Huertebery, Ulwerybe, Alderyche, Veremuth, Coston, Warstell, Tonge, Bureton, and Ardelvestone, Wore. Exemption from toll and from the expenses of knights coming to Parliament, to the men of the above places, which are of the ancient demesne of the Crown. Westm., 8 June.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3, m. 19.*

8. Th. Donell, of Bristow, merchant. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 5 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 8 June.—P.S.

9. Rob. Toney, clk. To be clerk of the Hanaper, with 40*l.* a year, and 18*d.* a day when attending and riding with the Lord

Chancellor, in same manner as Sir John Heron. *Del. Westm.*, 8 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 1, m. 22.*

11. Wm. Lloid Ap John Ap Meredith, sewer of the Chamber, s. and h. of John Ap Meredith Ap Jevan Lloid. Lease of the manor or commote of Dunaille in the lordship of Dinbigh, Wales, (which was leased to the said John for 90 years, by patent 12 March 1 Hen. VII., invalid), with the tenements called Heyretheren and Hengum, for 60 years; rent, 117*s.* All tenants and inhabitants to appear twice a year before the said William or his steward. Also lease of the herbage and pannage of Ruthin park, called "Towne parke," with the "Towne millis," and "Grainge mille," in the franchise of the said town, and the mills called "Melyn Keler" and "Melyn Ycoed," all in the lordship of Diffrenclod, at certain rents, and 40*s.* of increase. *Del. Westm.*, 11 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p. 3, m. 14.*

11. Th. Midwynter, of Northleche, Glouc. Lease of a water mill near the town of Chedworth, Glouc., called Gottristmyll, parcel of "Warwikeslandes" and "Spencerlandes," for 21 years; rent, 33*s.* 4*d.*, and 20*d.* of increase, payable to the bailiff or provost of

1521.

June.

GRANTS.

GRANTS in JUNE 1521—cont.

Chedworth; with timber for repairs out of Chedworth woods. "Teste," 11 June.—S.B. *Pat.* 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 19.

11. Peter Mutton and Th. Ap Grono, yeomen of the Guard. Grant, during pleasure, in survivorship, of the offices of clerk of the works in Denbigh castle, N. Wales; keeper of the gaol and gates called "le Cheker gate" and "Burgess gate," in the town of Denbigh; escheator and attorney of Denbigh; and keeper of the wood called "le Galghill parc," vice Rob. Lloid, deceased. Richmond, 2 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 11 June.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 16.

12. Ric. Pyle and Stephen Page. Licence to alienate 15 acres of land in [Carl]ton (?) Ryde, Suff., to Th. Rede, clk., John Playter, man, Th. Page, Wm. Rede, Th. Bowes and Nich. Roke, and their heirs. *Westm.*, 12 June.—*Pat.* 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27.

13. Wm. Cookes *alias* Muklowe, of Gloucester, mercer. Protection for two years; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 13 June 13 Hen. VIII. (*No date of delivery.*)—P.S.

14. Edw. Andrewis *alias* Skynner, of Westminster, Skinner. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 14 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Endd.*: "Edwardo Andrewis pro felonía apud Brydlington."—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 20.

14. Th. Gosling, of London, mercer. Pardon for treason and breaking out of prison; he having been arrested at Est Smythfield, Middlesex, for treason, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Richmond, 5 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 14 June.—P.S.

14. John Gyste, of Brymyngehame, Warw., cordwainer. Reversal of outlawry, to which he was condemned, at the suit of Roger Cowper, for trespass. *Del. Westm.*, 14 June [13] Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 20.

14. Ric. Kemsey, of Coventry, mercer. Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 10 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 14 June.—P.S.

14. Ambrose Potter, of Gravesende, Kent, servant of Wm. archbishop of Canterbury, *alias* bailiff of the hundred of Toltyngtrowe, Kent; also of Caston, Norf.; Cambridge; Oxford; and Lamehithe, Surrey. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 14 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 20.

14. Ric. Walshe, of London, West Chestre, Dorchestre, and Oxford, sherman. Pardon. *Del. Westm.*, 14 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Endd.*: "Ric. Welsh for felony in Blakk Heth."—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 20.

15. Th. Palmer, gentleman usher of the Chamber. To be surveyor and receiver of the township of Henley in Arderne, Warw., with the day, as held by Sir Edw. Belknap. *Del. Westm.*, 15 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 21.

15. Th. Palmer, gent. usher of the Chamber. Annuity of 20*l.* *Del. Westm.*, 15* June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat.* p. 2, m. 19.

15. Sir Wm. Tiker. Authority to make search in the Port of London, and in Southampton, Bristowe, Sandwich, and elsewhere, and to extract all "garbell, foystes and dustes" from spices and drugs; and send back the garble, &c. to foreign parts: all spices sold ungarbled to be forfeited. Edw. Ist granted the office of garbaler or trier of all spices and drugs coming into their port to the City of London, who, at the King's request, have lately granted the office to Sir William, but have made an act whereby all spices and drugs contained in bags having the token or mark of Bruges and Antwerp are admitted and sold as garbled without being searched by the garbaler, whence the King considers that great damage is likely to ensue to his person, and to his subjects "in their meats and drinks." Richmond, 6 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm.*, 15 June.—P.S. *Pat.* p. 1, m. 16.

16. Commission of the Peace.

Kent.—Th. cardinal of York, Wm. abp. of Canterbury, bp. of Rochester, abbot of St. Augustine's, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, Geo. lord Burgevenny, Th. Broke lord Cobham, Sir John Fyneux, Sir John More, Sir Edw. Ponnynges, Sir Th. Nevell, Sir Hen. Guldeford, Sir John Pecche, Sir John Wilsh[ire], Rob. Blagge, Sir Edw. Guldeford, Sir Christ. Garneys, Sir Wm. Scott, Sir John Norton, Sir John F[ogge], Th. Willoughby, Geo. Guldeforde, Walter Roerth, and Wm. Fyneux. *Westm.*, 16 June.—*Pat.* 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.

16. Commission of Sewers. *Lincolnshire.*—Wm. lord Willoughby, Wm. abbot of Bardeney, John abbot of Kyrksted, abbots of Thorton and Crowland, prior of Spaldyng, abbots of Ramsey, Nouson, Barlyng, Louth Parke, and Hanyby, the priors of Syxill, Solyngton and Alvyngham; Sirs Christ. Willoughby, Rob. Dymmok, John Husee, Wm. Tirwhit, Th. Brough, jun., Rob.

* 10 June on *Pat. Roll.*

† They are enumerated thus:—Pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, sugar, ginger, grains, long pepper, wormseed, cummin, aniseed, colliander seed, rice, almonds, dat galls, rhubarb, scammin, spynale, grain, turmeryke, saunders, stavesacre, gum Arabic, galingale, mastyke, setwall, cassia fistula, wax, frankincense, senna leaves, olibann, liquone drye, orchall, lytmose.

1521.

June.

GRANTS.

Tirwhyt, Andr. Billesby, and Gilb. Tailbois; Wm. Skypwith, John Hennage, sen., Edw. Forman, John Wymbishe, Th. Skipwith, Geo. Fitzwilliam, Nich. Upton, Wm. Sandon, Geoff. Paynell, Fras. Broun, John Hennage, jun., Edw. Forsett, Christ. Wymbishe, John Lytelbury, Edw. Skipwith, John Robynson, Th. Myssenden, John Sainpall, John Rude, and Thos. Quadring. Westm., 16 June.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 19d.*

16. Th. Carmenave*, gentleman usher of the Chamber. To be bailiff of the stannary of the hundred of Penwith and Kyrer, Cornw., with the tribulage, *vice* Ric. Stanahave and Th. Poynter. "Teste meipso," Westm., 8 April 4 Hen. VIII. Dated under P.S., Richmond, 16 June 13 Hen. VIII.

Marginal note, signed by Throkmarion:—"Recordatur quod memorandum non intratur 27 die Octobris, anno r. r. Hen. VIII. 15^o."—P.S. *Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 18 (undated).*

18. Nich. Elveden, of London, *alias* of Calais, "synggyngman." Protection; going in the retinue of lord Berners, deputy of Calais. Richmond, 6 June 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 18 June.—P.S.*

18. John Eresland. Lease of the farm of Higley, in the lordship of Higley, Salop, late of the earl of March, for 21 years; rent 30s., and 4s. of increase. *Del. Westm., 18 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 3, m. 18.*

19. Commission of the Peace.

Herts.—Th. cardinal of York, Hen. earl of Essex, Th. prior of St. John of Jerusalem, Wm. Blount lord Mountjoy, Sir John Fyneux, Sir John More, Sir Humph. Conyngesby, Sir Th. Lovell, Sir Wm. Say, Hen. Frowys, Th. Clyfford, Hen. Barley, Th. Peryent, sen., Th. Laventhorp, John Broket, sen., Geo. Dalyson, Rob. Turbervile, Edw. Broket, Humph. Fitzherbert, Wm. Purdue, Ric. Druell, Th. Knyghton, and Geo. Chaworth. Westm., 19 June.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1d.*

20. Maurice Gifford. Licence to alienate lands in Estgyngge, Berks, to John Bourghchier, Sir Wm. Essex, Geo. Tywneo, John Bonham, Th. Bonham, Edw. Ludlowe, Th. Hall, Th. Mundy and Rob. Hyde, and their heirs., 20 June.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 27.*

20. John Richardson, of Suthwerke, Surrey, *alias* of St. Martin-le-Grand, London, shoemaker. Pardon for murder of Berne Ducheaman *alias* Barnard Shomaker, of Suthwerke. Greenwich, 9 Apr. 12 Hen. VIII.

—P.S. (*No date of delivery.*) Westm., 20 June. *Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 16.*

20. Th. Sengilton, of Milverton, Somers., tailor. Pardon for stealing from the house of Ric. Baker money belonging to John Stronge. Greenwich, 12 May 13 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 20 June.—P.S. Pat. p. 1, m. 16.*

22. Hugh Barcar, clk. Presentation to the church of Arthuredede, Carlisle dioc. *Del. Westm., 22 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B.*

23. Ric. Sandes, the King's servant. To be bailiff of the seignage of Calais, and of the island of Colne, marches of Calais; with all possessions there late of Wm. Worsley, deceased, which escheated to Hen. VII. by the bastardy of Worsley, and were granted to Edw. Worsley, now deceased; as held by Sir Humphrey Banaster or Walter Culpeper. *Del. Westm., 23 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 2, m. 17.*

Copy of the same. P. 1, mutilated.—R.O.

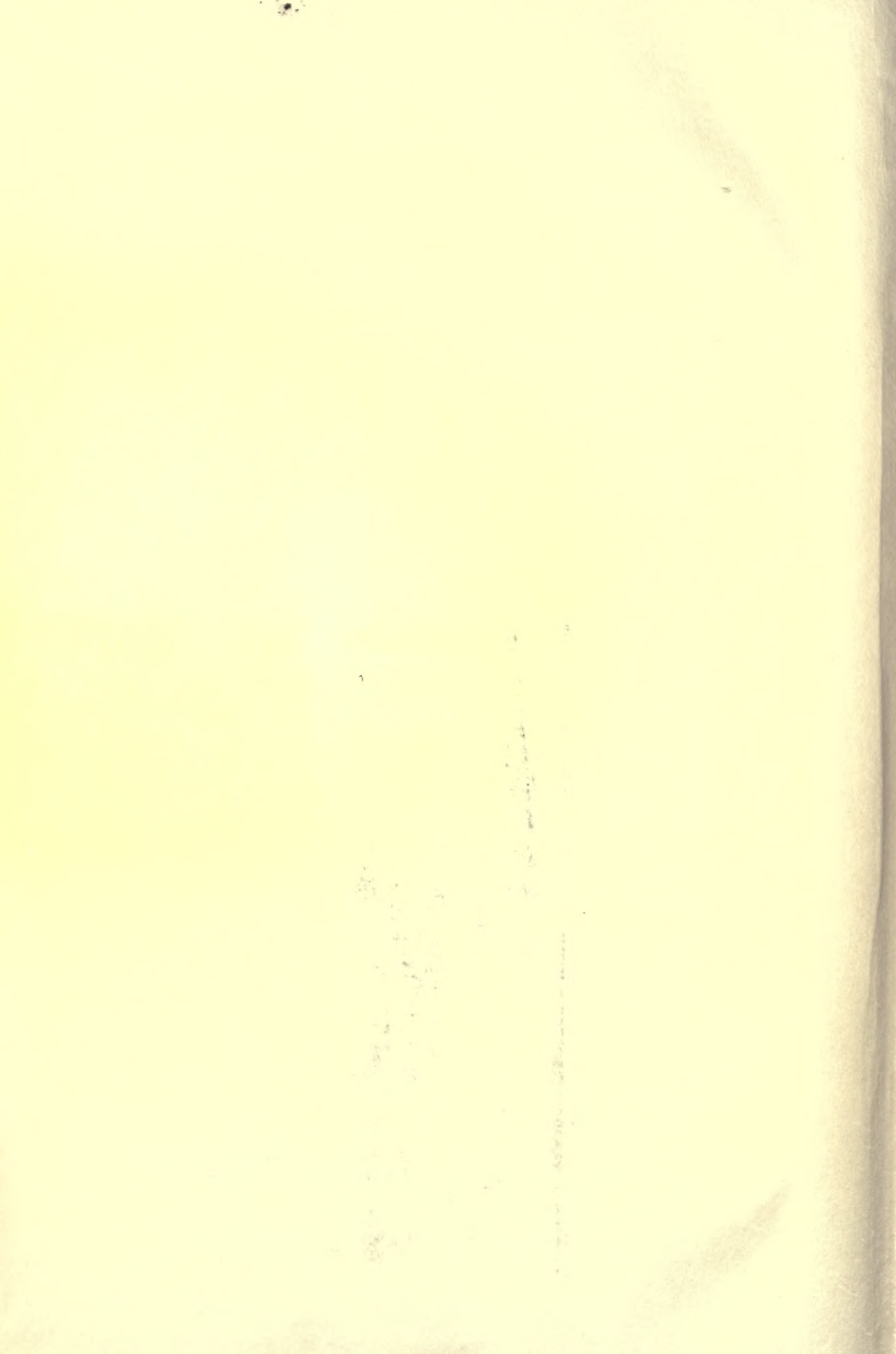
25. Th. Dudley. Protection for himself and the possessions which he holds in right of Elizabeth his wife, during her life; also licence to him and his wife to absent themselves from Ireland at pleasure; and restitution of all previous forfeitures by reason of absence. *Del. Westm., 25 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B.*

26. Commission of the Peace.

Cornwall.—Th. cardinal of York, J. bp. of Exeter, Rob. Willoughby lord Broke, Sir Ric. Eliott, John Broke, Sir Hen. Marney, Sir John Arundell de la Herra, Sir Peter Eggecombe, Sir John Bassett, Roger Grayfeld, John Arundell of Talferne, John Carmynowe, John Chamond, Rob. Vyvyan, James Heresy, Ric. Penrose, Hen. Trecarell, Wm. Lowre, Wm. Goodolghan, Nich. Carmynowe, Rob. Langdon, Wm. Carnesewe, and Nich. Opy. Westm., 26 June.—*Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 2d.*

26. Sir Wistan Broun, knight for the Body. Grant, in tail male, of the reversion of the manors of Bardolfhall in Watton-at-Stone, Herts, and Willoughbyes, in Edmondton and Toteinham, Middx.; granted to John earl of Oxford, deceased, and Elizabeth his wife, late wife of Wm. late viscount Beaumont and lord Bardolf, for the life of the said Elizabeth, in satisfaction of her dower, having come to the hands of King Henry VII. on the death of the said late Viscount, by the forfeiture of Francis late viscount Lovell. The said Countess's estate was confirmed, on the death of the said earl, by act of Parliament 3—5 Hen. VIII. *Del. Westm., 26 June 13 Hen. VIII.—S.B. Pat. p. 1, m. 20.*

* Mistake for Carmenowe.



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